

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, November 9, 1993

The House met at 11 a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Enlighten us, O God, so we grow in the knowledge of values and their power in our lives. In our present age with new expertise and proficiency, we tend to forget those values that give meaning to all our relations and are the foundation of respect and reverence of one person to another. We pray, O God, that we will cultivate a greater understanding of integrity and honor, of character and reverence, and that we will treat each other with the values that are Your gifts to us. In Your name, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Chair's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 256, nays 154, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 550]

YEAS—256

Abercrombie	Bishop	Collins (MI)
Ackerman	Bonior	Combest
Andrews (ME)	Borski	Condit
Andrews (NJ)	Boucher	Conyers
Andrews (TX)	Brewster	Cooper
Applegate	Brooks	Coppersmith
Archer	Browder	Costello
Bacchus (FL)	Brown (FL)	Coyne
Baesler	Brown (OH)	Cramer
Barca	Bryant	Danner
Barcia	Byrne	Darden
Barlow	Cantwell	de la Garza
Barrett (WI)	Cardin	Deal
Bateman	Carr	DeFazio
Becerra	Clayton	DeLauro
Bellenson	Clement	Dellums
Berman	Clinger	Derrick
Bevill	Coleman	Dicks
Bilbray	Collins (IL)	Dingell

Dixon	Klink	Rahall
Dooley	Kopetski	Reed
Durbin	Kreidler	Reynolds
Edwards (CA)	LaFalce	Richardson
Edwards (TX)	Lambert	Roemer
English (AZ)	Lancaster	Rostenkowski
English (OK)	Lantos	Rowland
Eshoo	LaRocco	Roybal-Allard
Evans	Laughlin	Rush
Farr	Leach	Sabo
Fazio	Lehman	Sanders
Fields (LA)	Levin	Sangmeister
Filner	Lewis (GA)	Santorum
Fingerhut	Lipinski	Sarpalius
Fish	Lloyd	Sawyer
Flake	Long	Schenk
Foglietta	Lowey	Schumer
Ford (MI)	Maloney	Scott
Ford (TN)	Mann	Serrano
Frank (MA)	Manton	Sharp
Frost	Margolies	Shepherd
Furse	Mezvinsky	Sisisky
Gejdenson	Markey	Skaggs
Gephardt	Martinez	Skelton
Geren	Matsui	Slaughter
Gibbons	Mazzoli	Smith (IA)
Gillmor	McCloskey	Smith (NJ)
Gilman	McDermott	Spratt
Gluckman	McHale	Stark
Gonzalez	McInnis	Stenholm
Gordon	McKinney	Stokes
Green	McNulty	Strickland
Greenwood	Meehan	Studds
Gutierrez	Meek	Stupak
Hall (OH)	Menendez	Swett
Hall (TX)	Mfume	Swift
Hamburg	Miller (CA)	Synar
Hamilton	Mineta	Tanner
Hannan	Minge	Tauzin
Hastings	Mink	Tejeda
Hefner	Mollohan	Thompson
Hill	Montgomery	Thornton
Hillman	Moran	Thurman
Hinchey	Murtha	Torres
Hoagland	Myers	Torricelli
Hochbrueckner	Nadler	Towns
Holden	Natcher	Traffant
Houghton	Neal (MA)	Tucker
Hoyer	Neal (NC)	Unsoeld
Hughes	Oberstar	Valentine
Hutto	Obey	Velazquez
Inglis	Owens	Vento
Inslee	Pallone	Visclosky
Jefferson	Parker	Volkmer
Johnson (CT)	Pastor	Washington
Johnson (GA)	Payne (NJ)	Waters
Johnson (SD)	Payne (VA)	Watt
Johnson, E. B.	Pelosi	Waxman
Johnston	Penny	Wheat
Kanjorski	Peterson (FL)	Williams
Kaptur	Peterson (MN)	Wilson
Kasich	Pickett	Wise
Kennedy	Pickle	Woolsey
Kennelly	Pombo	Wyden
Kildee	Pomeroy	Wynn
Kingston	Poshard	Yates
Kleczka	Price (NC)	
Klein		

NAYS—154

Allard	Boehner	Cunningham
Armey	Bonilla	DeLay
Bachus (AL)	Bunning	Diaz-Balart
Baker (CA)	Burton	Dickey
Baker (LA)	Buyer	Doolittle
Ballenger	Calvert	Dornan
Barrett (NE)	Camp	Dreier
Bartlett	Canady	Duncan
Barton	Castle	Dunn
Bentley	Clay	Emerson
Bereuter	Coble	Everett
Billrakis	Collins (GA)	Ewing
Bliley	Cox	Fawell
Blute	Crane	Fields (TX)
Boehlert	Crapo	Fowler

Franks (CT)	Lightfoot	Roukema
Franks (NJ)	Linder	Royce
Gallagher	Livingston	Saxton
Gallo	Machtley	Schaefer
Gekas	Manzullo	Schiff
Gilchrest	McCandless	Schroeder
Gingrich	McCollum	Sensenbrenner
Goodlatte	McCrery	Shaw
Goodling	McDade	Shays
Goss	McHugh	Shuster
Grams	McKeon	Skeen
Grandy	McMillan	Smith (MI)
Gunderson	Meyers	Smith (OR)
Hancock	Mica	Smith (TX)
Hansen	Michel	Snowe
Hastert	Miller (FL)	Solomon
Hefley	Molinar	Spence
Herger	Moorhead	Stearns
Hobson	Morella	Stump
Hoekstra	Murphy	Talent
Hoke	Nussle	Taylor (MS)
Horn	Oxley	Taylor (NC)
Hunter	Packard	Thomas (CA)
Hutchinson	Paxon	Thomas (WY)
Hyde	Porter	Torkildsen
Inhofe	Portman	Upton
Istook	Pryce (OH)	Vucanovich
Jacobs	Quillen	Walker
Kim	Quinn	Walsh
King	Ramstad	Weldon
Klug	Ravenel	Wolf
Knollenberg	Regula	Young (AK)
Kolbe	Ridge	Young (FL)
Kyl	Roberts	Zeliff
Lazio	Rogers	Zimmer
Levy	Rohrabacher	
Lewis (CA)	Ros-Lehtinen	

NOT VOTING—23

Blackwell	Huffington	Petri
Brown (CA)	Johnson, Sam	Rangel
Callahan	Lewis (FL)	Rose
Chapman	McCurdy	Roth
Clyburn	Moakley	Slattery
Deutsch	Oliver	Sundquist
Engel	Ortiz	Whitten
Hayes	Orton	

□ 1123

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). We will now be led in the Pledge of Allegiance by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

Mr. PORTER led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Edwin Thomas, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Hallen, one of its clerks, announced

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

that the Senate had passed with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 995. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve reemployment rights and benefits of veterans and other benefits of employment of certain members of the uniformed services, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 129. Joint resolution to authorize the placement of a memorial cairn in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, to honor the 270 victims of the terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

DUMP THIS NAFTA NOW

(Mr. BONIOR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, one thing is clear about the events of the past few days:

If NAFTA passes, Henry Kissinger will not be put out of work.

Fortune 500 executives will not lose their stock options.

And Lee Iacocca will not lose his job. But 500,000 Americans will.

And the worst part is, we are being asked to raise our taxes in order to send our jobs to Mexico.

Mr. Speaker, I say "no." We have got to say "no" to this NAFTA.

This NAFTA does nothing to raise the Mexican minimum wage above 58 cents an hour.

It just locks into place a system that exploits its own people and send our jobs south.

We need an agreement that will create jobs in this country.

That will allow Mexican workers to buy our products.

That will raise Mexico's standards up to our level, instead of lowering ours to theirs.

An agreement that will bring us together instead of tearing us apart.

But this NAFTA will not do that. It will just raise taxes in order to send our jobs to Mexico.

And that is why we have to dump this NAFTA now.

NAFTA AND THE ENVIRONMENT

(Mr. PORTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, NAFTA is the greenest trade agreement ever negotiated and sets a strong precedent for the protection of the environment in all future trade agreements. It preserves the preeminence of our Federal, State, and local environmental laws and our right to turn away any imports

that do not meet strict U.S. standards. It also addresses specific issues of American concern, such as border area pollution and other Mexican environmental problems. The Mexican Government, which is preparing to comply with these stringent requirements, has already committed \$460 million for border cleanup. For these reasons and others, nearly every major environmental organization in America supports NAFTA. The few that do not suffer from the same lack of understanding and vision as America's labor unions.

Mr. SPEAKER, NAFTA will provide the mechanism for us, as a nation, to retain the right to modify our environmental laws, to protect and maintain our sovereignty, and to ensure the improvement of all three countries' environmental standards.

MORE REASONS TO OPPOSE NAFTA

(Mr. KLINK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KLINK. Mr. Speaker, I thought I had more than enough reasons to oppose NAFTA.

However, the Banking Committee, on which I serve, has heard several weeks of testimony concerning abuses within the Mexican political, regulatory, judicial, and financial services sectors.

We heard testimony from Mrs. Lucia Duncan, who described several accounts of the Mexican courts allowing seizure, without cause, of property owned by Americans.

IBM's political agent in Mexico, Kaveh Moussavi, has been named Public Enemy No. 1 by the Salinas government for filing formal fraud complaints with the Mexican Government.

When Mr. Moussavi contacted a Mexican attorney to obtain judicial redress in that nation, the attorney said, and I quote, "Your naivete is touching; this is not the United Kingdom nor the United States."

Mr. Moussavi decided to go public with his case. He was threatened over the telephone that if he testified before the United States Congress about the corruption in the Mexican Government, that when he returned to Britain, he would have one less child.

Mr. Alex Argueta, a developer from Tucson, AZ, is living proof that large, centralized banks in Mexico defraud their clients and steal their savings.

Mr. Argueta testified that gangster tactics were used against him after he obtained a \$2 million loan from a Mexican bank.

After being held incommunicado for 2 days, he was imprisoned for 1½ years. He was released only after he signed a promissory note which changed the terms of his loan, and, subsequently deprived him of \$20 million.

These examples, along with the lack of banking regulations and evidence of

the large volume of drug money being laundered by Mexican banks give me more and more reasons to oppose NAFTA.

FREE TRADE NOT THAT COMPLICATED

(Mrs. BENTLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, the North American Free-Trade Agreement, [NAFTA], has been pushed through so unnecessarily fast that the process has become unnecessarily complicated. If free trade is what we want, all we need is a one-page bill which would eliminate all tariffs between the two countries so we can continue doing business with Mexico and keep Canada in the mix.

□ 1130

Instead, we have a 1,400-page document and an 8-pound enabling bill setting up empires for international trade lawyers and lobbyists over American interests. Our costs are shut out and the powers of the 50 States eroded under the existing proposed NAFTA agreement.

In some cases the tariffs are actually raised and our Government procurement, affecting even school boards and townships, also is included in NAFTA.

Our best and brightest professionals are targeted for competition on their home territories, and all United States contractors and builders will face competition from Mexico on all Federal, State, and local bids.

Let us stop this masquerade agreement which affects the sovereignty of the United States. If free trade is what everyone is concerned about, then why not a simple one-page bill that wipes out the tariffs to allow trade to flow freely?

YES TO AMERICAN WORKERS, NO TO NAFTA

(Mrs. THURMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. THURMAN. Mr. Speaker, in 8 days, this House will finally vote on the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

In 8 days, Members of this House will have to decide whether to accelerate two disturbing trends in this country—the export of jobs and the gap between rich and poor—or stand up for the most vulnerable wage earners of our society. I say vote "no" on NAFTA. America cannot afford this treaty.

NAFTA will cost thousands of jobs and tens of billions of dollars to implement, but the proponents of this treaty seem to want to pave over both of these facts as if they were small bumps

in the new highway planned between Mexico and Texas. They say we will retrain workers who lose jobs—but for what? And when. People whose livelihoods are threatened deserve honest answers.

Mr. Speaker, the answer is that in the rush to invest in Mexico, thousands of our workers will be left high and dry, without an effective means to another job. They may be statistically expendable to Wall Street investors, but to me they are families whose future prospects deserve much more than just passing consideration. On November 17, say "yes" to American workers and "no" to NAFTA.

ON WITHDRAWING OUR TROOPS FROM SOMALIA

(Mr. ROTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, today the House will vote on whether to withdraw our troops from Somalia on January 31 or March 31.

The American people have spoken loud and clear and have said we Americans have completed our mission in Somalia and we have given enough money and we have lost enough American lives, yet there are those in this Congress, despite the fact that even the Somalia people want us out of Somalia, who are so insensitive to the wishes of the American people, the very people who put their trust and confidence in them, that they insist that we stay and donate millions more and put more American soldiers lives in jeopardy.

I ask this Congress to abide by the wishes of the American people and not cave in to the special foreign policy interests.

Let us do what is right for America. Let us vote for our American soldiers and our taxpayers for a change.

BRADY BILL IS STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION IN FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

(Mr. MAZZOLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, lest we forget in the cascade of comments about NAFTA, this week we will have an opportunity, here in the House, to take a very sizable step forward in fighting crime. We will have an opportunity to adopt the Brady bill, which as we know is the 5-day waiting period before the handgun can be purchased.

I would urge my colleagues to look very sympathetically at this, because it is a good solid first step in fighting crime, not the last step. We need to get criminals off the streets, build more jails, be more resolute in our sentencing; but certainly one step in the direc-

tion to reduce violence in our communities would be to take some guns out of the wrong hands.

There could be two amendments offered to the Brady bill, one a sunset amendment and the other an amendment that would preempt State laws once the electronic instant identification goes on line both of which I hope the House defeats.

With those amendments defeated and with the Brady bill passed, we can then go home for Thanksgiving knowing we have done something to truly fight crime.

GULF WAR VETS' FAMILIES DESERVE FULL DISCLOSURE

(Mr. STEARNS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, it has been 3 weeks since I asked for hearings on what the Defense Department knows about the use of any chemical and biological weapons during the Persian Gulf war. I have been joined by several of my colleagues from both sides of the aisle in also calling for Secretary of Defense Aspin to immediately and fully disclose what the Pentagon knows on this issue. We have not heard a response.

Today at noon, the Veterans Affairs Committee will hear from the spouses and family members of gulf war veterans who are suffering from gulf war Syndrome. One of my constituents, Hester Adcock of Ocala, will speak as a mother who watched her son die from Gulf Syndrome. Meanwhile, Secretary of Defense Aspin continues to sit on information that may be relevant to the medical treatment of our gulf war veterans.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, I am calling on Secretary Aspin and the Department of Defense for full and immediate disclosure of the facts regarding any chemical weapons used during the war. Our gulf war veterans, their families, and their surviving relatives deserve nothing less.

HEALTH CARE GOBBLEDYGOOK

(Mr. DUNCAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a minister friend of mine in Tennessee told me recently about a trip he and a church group had made to Russia. He said that while there, his group had toured a hospital.

He said to me, "Congressman, I wouldn't take my dog to that hospital."

Mr. Speaker, the truth is that in this Nation today, our animals get better medical treatment than do the people in many other countries around the world.

In our current health care debate, we need to make sure that we do not mess up the best health care system in the world.

The leaders and wealthy people from other countries come here when they get seriously ill. They do not trust their own Government-run health care systems.

I am not defending the status quo. We need many changes, but the Clinton plan is 1,369 pages of bureaucratic gobbledegook.

Every reform that takes us in the direction of more Government involvement or control over our medical system is doomed to fail. Greater Government control will lead inevitably to a lower quality of care at a much greater cost.

In addition, as one Democratic Member said recently, the Clinton plan will add big bucks to the deficit and greatly increase costs to the consumer.

IN SUPPORT OF WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM SOMALIA BY MARCH 31

(Ms. HARMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, later today I will support the Foreign Affairs Committee resolution calling on the President to withdraw United States combat forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994, and oppose the Gilman amendment to advance that deadline to January 31.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I think we have much to learn about shaping effective peacekeeping policies without overloading our own shrinking forces. President Clinton took an important step in that direction when he shifted the emphasis of our mission away from fighting Aided and set the deadline of March 31, 1994, for withdrawing U.S. combat forces.

I support this resolution because it underlines Congress' role while giving the President the time he seeks to finish this mission. As Chairman HAMILTON has said, "We owe it to those who have already given their lives to complete our mission in Somalia."

I also agree with Chairmen HAMILTON, DELLUMS, and MURTHA that it is time for a broad review of the War Powers Resolution, which is the basis for this resolution. Participating in peacekeeping operations is a different kind of decision from responding to a direct attack on U.S. territory, citizens, or allies. Congress and the executive branch both have important parts to play in those debates, and the result will be a better informed and more supportive public.

OPPOSE HIGHER EXCISE TAX ON CIGARETTES

(Mr. BALLENGER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BALLENGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to President Clinton's proposal to raise the Federal excise tax on tobacco by 75 cents. This tax threatens to destroy thousands of businesses and jobs in our country.

While increasing taxes on tobacco products might be a popular idea among many members of our Government, it will deliver a terrible and significant blow to thousands of small businesses throughout America. One industry that has much to lose is the convenience store operators.

The giant letter I have with me today is addressed to President Clinton and has been signed by hundreds of members of the National Association of Convenience Stores, a trade association representing 63,000 convenience stores throughout the United States. The convenience store industry is comprised of both small and large companies that provide thousands of jobs for people.

These operators have expressed deep concerns over the prospect of higher tobacco taxes. Raising the tobacco excise tax would be devastating to this industry, where 27 percent of all merchandise sales are in tobacco products. New tobacco taxes would force convenience stores to eliminate 6,000 jobs, or at least \$60 million in payroll. Another 31,000 tobacco-related jobs could be lost in North Carolina.

I urge the President and this Congress to reconsider the proposal to raise the tobacco excise tax that will cost thousands of Americans their jobs and will put many small companies out of business.

THE FREE TRADE TRAIN IS LEAVING THE STATION

(Mr. INSLEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, a moment ago, when we were reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, there was a line in there that made me think about NAFTA, and that line said, "and to the Republic for which it stands," and it seems to me that all of the Members of this Chamber, we are going to be called upon in a few days to state publicly what we stand for, and I believe we should say that we stand for free trade, we stand for a good working relationship with our neighbors north and south, we stand for honoring an agreement that two American Presidents have negotiated.

Now some say that we are going to have another chance somewhere over the horizon in the distant future to

have another statement of what we stand for. Well, this train, this free trade train, is leaving the station once, and that is in a few days, and, if it is derailed, it will be derailed into a swamp, into a bayou of protectionism, and it is not going to come back for our political generation.

And why not? The reason is that we cannot slap our neighbors to the south. They are not a punching bag. We cannot knock them down and expect them to come right back to negotiate again something we have already negotiated.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we are going to have a chance to decide who we stand for between two gentlemen, two Americans, and I want to tell my colleagues that I am going to stand for that gentleman who is the Vice President, who stands for free trade, who stands for the principle of taking care of workers by expanding markets in Mexico.

"NAFTA"—THE WRONG ACRONYM TO BLAME FOR JOB MIGRATION

(Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to shatter the biggest myth of the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

Opponents of NAFTA have wrongfully frightened the American people by claiming NAFTA will cause American jobs and businesses to migrate to Mexico. The fact is, there is absolutely nothing stopping these jobs from going there right now, from going to Mexico.

This, Mr. Speaker, is sending jobs to Mexico. This book that I hold up contains the hundreds of forms it takes a small business in my State and my colleagues' States as well to comply with Government regulations. NAFTA is the wrong acronym to blame for job migration. The real culprits are OSHA, EPA, ICC, IRS, and a myriad of other agencies which burden American business.

Mr. Speaker, Mexico is going to experience an economic explosion, with or without NAFTA. We can either pass the agreement and reap the rewards of this explosion, or bury our heads in the sand and miss the opportunity of a lifetime. I urge my colleagues to pass NAFTA.

THE AIDS STAMP

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to praise a forthcoming AIDS stamp to be issued by the Post Office this December commemorating World AIDS Awareness Day. The most basic step in combating any disease is public awareness, and an AIDS stamp will go a long way in promoting widespread awareness of this dreaded disease.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that this stamp signifies our Government's commitment to fighting AIDS with every resource available; that it symbolizes America's willingness to fund biomedical research into AIDS prevention and cure; that it stands for our promise to take care of those living with the disease; and that there will be a frank, comprehensive AIDS education program established to reach people of all ages, economic status, ethnicities, and sexual orientation.

Mr. Speaker, let this gesture be meaningful. Now is the time to stamp out AIDS.

FORMER SURGEON GENERAL KOOP SKEPTICAL OF CLINTON HEALTH PLAN

(Mr. BACHUS of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BACHUS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, back in September, the White House announced that former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop would serve as one of its health care advisers. President and Mrs. Clinton had hoped that Dr. Koop would work with physicians, who are understandably skeptical of the Clinton Health Plan, and help convince them the Clinton plan is right for America.

But, evidently, Dr. Koop has doubts of his own. Koop was recently quoted as saying, "We Americans can have the best health care in the world, total access to care for everyone, or affordable care. But it is impossible to provide more than two of the three."

Mr. Speaker, Bill and Hillary Clinton would have us believe that their Government-based plan will provide better quality, universal coverage, and all at a lower cost. But the American people are smarter than that. To the contrary, even the Clinton's own adviser, former Surgeon General Koop, knows that if the Clintons have their way, we will, instead, jeopardize the best quality health care in the world.

□ 1150

ECONOMIC INDICATORS DEBUNK PRO-NAFTA ARGUMENTS

(Ms. DELAURO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, supporters of NAFTA have argued that the increasing trade surplus we have with Mexico proves that NAFTA will benefit the United States. Opponents have argued that, because the Mexican Government has kept wages artificially low, Mexico is a weak market where workers can't afford American goods, but where cheap labor will siphon off American jobs.

Today we learn that the ground is caving away beneath the pro-NAFTA argument, and that the fears of those who oppose this NAFTA are being confirmed. New figures show that our trade surplus with Mexico in the first 8 months of this year has been cut in half compared to the same time last year. The Mexican demand for United States goods is shrinking, and the robust market pro-NAFTA people predicted is questionable at best.

At the same time, productivity of Mexican workers is up more than 9 percent for the first quarter of this year, but their real hourly wages have risen only about 1 percent. So the Mexican policy of depressing wages continues.

Mr. Speaker, these disturbing trends provide more evidence that much more must be done to achieve a NAFTA that is beneficial to all sides, and that a vote against this NAFTA is the right vote.

MICHEL PLAN ON HEALTH CARE SEEN AS BEST FOR SMALL BUSINESS

(Mr. KINGSTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, along with the Clinton health plan, there are a lot of other ones. Representatives COOPER and GRANDY have a plan. Senators CHAFEE, WELLSTONE, and GRAMM have plans. But the plan I like is the plan offered by Congressman BOB MICHEL. It has a number of advantages.

No. 1, it is small business-friendly. Unlike the Clinton plan which requires small business to give their employees health care and pay for 80 percent of it, the Michel plan simply says you have to offer it. It is a lot more favorable to small business and preserving jobs.

The Michel plan also allows small businesses to form voluntary purchasing groups. Unlike the mandated government alliance monopolies, this would be a voluntary economy of scale.

The Michel plan also lets you keep your current coverage. Studies show that most Americans are happy with their current health care, but under the Clinton plan they would have to surrender it and go to this government monopoly called the alliance. This would also give the choice of doctors, something which the Clinton plan does not give.

I think it is important, Mr. Speaker, that we look at all plans, but I think the Michel plan, when we compare them objectively, is best for the American people and for small business.

THIS IS THE WRONG NAFTA

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, in just over 1 week, the House of Representa-

tives will consider the North American Free-Trade Agreement [NAFTA]. Despite the claims made by proponents of NAFTA, it is my belief that this particular trade agreement is a bad deal for the United States of America and should be rejected by Congress for several reasons. Appeals to general abstract economic theories in discussing NAFTA do not give us confidence in the face of certain economic realities facing the governments of the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

At the heart of NAFTA is the opening up of investment restrictions which in the past have restrained U.S. corporations from pouring massive amounts of capital into factories south of the border. Under the maquiladora program which has provided reduced restrictions on investment and trade barriers, hundreds of U.S. companies have sought cheaper Mexican labor and lax environmental regulations. If the North American Free-Trade Agreement were to pass Congress, I believe this trend would intensify.

Despite arguments made by supporters of NAFTA who maintain that the agreement will create large numbers of jobs relating to the huge trade surplus currently enjoyed by the United States over Mexico, reality says otherwise. Much of this so-called surplus with Mexico comes from the overvalued Mexican peso making United States imports artificially cheaper for Mexican consumers. According to Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute, we can expect the devaluation of the peso soon after the next Mexican election to be held in 1994. Moreover, if the Mexicans continue to run a current account deficit, the devaluation of the peso will be a necessity.

When we analyze our exports with Mexico, we can discern that the recent surplus with Mexico is primarily made of increases in the export of capital, machinery, equipment, and intermediate goods. These products are being used in tooling-up the production of Mexican consumer goods targeted mostly at the United States market. This enormous export of capital from the United States to Mexico will eventually lead to a tipping of the balance of trade in favor of Mexico.

The reason Mexico will be able to profit from an accelerated infusion of capital is because their costs of production are lower. The predetermined policy of holding down Mexican wages and lax environmental measures pursued by the Mexican Government is central to my concern. With the people having no real power to engage in collective bargaining, wages are maintained at deplorable low levels. In the 1970's, the ratio between the United States and Mexican wages was 3 to 1 and today, it is 7 to 1.

Earlier this year, I participated with other congressional women in a congressional fact-finding mission to Mex-

ico. We found individuals who had worked for U.S. corporations for years making \$1.70 performing skilled tasks in electronic and television manufacturing. At the heart of this trend are the actions of an authoritarian government and its attempt to attract foreign capital. This reality refutes the assertion that Mexican workers are paid good wages performing only low skilled jobs.

Another general economic argument offered by proponents of NAFTA is that many of " * * * these jobs would be lost with or without NAFTA." Suggestions are made that these jobs would go to countries in Asian or other countries where there is cheap labor and a productive work force. The argument continues: " * * * real jobs created by NAFTA would be high-tech jobs." The reality is that persons living in rural communities or inner cities, working in apparel or textile, auto parts or TV assembly, will see their jobs disappear. They will experience the economic reality of unemployment in an uncertain economic market. It will be of little comfort or confidence to promise worker retraining for a higher skilled job not identified or nonexistent. We have already seen real jobs lost due to job migration to Mexico, NAFTA will reinforce this trend.

In addition to lower wage and worker safety costs, the lax enforcement of Mexico domestic environmental laws would further lower Mexican production costs. This certainly would be used as an incentive to relocate United States corporations to Mexico, again resulting in labor dislocation here in the United States by impacting United States corporate competitiveness.

Both proponents and opponents recognize the need for funding sources to finance environmental improvements in the border area. The Council of Americas on July 1993 estimated this cost at \$6.6 billion. A regional development bank has been proposed to fund needed infrastructure; toxic waste cleanup would be financed in part by financial institutions selling private stocks. This may have a limited appeal given the nature of toxic waste cleanup without the infusion of large sums of money from the Federal Government and from States situated along the border. The need for additional financing of NAFTA is also required because of the loss in tariff revenues in over \$2½ billion. With all of these factors included, the cost of NAFTA will be passed to the U.S. taxpayer.

Although the North American Free-Trade Agreement has been labeled as good domestic and foreign policy, I believe that we can do better. Any trade agreement must substantively contain a basic respect for the lives of the people it will affect. I do not believe that NAFTA will profit workers in neither the United States or Mexico. Here in the United States, little attention has

been given to the problems NAFTA will create relating to worker dislocation. Our Nation is currently faced with a jobless recovery and cutbacks in defense, and I believe NAFTA will serve to exacerbate economic difficulties. Moreover, the Mexican Government has done little or nothing to ensure that the Mexican workers will profit from increased productivity.

In my own First Congressional District of North Carolina, I fear substantial job loss in the vulnerable low-skilled sector of our economy without proper preparation for new skilled employment opportunities. Throughout the 1980's, thousands of jobs were lost in the apparel and textile industry to overseas competition where real wages were only a fraction of American wages. Thousands of hard-working people could be the victims of this ill-conceived international trade agreement.

Another troubling concern relates to the nature of who will lose if NAFTA were implemented. I believe that NAFTA would adversely affect a large portion of hard-working women who are currently employed in manufacturing. Many of these women are heads of their households and working in vulnerable manufacturing jobs. According to the Congressional Research Service report, there are six "NAFTA-vulnerable" manufacturing sectors where women hold a disproportionately large share of jobs. The devaluation of women's work inside and outside the home is a crucial factor toward this trend of lower wages. NAFTA could negatively affect many families across our Nation and in rural North Carolina.

I believe that we must put a human face on the highly abstract issue of free trade. We must remember the thousands of workers in this country who will see their jobs disappear because of cheaper wages to be attained by U.S. corporations. What will the North American Free-Trade Agreement provide for the families of this Nation who are to be adversely affected by its enactment? I believe we must reject the NAFTA because it represents a bad deal for our Nation. Instead, we must focus on those trade policies which enhance our capability to compete. This NAFTA undercuts American competitiveness by applying the wrong rules to the game of international trade.

Ultimately, I am hopeful that the North American hemisphere will prosper from increased trade. However, I believe we must work toward a hemisphere which comprehensively respects the principles of democracy, pluralism, human rights, and competitive market forces.

STATE LEGISLATURES SHOW THE WAY WITH MORE SUNSHINE LAWS

(Mr. ALLARD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, many State legislatures have sunshine laws which require any meeting between three or more lawmakers to be open to the public. This is one of the best ways of guaranteeing lawmakers are accountable. Only mushrooms and earthworms thrive in the dark, and we all know what feeds both of those. The dark is no place for a sound legislative proposal, especially the Congressional reform proposal. Congress could benefit by adopting the successful tools used by our State houses. We should begin by opening our meetings.

To their credit, progressive committees have already adopted sunshine provisions in their rules. Congress as a whole should follow their lead and demonstrate a general commitment to responsible Government. It is particularly important to open all committee meetings. Most of the detail work in Congress happens at this level. By the time a bill reaches the floor it usually features significant content changes. As with State laws, we can retain closed meetings for the three situations which absolutely require secrecy. These include discussions of national security, personnel inquiries, and ongoing criminal investigations. The rest of our work should be available to the people who elected us to serve here.

Mr. Speaker, there is a general perception that politics is dishonest work. Some of that feeling could be dispelled if our meetings invited people in to see what actually happens and better understand how Congress operates. For years, major corporations have recognized this practice is good for public relations. A little sunshine would do Congress some good.

CZECH REPORT SAID TO IDENTIFY GULF WAR CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS

(Mr. BROWDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWDER. Mr. Speaker, 2 months ago I went to Prague and dug up confirming details of chemical agent detections in the 1991 Gulf war, but the United States Government has withheld an official, unclassified Czech report on the controversy from me and the public.

I want that Czech report. Considering 2 years of virtual denial by the Defense Department that chemical or biological agents were present in the Gulf war, the withholding of this document and cancelled meetings with Members of Congress fall into a disturbing pattern.

This is beginning to look like a classic case of stonewalling, and in my book it is obstructing justice for American veterans with mystery illnesses from that war.

COST-SAVING PROPOSALS REJECTED BY JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

(Mr. FISH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, last week actions were taken by the House Judiciary Committee that can only be described as ill-advised and ironic.

On November 4, the committee met to consider legislation (H.R. 3400), introduced by Majority Leader GEPHARDT, to implement certain aspects of Vice President GORE's National Performance Review. At that time, the Democrat majority of the committee rejected two significant cost-saving proposals contained in the bill.

A major provision the Democrat majority on the Judiciary Committee voted 21-14 to remove from this Clinton administration bill would greatly enhance Federal debt collection efforts. It would have ensured that the United States would receive a 10-percent surcharge on the amount of a debt owed, when the Government has to go to court to collect that debt. In addition, a new debt collection fund would be created, where surcharge proceeds would be earmarked to support expanded debt collection efforts. Last Friday's Washington Post estimated that this idea would result in a savings of \$961 million. Every committee Republican voted to retain this provision; every Democrat voted to take it out.

The second provision would have required Federal prison inmates to pay a nominal fee to partially cover their health care costs. The Attorney General would have discretion to waive the fee for humanitarian reasons—no inmate would be denied health care because of an inability to pay. The estimated savings—\$13.8 million.

Mr. Speaker, everyone knows it is high time for budgetary sanity and economic common sense. How can anyone justify not saving the American taxpayer an estimated \$974.8 million? It is high time that the Democrat Party started reading from the same page on budget cuts and effective Federal debt collection.

MORE COMPANIES, MORE JOBS EXPECTED TO BE LOST IF NAFTA PASSES

(Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in parts of my district such as North Lawndale more than half of my constituents are without work. In the suburban community of Maywood more than 12 percent of the able-bodied people who want to work do not have any jobs. Why is that? That is because some of our oldest and best known manufacturers have gone to Mexico.

Among them are the Quaker Oats Fisher Price Division, Zenith, Lamkin Leather & Rubber, R.R. Donnelley & Sons, American Hospital Supply, North American Philips, Gould Electric Products, Cooper Lighting, Brunswick, Eureka Manufacturing, and Outward Marine Corp. If NAFTA passes next week, more and more companies will leave, more and more of their jobs will be lost, and more and more of our American workers will be considered disposable by those who vote for NAFTA.

Mr. Speaker, I say, vote against this free-trade agreement. It is not free. It is too costly in terms of jobs.

NAFTA: A TOOTHLESS TIGER

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, if you have any doubts about NAFTA, add this convoluted one to your list: the proposed agreement sets up a three-nation dispute settlement process which is supposed to enforce the NAFTA side agreements on environment and labor. But, according to Canadian law, environmental and labor matters fall largely under the jurisdiction of the provinces, not their national government.

Article 41 of the text states Canada may not join the United States as a complaining party against Mexico unless Canada states in writing that the matter would be under their federal jurisdiction, or where the provinces included in the declaration cited account for at least 55 percent of Canada's gross domestic product.

This means a minimum of three Canadian provinces would have to agree or Canada could not participate in enforcement of NAFTA. Since NAFTA requires a two-third vote of the panel, it is very likely that many cases will arise, where under the terms of the agreement, Canada would be unable to support the United States in serious complaints against Mexico.

How is that for a toothless tiger?

NOVEMBER 9: THREE SIGNIFICANT ANNIVERSARIES

(Mr. DORNAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, today is November 9. In the Dornan family that is a birthday of one of my five children, Bob, Jr., and it is a day that I reminded him all of his life is an important day in history, because it is the 65th anniversary of Kristallnacht, where Nazi thugs took to the street, beat up Jewish shop owners, destroyed and burned their shops, and really was the beginning of the true unending violence of World War II that went on for 7 ghastly years.

But it is also the anniversary now of the coming down of the Berlin Wall. It seems amazing that it was 4 years ago. But in that 61-year span, this great Nation of ours was called upon to produce more heroes and heroines than most nations ever throughout history.

I think in the intervening 4 years we have had a chance to reflect on the new world disorder, and that we still need young men and women to stand forth courageously and be heroes in our time.

Mr. Speaker, I met one of those heroes at Fort Campbell on Friday, CWO Michael Durant. He met my airplane with a young widow who lost her husband as one of these great helicopter pilots over Mogadishu October 3.

Mr. Speaker, we are a lucky, lucky nation to have all of these fine young people in our U.S. military forces.

NAFTA AND THE ENVIRONMENT

(Mr. COPPERSMITH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COPPERSMITH. Mr. Speaker, today I want to talk about NAFTA and the environment. I represent a border state, and I know opposing NAFTA really locks us into the status quo. There are no other resources on the horizon to deal with environmental problems along the border. Opposing NAFTA condemns us to today's problems, the lack of infrastructure and pollution, which will only get worse.

NAFTA requires Mexico to unwind the twin plant system, with its adverse job and environmental effects on my State. NAFTA is also the first trade agreement that deals with the environment. The word does not even appear in the General Agreement in Tariff and Trade, and will not, if we do not pass NAFTA.

I also would tell opponents, as the Washington Post said yesterday, that the alliance between progressive and liberal groups on one hand, and Pat Buchanan and Paul Weyrich on the other hand, has turned arguments against NAFTA into an intellectual muddle.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot turn back the clock and preserve a past that never existed. Too many people, too many businesses, would rather freeze progress and rearrange slices of a static pie. I say "no." We need to grow our economy and seek out new markets, new jobs, and new opportunities. Vote "yes" on NAFTA.

LIFE IMPRISONMENT FOR EGREGIOUS RECIDIVISTS

(Mr. LIVINGSTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, 1½ years ago I heard of an initiative in

Washington State called three strikes, you're out. I paraphrased it and called it the LIFER bill, life imprisonment for egregious recidivists, and filed it in the House of Representatives.

The bill would basically say two violent felonies, OK, the State or the Federal Government treats you as they will. On the third one, you go to prison forever. You do not come out. Three violent felonies, or three strikes, and you are out—out of society for good.

Last week Washington State passed that initiative into law by a majority of 76 percent of the voters. Yesterday the U.S. Senate passed the bill by 91 to 1.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] has introduced a companion bill, and I look forward to working with him in getting this very important measure passed into law. I have 100 cosponsors on my bill, H.R. 93.

We know that about 6 percent of the violent criminals commit 70 percent of the violent crime in America today. If we can take those people off the streets, we will score a major victory over crime. I urge cosponsorship of this bill. It is a real crime bill. Let us get it passed.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I agree with him.

NAFTA IS BAD FOR AGRICULTURE

(Mr. POMEROY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, the wheat farmers in my State have lost markets and experienced suppressed prices because of improper Canadian subsidies under the Canadian Free-Trade Agreement. Section 22 was specifically retained in this trade agreement to protect farmers from exactly these circumstances. Although the evidence supporting a section 22 sanction for Canadian wheat exports is clear, this administration, like the administration before it, has done nothing.

This failure to act exposes the biggest failing of trade agreements for the farmers of this country. When multinational trade agreements create problems for agriculture, the diplomatic discomfort of enforcing the treaties comes before protecting our farmers.

A Section 22 action against Canadian wheat exports has nothing to do with NAFTA, but everything to do with whether farmers can ever expect our Government to enforce trade treaties when agriculture issues are at stake. Because under the last trade agreement this has never been demonstrated, NAFTA to North Dakota stands for not another foolish trade agreement. I will be voting "no" on November 17.

INCONSISTENCIES IN RON BROWN INVESTIGATION

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown has been accused of taking a \$700,000 bribe plus other benefits from the Vietnamese Government to lower the trade barriers and to normalize relations with that country, even though we have not had a full accounting of the 2,200 POW-MIA's left behind. We found out later that he lied to the media, and we believe to Members of Congress, about meeting with Mr. Hao, the guy that made the connection with Vietnam. We believe that he may have even lied to Congress when he appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs about this.

Mr. Speaker, there was a grand jury impaneled because the man who is his chief accuser passed a 6-hour lie detector test in Florida, administered by the FBI. But that gentleman, Mr. Binh Ly, has never been called before the grand jury to testify.

Mr. Speaker, why is that? Is the Justice Department trying to whitewash this whole issue?

It seems to me that Mr. Ly ought to be called. Now we find out in Time Magazine this week that officials at the White House are saying that Ron Brown is likely to be let off. They are confident this case will be dismissed.

Something is funny here. How does the White House know about what the grand jury is doing down there? They are not supposed to be involved in a grand jury investigation. Something is funny. The Justice Department should be taken to task for not calling Mr. Binh Ly to testify.

DO NOT HURT PEOPLE WITH WELFARE REFORM

(Mr. FORD of Tennessee asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues are about to release a welfare reform proposal here tomorrow. They say that the problem is no one works, illegitimacy, and too much welfare for too many immigrants.

□ 1210

They say the solution is to establish paternity, restrict welfare, and crack down on deadbeat dads. If we look at the evidence, the problem is not that welfare recipients choose not to work, but that welfare recipients do not have the job skills to get jobs that will support their children.

They say most of the increase in poverty and welfare is caused by illegitimacy. I believe they are wrong, and

not only because of their poor choice of words. It is that Republicans ought to wake up as they try to propose and fashion their welfare package. Most economists believe technology has changed the mainstream, and therefore has caused a lot of poverty in this country. These parents do not need more preaching by the Republicans, they need job preparation.

They say we spend too much on welfare for immigrants. In some cases, this might be right, but let us not forget that we are a nation of immigrants. I ask that we look very closely at this welfare proposal by the Republicans.

AMERICA'S CRIME EPIDEMIC

(Mrs. VUCANOVICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. VUCANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, America is in the grip of a crime epidemic. Every year, nearly 6 million people, including 2 million women, are victims of violent crime. It both saddens and infuriates me to turn on the local news or open the paper and be constantly pounded with headlines detailing the newest criminal outrage.

The unfortunate reality in our great Nation is that crime pays. Studies show that violent criminals serve only about one-third of their sentences before being released. It is no wonder that violent crime has increased sevenfold since the 1950's.

On paper, the solution to this crime epidemic is simple: we must deter people from committing crimes in the first place. This means far stiffer penalties, including the death penalty for the most serious criminals, such as drug kingpins, and longer prison sentences in places where inmates actually pay for their crimes, not sit around and watch TV. Until a criminal actually fears the consequences of being caught, we simply do not have a chance to solve our Nation's crime problem.

Women of America are demanding safe streets. We cannot and should not ignore their plea.

THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE-TRADE AGREEMENT

(Mr. TEJEDA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TEJEDA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strongest support for the North American Free-Trade Agreement [NAFTA]. A window of economic opportunity is before us; in just a few short days, we must decide whether to move forward to more trade and long-term growth, or whether to look backward, regressing into an isolated and protectionism posture.

Passing NAFTA will create opportunity: opportunities for increased ex-

ports; opportunities to boost economic reform in Mexico; opportunities for United States companies to stay in the United States instead of moving to Mexico; opportunities for creative solutions to longstanding problems, such as the polluted border environment, severe lack of border infrastructure and the pain of worker displacement; and opportunities to strengthen goodwill between the United States and Mexico, and with other Latin American countries.

On the other hand, defeating NAFTA will not create jobs, and will not solve our United States-Mexico environmental border problems. Defeating NAFTA will not prevent job loss to Mexico or Asia. That is happening now, without NAFTA.

If we do not take advantage of this tremendous opportunity, Japan and the European Economic Community certainly will. Let us not slam the window shut on our children's and grandchildren's economic futures.

TRIBUTE TO TOM LANDRY

(Mr. BARTON of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday at the halftime of the Dallas-New York Giant football game, Tom Landry, long-time coach of the Dallas Cowboys, was inducted into the Cowboy Ring of Honor.

This was an honor that was well-deserved. We are all familiar with Coach Landry's football accomplishments: two Super Bowl wins, five Super Bowl appearances, a lifetime winning percentage over 600 percent, almost 300 career victories.

What many people are not familiar with are his accomplishments off the field, as one of the most eloquent spokesmen for the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and many other charities, and a man who devotes a tremendous amount of time to his family. On numerous occasions I have tried to contact Coach Landry to help in a charitable event. I have been told that he was unavailable and he would call back in 5 or 10 minutes from home, where he was babysitting his grandchildren. He and his wife Alicia, their sons and daughters, truly do live the American dream.

Of all the outstanding people I have had the honor to get to know as a public figure, Coach Tom Landry is one of the most impressive and well-deserving of this honor, being inducted into the Cowboy Ring of Honor at Texas Stadium.

NAFTA IS A BAD DEAL

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the great majority of people in this country recognize that the North American Free Trade Agreement is a job killer. It hurts small business, it devastates communities. Now, having lost the jobs and wage debate, the pro-NAFTA people have tried to turn the issue to a foreign policy side, saying if we do not pass NAFTA the Salinas government will run into all kinds of problems, there will be more immigration, it will create crises all around the world for the United States and for foreign policy.

What they do not explain is that we have no business helping the Mexican Government, a government that for 65 years has been a one-party government, the PRI, longer than any single-party reign in the world. There are numerous human rights violations, assassinations, and imprisonment of labor leaders, of political opponents, of journalists all across that country. In Mexico, 36 families control over 36 percent of the wealth. And, most importantly, wages in Mexico have gone down 30 percent over the last 12 years, while productivity has gone up.

NAFTA is a bad deal. It is a job killer. NAFTA is a bad deal and it hurts small business. NAFTA is a bad deal. It hurts our community.

ILLINOIS LEADS BY EXAMPLE ON BUDGET BALANCING

(Mr. EWING asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, Governor Florio of New Jersey could have learned a lesson from Governor Edgar of Illinois.

Our Governor has proven that it is possible to balance a budget without raising taxes. When Jim Edgar ran for Governor in 1990, he pledged to hold the line on taxes. As he always does, Governor Edgar kept his word and forced a reluctant legislature to cut spending in order to balance the budget. It was not easy, but our State made real spending cuts and balanced our budget without eliminating vital social services.

In contrast to New Jersey, Governor Edgar has the strong support of the people of Illinois as he announces his bid for reelection because he has demonstrated that you can cut spending and reject tax increases. Most Americans realize this simple fact. Too bad the Governor of New Jersey did not. Hopefully the majority in Congress will get this message before they are "Floriod" by the voters.

NAFTA, A BAD DEAL FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

(Mr. DERRICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERRICK. Mr. Speaker, I must admit I am a bit confused by some of the arguments NAFTA supporters have been making. On the one hand, they say Mexico's wages will rise under NAFTA because Mexican workers are becoming more and more productive. With an increase in the wages, they say, Mexicans will then be able to buy more American exports.

But on the other hand, they say "Don't worry. American businesses will not move their plants to Mexico. It is not worth it. Even though the average Mexican is paid about \$1 an hour, their productivity is not very high."

It seems to me that NAFTA supporters are more concerned with rationalizing their position than they are with making sure American workers are not sacrificed by this poorly thought-out agreement.

Under NAFTA there will be more jobs for Mexican workers, while hundreds of thousands of Americans will lose their jobs. Many of those who do not lose their jobs will see their wages depressed when they are forced to compete with workers making \$1 an hour.

Mr. Speaker, NAFTA is a bad deal for American workers, and it should not pass.

INTRODUCTION OF THE MANDATORY SPENDING CONTROL ACT OF 1993

(Mr. SCHAEFER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHAEFER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, President Clinton proposed a Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement Reform to recommend savings in mandatory spending programs.

It is time that every Member of this body recognize, as the President now does, that the deficit will never go away until Congress honestly deals with the entitlements now consuming over one-half of our budget.

Unfortunately, the President's Commission is a toothless tiger. Since Congress is not compelled to consider its recommendations, we will likely ignore them much as we ignored the Grace Commission.

Today I am introducing legislation with real teeth. The Mandatory Spending Control Act will create a commission whose recommendations will limit the growth of mandatory spending to 3 percent per year. Under my bill, these recommendations must be considered by Congress. If Congress follows the Commission's recommendations, the budget will be balanced in just 6 years.

I urge my colleagues to cosponsor the Mandatory Spending Control Act of 1993.

□ 1220

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, the wife from Manassas was tired of the hassles, and having been sexually forced, she went to the kitchen and grabbed a knife, prepared to take her husband's life. But she thought such revenge was just too heinous, so she cut off instead his penis.

And Mr. Speaker, I can assure you this husband will not come home drunk, nor rape his wife anymore. And I do not know if he plays the piano, but from here on out he is singing soprano.

But the serious part of this is it is a sad day in America when women have to take matters into their own hands to get some justice in our troubled land.

With that, I yield back this pain and suffering.

A VERY BAD CALL

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, the President has just made a very bad call. He has said "no" to a balanced budget amendment. Even though 7 of 10 Americans support this effort to force Government to live within its means, President Clinton says "no." Why? Maybe he is afraid real spending controls would cramp his liberal, old-fashioned Democrat, big-spending style. Or maybe he is afraid the proposal would shut down his efforts to syphon more revenue from the pockets of American taxpayers. Or maybe it is just that he is tired of being President and ready to move out of the White House—something that could happen if he continues to oppose the types of fiscal accountability Americans are demanding. As one administration official put it, the President's decision is "on the wrong side of the spending issue and on the wrong side of the voters." I guess that makes it consistent, if nothing else. Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, we need what most Americans want—a balanced budget amendment.

WEIGHING THE CONSEQUENCES OF SANCTIONS ON HAITI

(Mr. TORRICELLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, in imposing an embargo on Haiti, the United States is making clear that we stand for democracy in a troubled land. But democracy is not all that America wants for Haiti or for the developing world.

In one of the poorest nations in the world we also want people to have a chance to live a decent life, to be free from disease, to have an economy that can grow and prosper. It is critical in this fight to help restore democracy in Haiti that sanctions be applied against the military leadership, the oligarchs who have denied these people the chance for democratic government. But in applying those sanctions broadly against all of Haitian society, we raise the specter that we may restore democracy, but we may also allow for a situation where contagious disease, and famine and poverty consume an already desperate nation.

I urge the administration in their enthusiasm to restore the Arside government not to lose the larger and broader American objectives for the Haitian people.

INCREASING THE PERSONAL EXEMPTION FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

(Mr. WOLF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, most Republican and Democratic Members are concerned about the breakup of the American family. Every indicator, from child abuse to spouse abuse to teen violence to teen pregnancy, all show we are going the wrong way.

We saw the other day that the Senate passed a bill to create more prisons with billions and billions of dollars. I have a bill where we have 197 cosponsors which would increase the personal exemption for families for children from the current \$2,300 to \$3,500. We have Republicans and Democrats on this bill.

This would do more to help the American family, to help moms and dads on child care, on education, on health care or whatever the case may be. I would ask all Members before they go home for Thanksgiving, please call my office and cosponsor H.R. 436, a bipartisan bill that would do more to help the American family than anything that I think we are working on or talking about, building new prisons or doing all of these things.

Let us give moms and dads a chance to keep more of their hard-earned money whereby they can make the decisions to help the American family. As American values go and family values go, so goes the country.

Please call my office and cosponsor H.R. 436.

THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, crime turned out to be the major issue in last week's elections. Here in Congress jails, more police on the streets, fewer guns, and death penalties have been the debate for weeks. Here in the District of Columbia, and around the country, children are reacting to the slightest provocation with violence. We see violence on TV. We read about violence in the papers. Our children are in danger in their own schools.

Yes, we need more jail space. Yes, we need more cops on the beat. Yes, we need to be tough on crime. But, we cannot crack the culture of violence that these kids are growing up in unless we address the violence in their homes. Violence will occur at least once in two-thirds of all marriages. The only legislation in this body effectively designed to address domestic violence is the Violence Against Women Act.

Domestic violence is a crime that has been ignored by police and prosecutors, and disregarded by judges. Between 22-35 percent of women who visit the emergency rooms are there because of symptoms related to on-going abuse. And 2,000 to 4,000 women are beaten to death every year. Violent homes are a breeding ground for abused children and later, if they receive no help, violent adults.

Anti-crime legislation that fails to address violence at its roots—in the home—is not anticrime legislation. It is a waste of time and money. A lot of us like to think of home as the safest place, but for victims of domestic violence and their children, home is the most dangerous place of all. Let us pass the Violence Against Women Act before the session ends.

AMERICA'S IDEALISM LIVES AGAIN IN "MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON"

(Mr. SMITH of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today we need the same dedication, patriotism and ideals that some of our predecessors had.

Because of tonight's premiere of the restored 1939 classic, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," I quote from statements made by that Mr. Smith:

We need to bring together kids from all creeds, kinds, and all walks of life. To educate them in American ideals, to promote mutual understanding and to bring about a healthful life to the youth of this great and beautiful land.

You see, kids forget what their country means by just reading "The Land of the Free" and history books—and when they grow up they forget even more.

Liberty is too precious a thing to be buried in books. Men should hold it up in front of them every single day of their lives and say—I'm free to think and to speak. My ancestors couldn't, I can, and my children will.

Kids ought to grow up remembering that. They got to see it like that Capitol Dome.

Mr. Speaker, as one of the five Mr. SMITH's in this body, I hope that we can recapture the American idealism of Jimmy Stewart's characterization of Jeff Smith.

NORTH AMERICAN FREE-TRADE AGREEMENT

(Mrs. UNSOELD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. UNSOELD. Mr. Speaker, our NAFTA negotiators did a terrific job of making Mexico safe for United States investment. The agreement forces the Mexican Government to amend several laws to do so. But our negotiators failed to insist that they take any steps to end the antiworker policies.

In failing to do so, this NAFTA does nothing to end the suppression of Mexican wages. And low Mexican wages in an atmosphere of more secure foreign investment will lead to an outflow of United States investment and United States jobs.

A NAFTA truly in the best interest of United States and Mexican workers would end the Mexican government's policy of holding down wages to attract foreign investment. It would end their restrictions on collective bargaining. It would prize the rights of workers as highly as it does security of investment.

We must send our negotiations back to the bargaining table with instructions to get it right.

TURNING JAPANESE

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, if you love our \$55 billion trade deficit with Japan now, and if you wish more American jobs would go to Japan, you will vote against NAFTA.

If you think the land of the Rising Sun should have a clear shot at Mexico's markets, without strong competition from American products, you will vote against NAFTA.

If you want to encourage a closer working agreement between the Mexican and Japanese economies, freezing out American companies, you will vote against NAFTA.

If you are a friend of the Japanese worker and a foe of the American worker, you will vote against NAFTA.

Mr. Speaker, the Mexican Government is going to turn to Japan for their products, and reject products made in this country, if we reject NAFTA. That is why Japan strongly opposes NAFTA.

Support the American worker. Support NAFTA.

□ 1230

REPUBLICAN HAT TRICK

(Mr. SMITH of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in hockey they call it a hat trick.

That's the hockey phrase for scoring three goals and that is what Republicans did in last week's elections.

In baseball, they call it batting a thousand.

That is the baseball phrase for getting a hit in every time at bat and that is what Republicans have done in all six major elections since Bill Clinton was elected President.

President Clinton and his liberal game-plan of big government, bigger spending, and biggest taxes have been the best coaches that the Republican party could have—they have shown us how not to do it.

In New York, New Jersey, and Virginia the Democrats will be riding the pine because Democrats ran the wrong way and snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.

They should have been tougher on criminals than on taxpayers.

Instead of just talking about reform, they should have heeded the Republicans battle cry of "Real Reform Now."

Whatever the sport, however you want to say it, America won because the Republicans won last Tuesday.

SUPPORT THE GILMAN AMENDMENT TO BRING OUR TROOPS HOME FROM SOMALIA

(Mr. WELDON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Speaker, how many more lives will be lost in Somalia? The American people in poll after poll have said alarmingly to bring our troops home now. But this President wants us to keep troops there through March 31.

Today this body will have another chance to vote on this issue.

What is our mission today? one disgruntled military officer in Somalia called it duck and run, because our troops are basically hiding away from the Somalia clans.

But last week it was Ambassador Oakley who said to the clan leaders, and I quote, "Soon American troops will resume patrolling the city streets, clearing roadblocks and disarming the technicals," to which Aideed responded on Sunday, "There will be trouble if the Americans start patrolling the streets again."

Mr. Speaker, what will change from now until March 31? How much more money will we spend in Somalia over the \$2 billion we have already spent

there on this operation? How many more lives will be lost above the 35 that have already been killed there?

I urge our colleagues today to vote for the Gilman amendment to bring our troops home as soon and as expeditiously as possible and not to have any more loss of life 8,000 miles from our borders.

MEMBERS URGED TO SUPPORT THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT

(Mrs. MORELLA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, whether walking alone down city streets late at night, driving to work in quiet suburban neighborhoods, or even "Home Alone" with their loved ones, for women and girls in America, violence is an everyday fact of life.

In this country, every 5 minutes a woman is raped, every 15 seconds a woman is beaten by her husband or companion, and every year 4,000 women are killed by their abusers.

Street and domestic violence costs our Nation 5.3 billion health care dollars annually. More than 30 percent of women in emergency rooms are there because of domestic violence, and more than 60 percent of the women in mental health wards are there because of ongoing abuse.

It is time for this Congress to act. It is time for Congress to pass the Violence Against Women Act.

Require all States to enforce orders of protection regardless of State or origin and to encourage mandatory arrest policies.

Provide grants for rape prevention and more effective law enforcement strategies and for training our judges about rape and domestic violence.

Grant permission for battered immigrant women, the spouses of U.S. citizens or legal residents, to self-petition for legal status for themselves and their children.

And, most importantly, declare that crimes motivated by gender to be bias crimes and violations of an individual's civil rights.

For too long we have tolerated increasing levels of violence against women and girls. For too long we have tolerated the twin evils of violence and sexism in our society. Now, we say we have had enough.

It is time, Mr. Speaker, to pass the Violence Against Women Act.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3167, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AMENDMENTS OF 1993

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 298 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 298

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 3167) to extend the emergency unemployment compensation program, to establish a system of worker profiling, and for other purposes. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). The gentlewoman from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER] is recognized for 1 hour.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the customary 30 minutes of debate time to the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER] pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 298 provides for the consideration of the conference report on H.R. 3167, Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1993.

The rule waives all points of order against the conference report and against its consideration. Waivers are required because the conference report has not been available for 3 days and the conference report includes two technical amendments which are in violation of the House rule on the scope of conference. One technical amendment conforms the railroad workers extension effective dates to those for the other workers in the bill. The other technical amendment, necessitated by the delay in passage of this bill, would set the effective date of a provision of the bill as October 3, 1993, the day after the previous extension ended, instead of the date of enactment.

The rule further provides that the conference report shall be considered as read.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report on H.R. 3167, for which the committee has recommended this rule, extends Federal emergency unemployment compensation to those exhausting their regular unemployment compensation benefits between October 3, 1993 and February 5, 1994.

While the economic news is hopeful, the national recovery is still not strong enough to provide jobs for all the workers seeking employment. Passage of this legislation is essential to provide an additional safety net for these workers and for their families.

Mr. Speaker, 38 days have passed since the expiration of these benefits which are so important to the survival and dignity of thousands of American families. Unhappily, we have made this bill a political football for too long. I ask my colleagues to support the rule so that we may proceed with consideration of the merits of this vital conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, when our colleagues in the other body took up the emergency unemployment benefits extension bill after it was delayed by the House leadership, they adopted a very important amendment. By a vote of 82 to 14, they approved an amendment to bring about a reduction of 252,000 Federal employees by 1999—a proposal made earlier this year by President Clinton and supported with the National Performance Review submitted by Vice President GORE.

Last Thursday the House voted 275 to 146 to instruct conferees to accept the Senate amendment.

Now, Mr. Speaker, one would think that, based on the overwhelming support for this amendment in both the House and the Senate, this provision would be included in the conference report. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, it is not. And the reason stems from a procedural abuse known as the motion to instruct conferees, which gets to the root of one of the major problems which exists in this institution, and that is a lack of accountability.

Because the motion to instruct conferees is not binding, Members can vote for the popular position on a bill without the threat of that position becoming law. The Senate amendment on Federal work force reductions is the most recent example of this abuse.

The overwhelming vote in both Chambers also contradicts a contention by some of our colleagues that the work force reduction amendment was only a tactic to delay approval of this bill.

Needless to say, Mr. Speaker, we would not be here debating this measure had the Democrat leadership not tried to force the House to choose between benefits to unemployed Americans and benefits to immigrant aliens.

Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to yield such time as he may consume to my colleague from the Committee on Rules, the distinguished former mayor of Sanibel, FL, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss].

□ 1240

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend the gentleman from greater San Dimas, CA, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, today we bring down the curtain on the fifth act in this emergency unemployment compensation drama. The script has taken many twists and turns, with much suspense and heightened rhetoric. But here we are today, more than a month after the latest emergency was declared—back to square one and a predictably bad ending. This conference report is virtually identical to the measure first

passed by this House on October 15. This gentleman and many colleagues know full well that we should be quite troubled by the smoke-and-mirrors accounting gimmicks that have been used to predict a happy budget landing for this bill.

It will be a miracle if this thing comes down without crashing, given the prognosis and the mechanisms that we are using to pay for it.

Actually, I think it is more a matter of hubris—the same type of prideful tragic flaw that has so many times led this body toward ever higher deficits. I remain concerned about the tendency of this House to fall back on emergency designations rather than implementing long-term, economic fixes to increase productivity and job creation so more Americans can return to meaningful work.

Why do we have to declare emergencies when there is a better way?

Today we have yet another problem that my colleague, the gentleman from California, has alluded to. Since the conference committee, in what must be record time of less than 5 minutes, jettisoned an important amendment crafted in the other body to implement a key provision of the administration's reinventing government proposal. This amendment, which sought to phase out more than 250,000 unneeded, unnecessary, redundant, wasteful Federal jobs over 5 years, was dropped in conference despite the fact that 82 Members of the other body and 275 Members of this House support adding it to H.R. 3167. We are once again bypassing a very fine opportunity for reform—reform that Americans are asking for—buying a vague promise of action sometime down the road.

I well remember the Speaker saying that this was going to be the month of reform, after last month was the month of reform. We have not got to reform, and it does not look like we are going to get to reform this year. I certainly hope we are going to get to it by next year.

It is a tragedy-comedy of error and arrogance that is all too familiar to this Member and most Americans, especially in light of the fact that the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the other body this weekend made a statement saying, "We have cut discretionary spending to the bone." I do not think anybody in America really believes that.

Mr. Speaker, this rule waives all points of order against the conference report—something I am always loathe to do. However, it does allow us to finally move beyond the cat and mouse moves that have kept us in suspense and in gridlock. And for that I think we can all be thankful, and those who need unemployment compensation assistance can be grateful; but it is time to end this long-running drama. Even this emergency bill should not have nine lives.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Sanibel, FL, opened and closed the debate from our side, but I would like to say that I urge a "no" vote on this rule.

The House voted 275 to 146 in support of the amendment that would allow for the reduction of 252,000 Federal workers, and it seems to me that this conference report grossly violates the will of both the House and the Senate.

So, Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on this rule so that we can come forward with the original package.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the millions of Americans who are out of work, who are dependent upon the unemployment insurance to tide them over, to help them pay their bills, to pay their mortgages and try to keep themselves together with dignity, I urge all Members of this House to vote in support of this rule so that we may get with attending to what all of us realize is a very serious problem.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 249, nays 172, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 551]

YEAS—249

Abercrombie	Browder	Danner
Ackerman	Brown (CA)	Darden
Andrews (ME)	Brown (FL)	de la Garza
Andrews (NJ)	Brown (OH)	Deal
Andrews (TX)	Bryant	DeFazio
Applegate	Byrne	DeLauro
Bacchus (FL)	Cantwell	Derrick
Baessler	Cardin	Deutsch
Barca	Carr	Dicks
Barcia	Chapman	Dingell
Barrett (WI)	Clay	Dixon
Becerra	Clayton	Dooley
Berman	Clement	Durbin
Bevill	Clyburn	Edwards (CA)
Billbray	Coleman	Edwards (TX)
Bishop	Collins (IL)	Engel
Blackwell	Collins (MI)	English (AZ)
Bonior	Conyers	English (OK)
Borski	Coppersmith	Eshoo
Boucher	Costello	Evans
Brewster	Coyne	Farr
Brooks	Cramer	Fazio

Fields (LA)
Filner
Fingerhut
Fish
Flake
Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank (MA)
Frost
Furse
Gedjenson
Geren
Gibbons
Gilman
Glickman
Gonzalez
Green
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hamburg
Hamilton
Harman
Hastings
Hayes
Hefner
Hilliard
Hinchev
Hoagland
Hochbrueckner
Holden
Houghton
Hoyer
Hughes
Hutto
Inslee
Jefferson
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (SD)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnston
Kanjorski
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kiecicka
Klein
Klink
Kopetski
Kreidler
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
LaRocco
Laughlin
Lehman
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lloyd

Long
Lowey
Maloney
Mann
Manton
Margolies
Mezvinsky
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCurdy
McDermott
McHale
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek
Menendez
Mfume
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Minge
Mink
Mollohan
Montgomery
Moran
Morella
Murphy
Murtha
Nadler
Natcher
Neal (MA)
Neal (NC)
Oberstar
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Orton
Owens
Pallone
Parker
Pastor
Payne (NJ)
Payne (VA)
Pelosi
Peterson (FL)
Peterson (MN)
Pickett
Pickle
Pomeroy
Poshard
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Reed
Reynolds
Richardson
Roemer
Rostenkowski
Rowland

Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanders
Sangmeister
Sarpius
Sawyer
Schenk
Schroeder
Schumer
Scott
Serrano
Sharp
Shepherd
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skeltton
Slatery
Slaughter
Smith (IA)
Spratt
Stark
Stenholm
Stokes
Strickland
Studds
Stupak
Swift
Synar
Tanner
Tausin
Tejeda
Thompson
Thornton
Thurman
Torres
Torrice
Towns
Traficant
Tucker
Unsoeld
Valentine
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Voikmer
Washington
Waters
Watt
Waxman
Wheat
Whitten
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Woolsey
Wyden
Wynn
Yates

Levy
Lewis (CA)
Lightfoot
Linder
Livingston
Machtley
Manzullo
McCandless
McCollum
McCrery
McDade
McHugh
McInnis
McKeon
McMillan
Meyers
Mica
Michel
Miller (FL)
Molinar
Moorhead
Myers
Nussle
Oxley
Packard
Paxon
Penny

Pombo
Porter
Portman
Pryce (OH)
Quillen
Quinn
Ramstad
Ravenel
Regula
Ridge
Roberts
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Roth
Roukema
Royce
Santorum
Saxton
Schaefer
Schiff
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shays
Shuster
Skeen
Smith (MI)

Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)
Snowe
Solomon
Spence
Stearns
Stump
Sundquist
Talent
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Thomas (CA)
Thomas (WY)
Torkildsen
Upton
Vucanovich
Walker
Walsh
Weldon
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)
Zeliff
Zimmer

NOT VOTING—12

Barlow
Beilenson
Bellums
Fields (TX)
Gephardt
Gordon
Kaptur
Lambert
Lewis (FL)
Moakley
Petri
Rose

□ 1304

Messrs. POMBO, HERGER, and CONDIT changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 298, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 3167) to extend the emergency unemployment compensation program, to establish a system of worker profiling, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 298, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of Monday, November 8, 1993, at page 37769.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI].

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference agreement on H.R. 3167, the Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1993. This legislation will extend the authorization for new claims under the Emergency Unemployment Compensation, or EUC, program from October 2, 1993, through February 5, 1994. It also continues the reforms needed to reorient our unemployment

compensation system to emphasize re-employment.

It has been over 2½ years since the bottom of the recession. While job growth has improved, most of us know from our time spent back home that unemployment remains a problem. Last Friday's unemployment report simply confirms our experience: the unemployment rate rose slightly to 6.8 percent. And long-term unemployment—at which the EUC program is targeted—remains significantly higher than when this program first was enacted.

Over its 4-month life, H.R. 3167 will provide assistance to roughly 1 million workers and their families who are expected to exhaust regular State benefits. Workers will receive either 7 or 13 weeks of emergency benefits, depending on the unemployment rates in each State. About two hundred and fifty thousand of these workers already have filed claims for assistance and will receive benefits retroactively.

H.R. 3167 also includes an administration proposal that will reduce the cost of unemployment to Government and workers. Workers who have lost their jobs permanently will be identified early in their spells of unemployment, and will engage in intensive job search activities. Rigorous studies demonstrate that the unemployed will find jobs sooner than otherwise, and the Federal Government will save \$764 million over the budget period.

Mr. Speaker, the bill before us is the same bill—except for two technical amendments—that this body resoundingly approved 3½ weeks ago. The conference committee chose wisely to delete from the final agreement a Senate amendment, which would have meant-tested the EUC program for the first time. This amendment was bad policy; furthermore, it would have been near impossible for States to administer.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to put an end to the delays that have characterized this legislation, and to approve this conference report quickly. The hundreds of thousands of Americans who are without work have earned this support, which will help tide their families over during the coming holidays.

□ 1310

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume and ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The majority leadership in the House and Senate have done it again. Their Democrat conferees on this measure took less than 5 minutes to ignore overwhelming votes in both chambers—and strike from the bill the Senate amendment to cut the Federal work force by 252,000 employees.

As you'll recall, that Senate amendment had passed the other body on a

NAYS—172

Allard
Archer
Arney
Bachus (AL)
Baker (CA)
Baker (LA)
Ballenger
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Bentley
Bereuter
Bilirakis
Bliley
Blute
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bunning
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Canady
Castle
Clinger
Coble
Collins (GA)
Combest

Condit
Cooper
Cox
Crane
Crapo
Cunningham
DeLay
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Doolittle
Dornan
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Emerson
Everett
Ewing
Fawell
Fowler
Franks (CT)
Franks (NJ)
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gingrich
Goodlatte
Goodling
Goss
Grams

Grandy
Greenwood
Gunderson
Hancock
Hansen
Hastert
Hefley
Herger
Hobson
Hoekstra
Hoke
Horn
Huffington
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Ingalls
Inhofe
Istook
Jacobs
Johnson, Sam
Kasich
Kim
King
Kington
Klug
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kyl
Lazio
Leach

vote of 82 to 14. My motion to instruct House conferees to concur in that amendment passed the House on a vote of 275 to 146.

At the close of this debate, my distinguished colleague on the Ways and Means Committee—Mr. CRANE of Illinois—will offer a motion to recommit the bill to the conference with instructions—again—to insist on the Senate amendment. We'll see who was serious about the earlier vote.

The administration and Democrats in Congress have made it clear that they're not serious at all about putting teeth into the rhetoric of cutting the Federal work force over 6 years. Those who want to preserve the bloated Federal bureaucracy made that clear in conference.

The reinventing Government crowd is more interested in rejuvenating it.

But that's not really surprising in a bill to provide another extension of a so-called temporary program which has been extended over and over and over.

Like the Energizer Bunny, it just keeps going and going.

Nearly 2 years ago, Congress enacted the Emergency Unemployment Compensation program as a temporary program to provide Federal benefits to the long-term unemployed.

Today, we are considering the conference report on a fourth extension—and I have no confidence whatsoever that it will be the final one. It's not justified by current economic conditions, but that doesn't seem to matter.

Members are ignoring the fact that we have a Federal and State matching extended benefit system in place already if States choose to implement it. It's designated to address situations exactly like the one we're in today.

It assists States where unemployment is high—without spending precious tax dollars unnecessarily in States with virtually no unemployment at all.

The sense of nationwide economic distress that was used to justify creation of the emergency program no longer exists. The program in fact delivered more benefits than it was expected to.

The initial program—and its three earlier extensions—were estimated to cost some \$15 billion. By the end of September, it had actually provided approximately \$25 billion in Federal benefits in its 2-year existence.

This latest extension is supposed to cost about \$1.1 billion—but who believes that estimate will hold up either?

There's been no sense of urgency about this fourth extension. It's been more like a plodding inevitability as the Democrat leadership has stumbled along for several weeks trying to figure out.

Today we are back at it again. I have no doubt that the votes will be there to pass this extension. Mine won't be one of them.

I for one think it's time to let this temporary program expire as it was intended—and to let the underlying matching program do its job.

Yes, the States would have to put up some matching funds under those circumstances, and it would not be 100 percent financed by the Federal Government. But that is the law. It should be permitted to take effect.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLAY].

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report accompanying H.R. 3167. In conference, the Senate receded to the House on a non-germane amendment that would have imposed inflexible and irresponsible employment ceilings on the Federal Government. That amendment constituted an unnecessary intrusion into the administrative responsibilities and operations of the executive branch. It sought to force savings by imposing personnel ceilings regardless of whether those ceilings adversely affected efficiency or the ability of Government to deliver essential services.

If we are honestly interested in achieving savings and improving efficiency, then personnel levels should not be arbitrarily predetermined, but must reflect the realities of existing circumstances. To try to dictate in 1993 what the size of the Government must be in 1999 is not simply fanciful, it is foolish. Congress can and does control employment levels more efficiently in the annual budget process and will ultimately achieve greater savings in this manner.

I understand that a motion will be offered by a Member on the other side of the aisle to recommit the conference report with instructions that the House take the Senate amendment. In my view, it is deplorable that some in this body would jeopardize the welfare of ordinary Americans by further delaying the extension of unemployment benefits over this issue. Unemployment remains a major problem in this country. Unemployment today is only two-tenths of a percent less than it was when the emergency unemployment benefits plan was enacted in November 1991. More than 8.5 million Americans are still looking for work—1.7 million Americans have been out of work for more than 6 months. The current authorization to pay emergency benefits to new claimants expired on Saturday, October 2. Unless the conference report is adopted, those unemployed workers whose regular unemployment benefits have expired since October 2 will continue to be left without any further unemployment benefits.

The motion to recommit increases the suffering and hardship that Americans are facing in order to score political points against the administration

in support of a ludicrous provision that I believe is deliberately intended to frustrate rather than further efficient and cost effective government. Let us be absolutely clear about what is going on here. This is not about reducing the deficit or achieving savings. This is not about policy. This is pure, blatant politics. The well-being of unemployed Americans is being held hostage to the process. The motion to recommit, if adopted, will not improve government efficiency. It will only serve to further delay the extension of unemployment benefits. Though cloaked in popular rhetoric, the motion to recommit reflects bad policy, and is being pursued for bad ends. I urge Members to defeat the motion to recommit and approve the conference report.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER].

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is interesting that we have just had a discussion about the unemployment bill being held hostage, when for now 6 weeks the bill has been held hostage to special interest concerns on the Democratic side of the aisle. We had it held hostage because the financing mechanism was not proper. We have had various groups playing games with this bill over on that side. Now, 6 weeks into the process, 6 weeks after people stopped getting their unemployment checks, all of a sudden it becomes important to move the bill very quickly.

Why is it important now to move the bill? Well, because there is a desire on the part of both the House and the Senate, expressed by the majority votes in both of those bodies, to eliminate 252,000 employees, as per Vice President GORE's National Performance Review.

□ 1320

However, the committee, in the games that Congress plays, has decided, despite the majority action in both bodies, to come back with a bill that does not include the elimination of 252,000 Federal employees.

Why do we want to pass the bill quickly? So that Congress can cover its tracks, so that everybody can figure out that we have cast our votes saying we were for 252,000 employees being eliminated, but when it comes to the real action, we are really not for it. This is a perfect example of what happens when people go into back rooms and decide to make decisions.

The public action of the Congress has been to say, "Cut the Federal work force." The public action is in support of the administration's performance review. The administration has said they want precisely that number of employees cut. Now we have a bill on the floor that, while both houses voted within this bill to say they wanted to do what

the President wants to do, we do not have that accomplished.

I think we ought to vote for the motion to recommit. Let us send this back. This will not delay anything. This could be done in the conference committee in a matter of minutes. The bill could come back over here, and we would accomplish two things. First of all, we would assure that people get their unemployment benefits. Second, we would assure that the Federal work force drops by 252,000 employees. That is what should happen here today.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD], and ask unanimous consent that he be allowed to control the time on this side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). Without objection, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD] is authorized to control the time.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report that is before the committee today. Mr. Speaker, this is the third occasion we will have an opportunity to vote to pass this conference report and these emergency unemployment compensation benefits. The Committee on Ways and Means reported the bill out. October 2 was the last day for workers to exhaust all of their benefits. That is long past us now. It has been over a month.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that the quarter of a million people who have exhausted all of those benefits would be taken into consideration today, and we give final approval so those who have exhausted those emergency benefits will be able to go and receive those benefits immediately.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote to pass this conference report and let us get on by providing the emergency unemployment compensation benefits to the unemployed in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to my respected colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CRANE].

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, at the close of debate today I intend to offer a motion to recommit the conference report. My motion simply sends the report back to conference and instructs our conferees to do what we told them to do last time on a vote of 275 to 146—concur in the Senate amendment to cut the Federal bureaucracy by 252,000 employees.

It is outrageous that in less than 5 minutes the conferees dropped a provision that was overwhelmingly agreed to in both Chambers.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the Gramm provision summarily dropped by conferees will save

American taxpayers more than \$21 billion over the next 5 years alone.

It was originally offered in the other body by Senator GRAMM and adopted by an overwhelming vote of 82 to 14.

The provision reduces the bureaucracy by actually implementing one of the recommendations of Vice President GORE's well-publicized national performance review to cut Federal employment by 252,000 positions. This proposal was not cooked up at the last minute.

As we were told by the administration, this is a serious proposal that is the product of a long-term examination of bureaucratic waste by the Vice President.

The Federal employment levels in the Senate amendment for fiscal years 1994 and 1995 are taken directly from the President's fiscal year 1994 budget. The remaining cuts needed to reach the 252,000 level are allocated evenly among fiscal years 1996 through 1999.

We have had lots of proposals around here lately to reduce spending. But as all of us know only too well, it is much more difficult to actually vote for cuts than to simply talk about them.

Here is our chance to vote for serious cuts.

The President has just sent to Congress his proposal for additional spending cuts. After all the anticipation and publicity, his bill saves only around \$10 billion over 5 years. We have a chance today to save more than twice that much.

We had this same chance last week on the motion to instruct conferees offered by Mr. ARCHER. On that occasion, a large majority of Members found the courage to vote for the \$21 billion in savings.

Who among us that voted for the Archer motion will want to explain to voters why they changed their vote and now oppose cutting the bloated Federal Bureaucracy by 252,000 employees? Voters might be interested in responding to this question next November at the polls.

For many Members, that earlier vote was easy. This time the vote truly counts. Members must now be asked if they stand by their earlier vote.

Answer this challenge by voting "yes" on the motion to recommit.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN].

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to object to the anticipated motion to recommit this conference report for two reasons. One is that it is liable to put thousands of families into the Thanksgiving holidays with the traumatic anxiety of not knowing whether they are going to be able to continue to make their mortgage payments, keep their automobiles, provide a livelihood for their family. How irresponsible and uncaring if we let this happen.

However, even as irresponsible as that, is the second reason, because the

intent of the recommitment is to take savings by cutting a quarter of a million Federal employees, without having any idea what the impact of that cut will be, who we are cutting, what programs are going to be affected, how badly they are affected. This represents the worst aspect of our legislative process, when we go home and take credit for things without accepting any accountability for the impact of those actions.

We will not disappoint any of our constituency groups. We are not going to have to say no to any special interest group. We will take credit for cutting a quarter of a million Federal employees, completely oblivious as to what the results of that action are.

If we want to eliminate Federal employees, we ought to identify the programs that are not necessary, the functions that are not essential: the budget officers, the auditors, the accountants, the quality control people, the program managers that we have created to respond to the legislation that we have enacted, but we are not willing to do that. We want to take the easy way out and leave it to the executive branch to take the heat for our actions today.

I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the motion to recommit.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORAN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President has made this suggestion. I would ask the gentleman, he disagrees with the Vice President of his party?

Mr. MORAN. What will happen, Mr. Speaker, and the Vice President is aware of this, and would also vote against the recommitment, is that the executive branch will be forced to RIF, cause a reduction in force. Because of civil service law, the people with the high salaries are going to bump people with lower salaries, so we will have highly paid people performing less challenging functions and the people who are actually going to be eliminated are the ones who were last to be hired, firing the people that represent affirmative action objectives for women and minorities, firing the people that are getting paid the least and often are providing the most bang for the buck in terms of the cost of Federal employment.

We are going to accomplish just the opposite of what we want to achieve by this motion. We ought to make the tough decisions, do the right things, identify where people can and ought to be eliminated, instead of taking the easy, irresponsible way out.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the respected minority leader, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL].

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I support the effort that will later be made today

by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CRANE] to recommit the bill, H.R. 3167, with the hope that the conference committee would accept the Senate amendment requiring Government personnel reductions totaling 252,000 over the next 6 years.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] just made the point with the preceding speaker that the Vice President had recommended this in his National Performance Review. It is a good argument for doing what we are attempting to do here.

□ 1330

It was offered as an amendment to the unemployment bill in the Senate and agreed to in that body, and by the way, that vote was 82 to 14 in favor of what we are attempting to do here. That was on October 28.

Last Thursday this House instructed its conferees to accept the Senate amendment reducing Government personnel by a decisive vote, 275 to 146. Normally when you go to conference and an issue is within the scope of the conference, and both bodies voted in support of the issue, then that issue is included in the conference agreement. Not to do so really undermines the votes that were taken in both Houses. It would have been one thing if it had passed overwhelmingly in one body, but not in the other. But here we have a situation where both bodies of the Congress voted decisively in favor of the personnel reductions, and then when the conferees met that afternoon they disregarded the will of both bodies and struck the Senate amendment.

So it comes back to us without this reduction of 252,000 in Federal personnel that is supported not only by the Vice President but by the entire Clinton administration and by a significant majority of votes in both Houses, as I indicated.

So I would simply say, Mr. Speaker, that I support wholeheartedly the effort that will be made later in these deliberations to recommit H.R. 3167 to the conference committee with instructions that the Federal personnel reductions be included in the conference report.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mrs. KENNELLY].

Mrs. KENNELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit the conference report, and my reasons have nothing to do with the fact that the amendment would reduce the government workforce by 250,000 workers. We all know that the Vice President has committed himself to addressing this issue in his reinventing government program.

The compelling reason why I am standing here urging my colleagues not to vote for this recommitment is equity and fairness for unemployed individuals across these United States. On Oc-

tober 2 time ran out for those who were on extended benefits. Today is November 9, and we have gone back and forth on this question.

What does this mean in terms of lives affected? The administration estimates that each month about 250,000 workers will exhaust their unemployment compensation benefits, and as the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. MORAN said, we are not talking about dollars that replace wages. We are talking about benefits that help people keep things together, not the whole mortgage payment, a little on the mortgage payment. It is getting colder where I come from in New England. It means do you turn the thermostat on or not, and at what time do you have to put the children to bed because it is getting cold.

These are the facts of life, and if those who want to recommit the conference report don't want to address these kinds of heart-rending, they might call them, examples which are true, may I just recite what happened to me last Sunday. I was entering the drugstore and I heard my name called out. A young woman came up to me and she said, "Mrs. KENNELLY, when are you going to act on extended benefits?" And I looked at her and I said, "I'm not quite sure, but I hope next week." I said, "What do you do?" She said, "I work at the Labor Department." She said, "Have you listened to some of those phone calls and what they are saying?" And I said yes, they are calling my office. And she said, "That's because we told them we couldn't answer these individual's questions anymore. We can't explain what you are doing down there and why you are holding this up."

So I say to those who have a memory, remember what happened to our former President, remember when he did not understand what people needed, what they had to have to keep going, to make ends meet. Remember he did not heed them, and he no longer is our President.

The American people cannot have public officials who do not understand what it means to try to get through the day, to have dignity. This is what America is about.

I urge Members to get on with the business of Government, to extend these benefits, and then do what we should be doing in other areas.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Do Members know how long it took to take that provision out of the bill that is going to allow 252,000 Federal employees that are supposed to be cut over a 5-year period out of the conference committee report? It took less than 5 minutes. It took less than 5 minutes.

Now how long would it take to put that provision back in that would say we are going to cut those 252,000 Federal jobs over a 5-year period? It would take less than 5 minutes.

So while my colleagues come to the floor and keep saying oh, my gosh, the people who are unemployed are not going to get their benefits, this is a tragic thing, people are not going to be able to get their food for their children, they are going to be dying, and all of this sort of thing, it is baloney. It just simply is baloney.

The fact of the matter is if we send this back to the conference committee with a motion to instruct the conferees, they can do it just like that. Within a matter of a couple of days we will have this thing back on the floor. It will pass, and the people who are not getting their benefits will get them. So that is a red herring.

The fact of the matter is the President of the United States and the Vice President have said and committed to the American people that we are going to cut Federal spending by \$21 billion. That is \$21,000 million, by reducing the Federal work force by 252,000 over a 5-year period. That provision, supported by the President and the Vice President, passed the House overwhelmingly, passed the Senate overwhelmingly, and yet when it went to conference committee, under the cover of darkness they took it out. Why? Because they want to protect some of their constituents back home that are going to get them reelected.

The fact of the matter is this is a policy that this administration is for, President Clinton is for. This is a policy both the House and the Senate are for. We ought to send it back to the conference committee and cut those 252,000 jobs and save the American taxpayer \$21 billion. The deficit is out of control. If we are really serious about getting control of Federal spending and saving the economy of this country, we ought to pass this today overwhelmingly and send it back to the conference committee.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], a member of the Subcommittee on Human Resources.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, here is the problem: We have structural unemployment in this country. I wish that we did not. More people are exhausting their benefits than when this program was first contemplated.

Many States simply are not eligible for the State programs, so there is no use saying that is a remedy, because the way the law is now written, many States can simply not take advantage of the State program if they want.

So we have structural unemployment. The unemployment compensation system is structurally deficient. We clearly have to amend it and

change it to connect unemployment with reemployment. We cannot do that right here and now, and in the meanwhile we have tens of thousands of people exhausting their benefits, and they are simply asking for some kind of help as they look for new work.

My complaint about the recommittal motion is in essence that it is going to be a further delay, it is going to be a further complication, and we will be saying to the unemployed in this country, "Sorry you are looking for work, but we're not even going to help tide you over."

I do not think that is a reasonable way to proceed. It is not keeping faith with people in this country who are laid off through no fault of their own.

I urge that we pass the conference report. I think the recommittal motion is simply a tactic that will delay action by this body.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the respected Republican whip, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH].

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for yielding the time.

Let me make very clear to my colleagues what the Crane motion to instruct conferees does, because this is not some complicated, difficult or arcane problem. The other body, by 82 to 14, adopted a proposal, not a Republican proposal, it adopted a proposal of Vice President GORE. It adopted a proposal which the President of the United States said was a good idea. It said let us write into law the national performance review standard of reducing Federal employment levels by 250,000.

All it said was we agree with President Clinton, we agree with Vice President GORE. We are prepared to write into law, not just have a press conference, not just make a speech, but Congressman CRANE is now trying to instruct the conferees to accept what was a Clinton administration proposal and put it into law.

The vote, 82 to 14 in the other body, was a bipartisan vote.

□ 1340

Then it came to the House side. Notice the numbers on the House side. We had a motion to instruct, which I believe was the Archer motion, at that time to instruct conferees. The Archer motion to instruct conferees said, "Let's agree with the other body, the Senate, in accepting President Clinton's and Vice President GORE's proposal in writing it into law." What was the margin in the House? It was 275 to 146.

Now, if you were a normal American citizen and you were watching C-SPAN and you had seen the Senate vote 82 to 14 and you had seen the House vote 275 to 146 and you knew the President was for it and the Vice President was for it, you might say to yourself, "Gosh, I

guess that's a done deal." Apparently when the conferees got together, and this is why my good friend, Mr. CRANE, is offering this motion, apparently when the conferees got together, the Senate conferees, the other body said, "Oh, heck, we really didn't mean that," promptly caved and walked out. And suddenly the taxpayers, working Americans, voters, people who are concerned about Washington and how it works, are saying to themselves, "You mean you can have a 6-to-1 majority in the Senate, you can have almost a 2-to-1 majority in the House, you can have the President and the Vice President agree, but somehow when it gets to a conference, it disappears, and 250,000 jobs are supposed to be saved, suddenly the politicians figure out a way to avoid what the public wants?"

So what my good friend from Illinois, Mr. CRANE, has done is offer a motion which allows every Member of the House to say, "You know, when I voted, and I say this specifically to the 275 who already voted once, when I voted with the President, when I voted with the Vice President, when I voted with the taxpayers, when I voted to cut the spending by cutting the number of Federal employees, I actually meant it. This was not a press release, not a chance to sneak back home, this was not just another Rotary Club speech; I actually want this to stand."

Now, what will happen? If we pass the motion, the Crane motion to instruct, it will go back to conference. I believe at that moment the Senate conferees, who after all did have an 82-to-14 vote in their favor, have the option of saying, "We really want to pass unemployment compensation." They could agree to it.

I believe on our side, and I think Mr. MICHEL, the leader would agree, we would be willing to bring it up even today, we would be willing to bring it up tomorrow. We could get this right back, pass it before the weekend, and we can go home.

Now, it is that simple, this is not a delaying tactic. We can get unemployment compensation extended this week and we can write into law the Gore National Performance Review standard of eliminating 250,000 Federal jobs so we can both help the taxpayer and help the unemployed in the same bill.

Now, the only way you can help the taxpayer and help the unemployed and you can reduce the deficit over time is to vote "yes" when the Crane motion to instruct conferees is voted on.

So I urge every one of the 275 who voted "yes" earlier to be consistent and vote "yes" again today. I urge the 146 who last time did not quite understand the issue to accept the opportunity to cut spending, to save money, to reduce the deficit. This is an important vote, and I urge the House to send an important signal to the conferees that, "We are tired of the will of the

people being in some way blocked magically so that votes in public disappear in secret."

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE].

Mr. PICKLE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, like all Members, I want to see the unemployment benefits extended, but the Congress ought to pay for it and I do not think the Congress is appropriately paying for this bill.

Mr. Speaker, so far as I know, I have voted for every unemployment compensation bill since I have been in the Congress. I believe that workers who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own should get extended benefits. When I was a member of the Texas Employment Commission, I sat on the governing board of my State's unemployment benefits program because I firmly believed that we needed to help people who had lost their jobs, so I have a longstanding commitment to help unemployed workers.

With this particular bill, though, I have grave reservations regarding the lack of proper financing of the extension. We are asked to spend \$1.1 billion in the next year, but the recommended revenue raiser, which purports to make up the money in the next 5 years, is not real and valid. The so-called profiling approach, in my view, simply will not produce the intended savings. There's just no reality in that approach.

Mr. Speaker, I want unemployed workers to get their benefits, but we must be more responsible in finding a realistic way to pay for them. I am willing to look at cuts or real revenues, and I would even be willing to look at that most sacred of sacred cows, cutting entitlements. I believe very strongly that we need a real, working unemployment benefits program, but we've got to be responsible enough to really pay for it.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN], a member of the committee.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the subcommittee chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, people watching and listening to this debate must be wondering what is going on. We are talking about the unemployed, but we bring in other issues. This is not the first time.

This bill has been on the floor many times before, and there always seems to be problems in dealing with our unemployed. We should have an orderly process, an orderly process to consider legislation.

But when it comes to the unemployed, there are always these other issues that are brought up.

Members of this House, it has been since October 2 when the emergency

unemployment benefits expired that we have been talking about this issue with other issues.

People, 250,000 a month, exhaust their unemployment benefits and go without benefits until we can act. But there is always something brought up.

I do not want to use the procedures of the other body as the right procedure that we should be using. Yes, we should be talking about the Vice President's proposal, but that should be done in an orderly way, not in the legislation that deals with extending the emergency unemployment benefits.

We have been talking since October 2, and people are suffering out there. Make no mistake about it, a vote against the motion to recommit, a vote in favor of the conference committee, is a vote in favor of the unemployed getting their benefits at last. I urge my colleagues to reject the motion to recommit and approve the conference report.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARDIN. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. MORAN. I thank the gentleman from Maryland, my friend and colleague, for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, listening to this debate, people would believe that what is being recommended in the motion to recommit is to simply comply with the Vice President's recommendation. That is not true. In fact, what the minority leader said is not the case. If people who are making this recommendation would read the Vice President's report, they would realize that the recommendation to eliminate 252,000 jobs is the bottom line result if the Congress is willing to take the Vice President's recommended reform actions.

The Vice President has recommended a very clear, specific manner in which to achieve the reduction of a quarter of a million Federal employees: procurement and regulatory reform, and especially by taking the plethora of small special interest type programs, the kinds of programs that we create to respond to political interests, and consolidating them into bloc grant programs, a form of revenue sharing that we give back to the States. That will eliminate the need for a lot of Federal employees.

There is a long list of actions that the Vice President recommended this Congress take. And if we have the courage to take those actions, we can then reduce 252,000 people and save \$108 billion. But what we are being asked to do is to put the cart before the horse, take the credit for the cuts but not take any of the responsibility for the impact of those cuts on our own constituents.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN] for yielding, and I urge my colleagues to take the responsible action, to vote against the motion to recommit, to vote for

people who are in desperate situations who are unemployed today, and then to go about the responsible business of achieving reductions in the Federal work force and knowing what we are doing before we take the credit for doing it.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, let us remember that we have the chance right now to act on behalf of those people who, through no fault of their own, are unemployed and do not have the resources to take care of their family needs.

I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the motion to recommit; let us pass this bill, let us get the benefits to the people who are unemployed.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as I may consume to myself, and I close by saying that hundreds of thousands of Americans and their spouses and their children await our action on this legislation. Through no fault of their own, they are without work and are in need of support. Therefore I urge my colleagues to join with me and members of the subcommittee and the full committee and others to pass this legislation and vote the recommitment motion down.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, simply to respond to the gentleman from Virginia. I do not think for 1 minute that the American taxpayers are going to accept, on the one hand, what is supposed to be a strong proposal to reduce the Federal work force by over 250,000, and, on the other hand, to accept the gentleman from Virginia's argument that we may not really do this because we may not put into effect the revenue sharing, we may not put into effect some of these other reforms, therefore this is a promise without any substance to it.

□ 1350

The gentleman from Illinois offers a motion to recommit that puts absolute substance into the President's proposal and it does so in such a way that it adopts the President's own recommendation for employment cuts in the next 2 years, precisely what is in the President's budget. That would happen irrespective of all the things that the gentleman from Virginia says may not happen.

In the following 4 years it is implemented on the basis of equal increments.

Now, with 2 years prior to that occurrence, surely there is enough time for whatever reforms are necessary to create this implementation.

It is a smokescreen to say on the one hand that we are going to cut these jobs; on the other hand, but wait, we may not put in the reforms to let it happen. Let us make it happen. Let us be sure that the demand is there, that the reforms are put into effect. Let us vote for the motion to recommit.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support House passage of the final conference report for H.R. 3167, legislation extending the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Program.

The need for final passage of H.R. 3167 remains as strong today as it was when this program was first enacted.

Over 1 million Americans who have exhausted their regular unemployment benefits would suffer dramatic economic harm without the continuation of a Federal extended unemployment benefits program. The national unemployment rate has continued to hold at just under 7 percent, with the current rate moving back up to 6.8 percent. In addition, many States are faced with rates of unemployment which are significantly above the national rate.

These Americans need help from their elected Representatives in the Congress. The final bill before the House today provides that needed assistance. H.R. 3167 provides that 13 weeks of extended emergency unemployment benefits will be available in States with regular unemployment rates of at least 9 percent, or States with an adjusted unemployment rate of 5 percent. The adjusted unemployment rate includes those Americans who have exhausted their regular unemployment rates. All other States with lower rates of unemployment will be eligible for 7 weeks of extended benefits. For example, residents of Pennsylvania would be eligible for 7 weeks of extended benefits since the most recent unemployment rate was 6.6 percent.

The final conference report maintains the House provisions which guaranteed that the bill would be fully financed. This bill does not add to the Federal deficit and complies with the principle of "pay as you go." This is done by enacting unemployment benefit program reforms which will help workers find a job before they have experienced long-term unemployment. The final conference report requires States to identify workers who, when they first file for unemployment benefits, are considered likely to exhaust their regular benefits. These workers would be required to participate in State job search assistance programs as a condition of receiving unemployment benefits. In addition, the U.S. Labor Department would be required to provide technical assistance to States in classifying workers who may require job search assistance.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support passage of this conference report for H.R. 3167, an emergency unemployment benefits extension bill. I urge my colleagues to vote for passage of this legislation.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference report to accompany H.R. 3167, a bill to extend the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991. I want to commend Congressman ROSTENKOWSKI for his hard work in bringing this bill through the conference committee in an expeditious manner, and for financing the extension without emergency funding, and without making unacceptable cuts in other vital programs.

As we are all aware, H.R. 3167 responds to the continuing unemployment problem by extending the authorization for new claims of emergency unemployment compensation benefits through February 5, 1994. Some Members will argue that extension of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Program

is unnecessary because the economy is showing some signs of recovery. To those individuals I would simply point out that unemployment is still at almost the same level as when the Emergency Unemployment Benefits Program was enacted in November 1991—8½ million people are still looking for work, and nearly 2 million of these people have been out of work for more than 6 months. Many thousands more individuals are no longer counted in official unemployment estimates because they have been unemployed so long that they are classified as discouraged workers, and are no longer officially counted as unemployed.

To compound the unemployment numbers, the evidence indicates that the current recovery is anemic. In my hometown of Cleveland, OH, we have lost nearly 35,000 jobs over the last 3 years. Alarming, 26,000 of the jobs which were lost were high wage manufacturing jobs. These discouraging figures clearly indicate that Cleveland's labor market is currently quite weak, and I am sure other Members have similar stories to tell of the lingering effects of the recent recession.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we can all take pride in the fact that the extension of the Emergency Unemployment Benefits Program in H.R. 3167 was accomplished in a fiscally responsible way, without adding to the deficit, or declaring a budget emergency. Most importantly, however, is that the extension was financed without taking funds away from other programs addressing vital domestic priorities.

The evidence is clear that the current recovery is not benefiting those who have lost their jobs during the recent recession. It would be unconscionable to let the emergency unemployment compensation benefits expire at this time. An extension of this program is vital to the millions of Americans who desperately want to work, but for whom there still are no jobs available. I urge all my colleagues to vote to extend this program, and to send a message to the millions of long-term unemployed individuals in the United States that their Government has not forgotten them.

Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the motion to recommit by Mr. CRANE that would require a reduction of the Federal work force by 252,000.

As my colleagues are aware, in September the National Performance Review and the White House recommended reducing the Government's work force over 5 years by 252,000. By doing so, the White House recognized what many people have already acknowledged: that the Federal work force has grown too big and inefficient and is in need of reform.

Congress will soon be asked to authorize a major buyout program to implement this reduction program. However, that legislation will not specify the target of 252,000 Federal employees for these buyouts. By passing this motion, Congress can codify the goal of cutting 252,000 Federal employees that was first proposed by the White House.

Earlier this year, I introduced H.R. 3086, the Government Employee Limitation Act. This bill established a schedule by which the Government would reduce its work force by 252,000. In addition, it would have reduced the maximum number of permanent staff allowed for Members of Congress from 18 to 16. This motion would carry the substance of H.R. 3086 into law.

Mr. Speaker, putting the goal of reducing the Federal work force by 252,000 into law sends an important message that Congress is finally serious about reducing the deficit. The National Performance Review claims that the Federal Government can save over \$40 billion in 5 years if the Federal work force is reduced by 252,000. It's high time Congress started to trim the bloat out of the Federal bureaucracy. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to vote for the Crane motion.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on this latest extension of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation [EUC] Program which regrettably expired in early October.

Although this bill does not put Americans back to work, it will help many Rhode Island families stay afloat during the holiday season.

Unfortunately, just staying afloat is becoming more and more difficult for many of the long-term unemployed Americans. Indeed, Rhode Island has the largest percentage of unemployed who have been out of work for over 6 months, but not all Rhode Islanders who have exhausted their State benefits will be eligible for the full 13 weeks of assistance. Even though unemployment in Rhode Island remains high, the official rate has dropped because so many people have either exhausted all State and emergency benefits or they have simply given up looking for work which means they are no longer considered officially unemployed. These people, who have suffered the most, are not even counted as part of the unemployment rate.

It is my hope when Congress reconvenes in January that the administration will propose legislation which not only creates jobs, but also reforms the unemployment and training systems to ensure that people in need of help, get help. They are tired of waiting for Congress to help them. That is why we must pass this conference report.

I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. CRANE

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the conference report?

Mr. CRANE. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CRANE moves to recommit the conference report on H.R. 3167 to the committee of conference with instructions that the managers on the part of the House concur in the Senate amendment numbered 1 (relating to a "Reduction of Federal Full-Time Equivalent Positions").

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5, rule XV, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of agreeing to the conference report, following the vote on the motion to recommit.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 226, nays 202, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 552]

YEAS—226

Allard	Fawell	Leach
Andrews (TX)	Fields (TX)	Levy
Archer	Fingerhut	Lewis (CA)
Armey	Fish	Lightfoot
Bachus (AL)	Fowler	Linder
Baker (CA)	Franks (CT)	Lipinski
Baker (LA)	Franks (NJ)	Livingston
Ballenger	Galleghy	Machtley
Barca	Gallo	Manzullo
Barcia	Gekas	McCandless
Barrett (NE)	Geren	McCollum
Barrett (WI)	Gilchrist	McCrery
Bartlett	Gillmor	McDade
Bateman	Gilman	McHugh
Bereuter	Gingrich	McInnis
Bilbray	Goodlatte	McKeon
Billakis	Goodling	McMillan
Billiey	Goss	Meehan
Blute	Grams	Meyers
Boehlert	Grandy	Mica
Boehner	Greenwood	Michel
Bonilla	Gunderson	Miller (FL)
Browder	Gutierrez	Minge
Bunning	Hall (TX)	Molinar
Burton	Hancock	Moorhead
Buyer	Hansen	Myers
Callahan	Harman	Nussle
Calvert	Hastert	Orton
Camp	Hayes	Oxley
Canady	Hefley	Packard
Cantwell	Hefner	Parker
Castle	Herger	Paxon
Chapman	Hoagland	Payne (VA)
Clinger	Hobson	Penny
Coble	Hoekstra	Peterson (MN)
Collins (GA)	Hoke	Pickle
Combest	Horn	Pombo
Condit	Houghton	Pomeroy
Cooper	Huffington	Porter
Coppersmith	Hunter	Portman
Costello	Hutchinson	Poshard
Cox	Hutto	Pryce (OH)
Cramer	Hyde	Quillen
Crane	Inglis	Quinn
Crapo	Inhofe	Ramstad
Cunningham	Istook	Ravenel
Deal	Johnson (CT)	Regula
DeLay	Johnson (GA)	Ridge
Derrick	Johnson, Sam	Roberts
Diaz-Balart	Kaptur	Roemer
Dickey	Kasich	Rogers
Dooley	Kim	Rohrabacher
Doolittle	King	Ros-Lehtinen
Dornan	Kingston	Roth
Dreier	Klug	Roukema
Duncan	Knollenberg	Rowland
Dunn	Kolbe	Royce
Edwards (TX)	Kyl	Santorum
Emerson	Lancaster	Sarpaluis
Everett	Laughlin	Saxton
Ewing	Lazio	Schaefer

Schenk
Schiff
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shays
Shepherd
Shuster
Slitsky
Skeen
Skelton
Slattery
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)

Snowe
Solomon
Spence
Spratt
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Sundquist
Talent
Tanner
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Thomas (CA)

Thomas (WY)
Thurman
Torkildsen
Upton
Valentine
Vucanovich
Walker
Walsh
Weldon
Wolf
Young (FL)
Zeliff
Zimmer

NAYS—202

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Andrews (ME)
Andrews (NJ)
Applegate
Bacchus (FL)
Baesler
Barlow
Becerra
Beilenson
Bentley
Berman
Bevill
Bishop
Blackwell
Bonior
Borski
Boucher
Brewster
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Bryant
Byrne
Cardin
Carr
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Coleman
Collins (IL)
Collins (MI)
Conyers
Coyne
Danner
Darden
de la Garza
DeFazio
DeLauro
Dellums
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Durbin
Edwards (CA)
Engel
English (AZ)
English (OK)
Eshoo
Evans
Farr
Fazio
Fields (LA)
Filner
Flake
Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank (MA)
Frost
Furse
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gibbons
Glickman

NOT VOTING—5

Barton
Lewis (FL)

Moakley
Petri

Rose

□ 1418

Messrs. NADLER, RANGEL, and
GORDON, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mrs.

LLOYD, and Ms. DANNER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. BARCIA of Michigan, BROWDER, DREIER, SHAYS, HALL of Texas, DOOLEY, SKELTON, GILMAN, CHAPMAN, LANCASTER, BOEHLERT, POMEROY, GUTIERREZ, CRAMER, HEFNER, EDWARDS of Texas, and STRICKLAND, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, and Ms. SCHENK changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1420

AMENDING THE EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT INCOME SECURITY ACT OF 1974

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 299 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 299

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1036) to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such Act does not preempt certain State laws. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule for a period not to exceed four hours. It shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Education and Labor now printed in the bill. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be considered as read. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). The gentleman from California [Mr. BEILENSEN] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield the customary one-half hour of debate time to the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During

consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 299 is the rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 1036, legislation to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 so that the act does not preempt certain State laws.

Mr. Speaker, this is an open rule. It provides 1 hour of general debate to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor.

The rule makes in order the Education and Labor Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute now printed in this bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment. The substitute will be considered as read.

In addition to the 1 hour of debate time, the rule provides 4 hours for consideration of the bill for amendment. After careful deliberation, the Committee on Rules granted this time limit request as one that is both fair and reasonable for a bill to which only one amendment was offered during full committee consideration.

In fact, when the House last year considered an almost identical rule for a very similar ERISA preemption bill, the rule, which was approved by voice vote, included the same 4-hour restriction. That debate on amendments took less than 2 hours' time.

Further, at the request this year of the Rules Committee for prefiling of amendments, only two amendments were submitted for consideration; I would note for my colleagues that the Education and Labor Committee added to the bill as reported two of the amendments accepted by the House last year.

And, Mr. Speaker, the scope of H.R. 1036 is very narrowly defined so that any potential amendment to the bill must be narrowly written as well, effectively restricting the number and type of amendments that may be offered.

We are all, of course, mindful of the limited amount of time we have as the session nears end, which was another important point the Committee on Rules considered in granting the Committee on Education and Labor's request.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the rule provides one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1036, the bill for which this resolution is offered, seeks to restore three kinds of State laws that have been preempted by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, which Congress passed in 1974 to govern most private pensions.

The laws that have been preempted: First, require the payment of prevailing wages and benefits on State public work projects; second, establish minimum standards or regulate certified

apprenticeship programs; and third, provide remedies such as mechanics' liens for nonpayment of multiemployer plan contributions.

All of these areas have traditionally been governed by State laws, which only in the past few years have been held in several court decisions to have been preempted by ERISA.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1036 is essentially States rights legislation. It is necessary to restore longstanding State laws that Federal court decisions have invalidated by misinterpreting the intent of ERISA. It is strongly supported by the States and many State organizations, including the National Association of Attorneys General.

Mr. Speaker, to repeat, this is an open rule, providing ample time for consideration of this narrowly written piece of legislation. I urge my colleagues to adopt the rule so that we may proceed with the consideration of H.R. 1036.

□ 1430

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, once again we have a rule before us that is being billed as an

"open rule" when, in fact, it is not. The rule contains a 4-hour time limit for the consideration of amendments, a restriction that has no justification except that the rule on a similar bill last year contained an identical restriction.

Mr. Speaker, this rule reminds me of a comment by one of our esteemed colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee regarding the debt limit rule earlier this year. I asked him why he was supporting a closed rule. He said it is "customary" and that he was just following precedent.

Mr. Speaker, this rule is an assault on our sensibilities, just as H.R. 1036 is an assault on American business. At a time when our economy is struggling to create jobs under the weight of stifling Federal regulations, this bill will force small businesses to comply with an array of new, conflicting, and inconsistent State regulations. These regulations will, at a minimum, lead to the likely elimination of employee health and pension benefits and, possibly, to the loss of more jobs.

In addition, the apprenticeship and training requirements contained in H.R. 1036 discriminate against open shop programs and could prevent non-union employers from training their workers. Fortunately, the gentleman

from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL] will offer an amendment to address this problem, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD these documents reflecting a count of open versus restrictive rules from the 95th to the 103d Congresses.

OPEN VERSUS RESTRICTIVE RULES 95TH-103D CONG.

Congress (years)	Total rules granted ¹	Open rules		Restrictive rules	
		Number	Percent ²	Number	Percent ³
95th (1977-78)	211	179	85	32	15
96th (1979-80)	214	161	75	53	25
97th (1981-82)	120	90	75	30	25
98th (1983-84)	155	105	68	50	32
99th (1985-86)	115	65	57	50	43
100th (1987-88)	123	66	54	57	46
101st (1989-90)	104	47	45	57	55
102d (1991-92)	109	37	34	72	66
103d (1993-94)	44	11	25	33	75

¹ Total rules counted are all order of business resolutions reported from the Rules Committee which provide for the initial consideration of legislation, except rules on appropriations bills which only waive points of order. Original jurisdiction measures reported as privileged are also not counted.

² Open rules are those which permit any Member to offer any germane amendment to a measure so long as it is otherwise in compliance with the rules of the House. The parenthetical percentages are open rules as a percent of total rules granted.

³ Restrictive rules are those which limit the number of amendments which can be offered, and include so-called modified open and modified closed rules, as well as completely closed rule, and rules providing for consideration in the House as opposed to the Committee of the Whole. The parenthetical percentages are restrictive rules as a percent of total rules granted.

Sources "Rules Committee Calendars & Surveys of Activities," 95th-102d Cong.; "Notices of Action Taken," Committee on Rules, 103d Cong., through Nov. 8, 1993.

OPEN VERSUS RESTRICTIVE RULES: 103D CONG.

Rule number date reported	Rule type	Bill number and subject	Amendments submitted	Amendments allowed	Disposition of rule and date
H. Res. 58, Feb. 2, 1993	MC	H.R. 1: Family and medical leave	30 (D-5; R-25)	3 (D-0; R-3)	PQ: 246-176. A: 259-164. (Feb. 3, 1993).
H. Res. 59, Feb. 3, 1993	MC	H.R. 2: National Voter Registration Act	19 (D-1; R-18)	1 (D-0; R-1)	PQ: 248-171. A: 249-170. (Feb. 4, 1993).
H. Res. 103, Feb. 23, 1993	C	H.R. 920: Unemployment compensation	7 (D-2; R-5)	0 (D-0; R-0)	PQ: 243-172. A: 237-178. (Feb. 24, 1993).
H. Res. 106, Mar. 2, 1993	MC	H.R. 20: Hatch Act amendments	9 (D-1; R-8)	3 (D-0; R-3)	PQ: 248-166. A: 249-163. (Mar. 3, 1993).
H. Res. 119, Mar. 9, 1993	MC	H.R. 4: NIH Revitalization Act of 1993	13 (D-4; R-9)	8 (D-3; R-5)	PQ: 247-170. A: 248-170. (Mar. 10, 1993).
H. Res. 132, Mar. 17, 1993	MC	H.R. 1335: Emergency supplemental Appropriations	37 (D-8; R-29)	1 (not submitted) (D-1; R-0)	A: 240-185. (Mar. 18, 1993).
H. Res. 133, Mar. 17, 1993	MC	H. Con. Res. 64: Budget resolution	14 (D-2; R-12)	4 (1-D not submitted) (D-2; R-2)	PQ: 250-172. A: 251-172. (Mar. 18, 1993).
H. Res. 138, Mar. 23, 1993	MC	H.R. 670: Family planning amendments	20 (D-8; R-12)	9 (D-4; R-5)	PQ: 252-164. A: 247-169. (Mar. 24, 1993).
H. Res. 147, Mar. 31, 1993	C	H.R. 1430: Increase Public debt limit	6 (D-1; R-5)	0 (D-0; R-0)	PQ: 244-168. A: 242-170. (Apr. 1, 1993).
H. Res. 149, Apr. 1, 1993	MC	H.R. 1578: Expedited Rescission Act of 1993	8 (D-1; R-7)	3 (D-1; R-2)	A: 212-208. (Apr. 28, 1993).
H. Res. 164, May 4, 1993	O	H.R. 820: Late Competitiveness Act	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (May 5, 1993).
H. Res. 171, May 18, 1993	O	H.R. 873: Gallatin Range Act of 1993	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (May 20, 1993).
H. Res. 172, May 18, 1993	O	H.R. 1159: Passenger Vessel Safety Act	NA	NA	A: 308-0. (May 24, 1993).
H. Res. 173, May 18, 1993	MC	S.J. Res. 45: United States forces in Somalia	6 (D-1; R-5)	6 (D-1; R-5)	A: Voice Vote. (May 20, 1993).
H. Res. 183, May 25, 1993	O	H.R. 2244: 2d supplemental appropriations	NA	NA	A: 251-174. (May 26, 1993).
H. Res. 186, May 27, 1993	MC	H.R. 2264: Omnibus budget reconciliation	51 (D-19; R-32)	8 (D-7; R-1)	PQ: 252-178. A: 236-194. (May 27, 1993).
H. Res. 192, June 9, 1993	MC	H.R. 2348: Legislative branch appropriations	50 (D-6; R-44)	6 (D-3; R-3)	PQ: 240-177. A: 226-185. (June 10, 1993).
H. Res. 193, June 10, 1993	O	H.R. 2200: NASA authorization	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (June 14, 1993).
H. Res. 195, June 14, 1993	MC	H.R. 5: Striker replacement	7 (D-4; R-3)	2 (D-1; R-1)	A: 244-176. (June 15, 1993).
H. Res. 197, June 15, 1993	MO	H.R. 2333: State Department. H.R. 2404: Foreign aid	53 (D-20; R-33)	27 (D-12; R-15)	A: 294-129. (June 16, 1993).
H. Res. 199, June 16, 1993	C	H.R. 1876: Ext. of "Fast Track"	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (June 22, 1993).
H. Res. 200, June 16, 1993	MC	H.R. 2295: Foreign operations appropriations	33 (D-11; R-22)	5 (D-1; R-4)	A: 263-160. (June 17, 1993).
H. Res. 201, June 17, 1993	O	H.R. 2403: Treasury-postal appropriations	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (June 17, 1993).
H. Res. 203, June 22, 1993	MO	H.R. 2445: Energy and Water appropriations	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (June 23, 1993).
H. Res. 206, June 23, 1993	O	H.R. 2150: Coast Guard authorization	NA	NA	A: 401-0. (July 30, 1993).
H. Res. 217, July 14, 1993	MO	H.R. 2010: National Service Trust Act	NA	NA	A: 261-164. (July 21, 1993).
H. Res. 218, July 20, 1993	O	H.R. 2530: BLM authorization, fiscal year 1994-95	NA	NA	
H. Res. 220, July 21, 1993	MC	H.R. 2667: Disaster assistance supplemental	14 (D-8; R-6)	2 (D-2; R-0)	PQ: 245-178. F: 205-216. (July 22, 1993).
H. Res. 226, July 23, 1993	MC	H.R. 2667: Disaster assistance supplemental	15 (D-8; R-7)	2 (D-2; R-0)	A: 224-205. (July 27, 1993).
H. Res. 229, July 28, 1993	MO	H.R. 2330: Intelligence Authority Act, fiscal year 1994	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (Aug. 3, 1993).
H. Res. 230, July 28, 1993	O	H.R. 1964: Maritime Administration authority	NA	NA	A: Voice Vote. (July 29, 1993).
H. Res. 246, Aug. 6, 1993	MO	H.R. 2401: National defense authority	149 (D-109; R-40)		A: 246-172. (Sept. 8, 1993).
H. Res. 248, Sept. 9, 1993	MO	H.R. 2401: National defense authorization			A: 237-169. A: 234-169. (Sept. 13, 1993).
H. Res. 250, Sept. 13, 1993	MC	H.R. 1340: RTC Completion Act	12 (D-3; R-9)	1 (D-1; R-0)	A: 213-191-1. (Sept. 14, 1993).
H. Res. 254, Sept. 22, 1993	MO	H.R. 2401: National Defense authorization		91 (D-67; R-24)	A: 241-182. (Sept. 28, 1993).
H. Res. 262, Sept. 28, 1993	O	H.R. 1845: National Biological Survey Act	NA	NA	A: 238-188. (10/06/93).
H. Res. 264, Sept. 28, 1993	MC	H.R. 2351: Arts, humanities, museums	7 (D-0; R-7)	3 (D-0; R-3)	PQ: 240-185. A: 225-195. (Oct. 14, 1993).
H. Res. 265, Sept. 29, 1993	MC	H.R. 3167: Unemployment compensation amendments	3 (D-1; R-2)	2 (D-1; R-1)	A: 239-150. (Oct. 15, 1993).
H. Res. 269, Oct. 6, 1993	MO	H.R. 2739: Aviation infrastructure investment	N/A	N/A	A: Voice Vote. (Oct. 7, 1993).
H. Res. 273, Oct. 12, 1993	MC	H.R. 3167: Unemployment compensation amendments	3 (D-1; R-2)	2 (D-1; R-1)	PQ: 235-187. F: 149-254. (Oct. 14, 1993).
H. Res. 274, Oct. 12, 1993	MC	H.R. 1804: Goals 2000 Educate America Act	15 (D-7; R-7; I-1)	10 (D-7; R-3)	A: Voice Vote. (Oct. 13, 1993).
H. Res. 282, Oct. 20, 1993	C	H.J. Res. 281: Continuing appropriations through Oct. 28, 1993	N/A	N/A	A: Voice Vote. (Oct. 21, 1993).
H. Res. 286, Oct. 27, 1993	O	H.R. 334: Lumber Recognition Act	N/A	N/A	A: Voice Vote. (Oct. 28, 1993).
H. Res. 287, Oct. 27, 1993	C	H.J. Res. 283: Continuing appropriations resolution	1 (D-0; R-0)	0	A: 252-170. (Oct. 28, 1993).
H. Res. 289, Oct. 28, 1993	O	H.R. 2151: Maritime Security Act of 1993	N/A	N/A	A: Voice Vote. (Nov. 3, 1993).
H. Res. 293, Nov. 4, 1993	MC	H. Con. Res. 170: Troop withdrawal Somalia	N/A	N/A	A: 390-8. (Nov. 8, 1993).
H. Res. 299, Nov. 8, 1993	MO	H.R. 1036: Employee Retirement Act-1993	2 (D-1; R-1)	N/A	

Note.—Code: C-Closed; MC-Modified closed; MO-Modified open; O-Open; D-Democrat; R-Republican; PQ-Previous question; A-Adopted; F-Failed.

ROLLCALL VOTES IN THE RULES COMMITTEE—
THE RULE ON H.R. 1036, LIMITS ON EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT INCOME SECURITY ACT
PREEMPTION OF CERTAIN STATE LAWS

1. Motion offered by Mr. Solomon to strike the time limit on amendments:

Vote (Defeated 3-5): Yeas—Solomon, Dreier, Goss; Nays—Derrick, Beilenson, Frost, Hall, Slaughter. Not voting: Moakley, Bonior, Wheat, Gordon, Quillen.

2. Adoption of Rule:

Vote (Adopted 5-3): Yeas—Derrick, Beilenson, Frost, Hall, Slaughter; Nays—Solomon, Dreier, Goss. Not voting: Moakley, Bonior, Wheat, Gordon, Quillen.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to vote for this rule, and I urge my colleagues to do likewise, but I must say that I have concerns about this rule. We do not need 4 hours of debate on this bill. We have had interminable debate on this bill already in a previous Congress. Nor should we have an open rule on this debate. Not every Member of this Chamber is enamored with an open rule. I for one believe an open rule on this bill is a mistake.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is very narrowly drawn, but a very narrowly drawn constraint on ERISA. This is a States rights bill, but it is very narrow. An open rule allows Members to come in and amend any part of ERISA, including with regard to health care. That is a mistake. That was not our intention in bringing the bill to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, in fact, it is no accident that my committee would not bring ERISA bills to the floor for 15 years, because we did not want to have the Members faced with inappropriate amendments. Nonetheless, this is a way to begin this process and get us moving in a matter that we have to move on. Because of that, I am going to vote yes on the rule.

Let me say it again, however. We are going to have an hour on the rule, we are going to have an hour of general debate, we are going to have 4 hours on the amendments, we are going to have another hour or two in votes. That is an 8-hour day, an 8-hour day on this one bill, and the minority is not satisfied with that.

We can give them an 8-hour day on the bill, we can give them an open rule, and they still stand up and they are not satisfied. I would recommend to the Committee on Rules that they tell the minority no more often.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I have no requests for time, I yield back the balance of my time, and I urge a no vote on this rule.

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, we have no further requests for time. I do remind my colleagues, as did our friend, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS], that it is in fact an open rule.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 299 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 1036.

□ 1435

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1036) to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt certain State laws, with Mr. McDERMOTT in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1036. Mr. Chairman, this is a States rights bill. That is what we are trying to do here is to reaffirm States rights. This bill would restore to the States their traditional right to require the payment of prevailing wages on State public works projects and to establish minimum standards for apprenticeship and training programs.

In addition, the bill restores State laws permitting multiemployer plans to use State mechanic's liens to collect delinquent contributions. By the way, Mr. Speaker, these were long-established rights, but they have been wiped out by a series of recent Federal court decisions interpreting the ERISA, which is the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974. The courts have recently interpreted ERISA as preempting State laws. We do not believe that was the intent.

As New York State's commissioner of labor pointed out, Mr. Speaker, at a subcommittee hearing that I had a couple of years ago, the effect of the court decisions is particularly troubling. He said that they repudiate the ability of

States to set the terms of their own contracts, contracts in which the money being spent is State money and the projects being done are being done to complete State projects.

In addition, State laws have provided additional tools for multiemployer plans to collect delinquent contributions, including mechanics' liens, bonds, or other types of security. Recently, with the approval of the Supreme Court, courts have interpreted ERISA to preclude the States from enforcing these laws as well.

H.R. 1036 restores States' rights in these critical areas and is strongly supported by the Clinton administration, the National Association of Government Labor Officials [NAGLO], the National Association of State Apprenticeship Directors [NASAD], the National Apprenticeship Program [NAP], the National Association of Attorneys General, the National Electrical Contractors Association [NECA], the Sheet Metal and Air Conditioning Contractors' National Association, and the AFL-CIO.

When the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations held hearings on the bill this year, considerable debate took place about whether Congress intended to preempt the types of laws affected by this bill. At full committee markup, that debate continued.

There is no question, Mr. Speaker, that the scope of ERISA preemption is broad, because all laws that relate to employee benefit plans are included.

□ 1440

But at the same time, several examples of State laws were expressly saved from preemption, including State insurance, banking, and securities laws. In addition, since 1974, Congress has amended ERISA to allow States to regulate multiple employer welfare arrangements—many people call them MEWAs—and, in recognition of States' traditional role over marital property, excluded from ERISA preemption qualified domestic relations orders issued by State courts.

I was not in Congress when ERISA was first passed, so I cannot read the minds of those who shaped its provisions. But I can say this. There is not one word in the legislative history of ERISA that could lead anyone to conclude that Congress affirmatively intended to strip States of their longstanding authority to determine what terms and conditions a contractor who voluntarily bids on a State public works project must meet.

Nor is there any support in the legislative history for the proposition that State laws authorizing mechanics liens, surety bonds, and other collection tools should not apply to the delinquent contribution obligations of companies who participate in multiemployer plans. In fact, when ERISA was amended in 1980 to establish a Federal

collection mechanism, the legislative history of the Multiemployer Pension Plan Amendment Act of 1980 specifically discussed this new Federal tool as an addition to current State protections.

If the framers of ERISA, in their zeal to protect employers from inconsistent State regulations of benefit plans actually did think about these particular situations and really did intend to block these State laws, then they were wrong, and it is time to change that. But we have no evidence that that is what the authors or those who voted for ERISA originally intended to do.

So H.R. 1036 simply recognizes that ERISA should not interfere with well-established and traditional areas of State concerns such as apprenticeship and training, prevailing wages and mechanics' liens.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Chairman, today, we take up legislation which has a long history in the House. The issue is ERISA preemption and how it relates to State prevailing wages laws, State apprenticeship and training standards, and State mechanics' liens laws. We'll hear today that this is a State's rights issue—that the bill is intended to clarify ERISA and restore State laws that were never intended to be preempted by ERISA.

While on the surface it may seem to be a Federal preemption versus States' rights issue, the uniqueness of the pension and employee benefits law under ERISA begs a deeper look. Since the extension of pension and welfare benefits are premised on a voluntary system, ERISA preemption has retained the freedom for plan sponsors to establish uniform benefit plans across State lines. In this atmosphere, free from myriads of State laws, employees through collective bargaining and other means can also pursue their common objectives and achieve multistate benefit portability.

PREVAILING WAGE STANDARDS

In regard to State prevailing wage laws, proponents have argued that States may not have the ability to set prevailing wages on State and/or State/Federal public works projects. While on the surface this may appear to be true, the real crux of the matter is that, except in rare instances, States have had and will continue to have the ability to set prevailing wages.

An alternative to the intrusive New York supplements law, which was struck down in the General Electric case, exists in other States. These laws set total prevailing wage levels so as to include the cost of prevailing ERISA benefits, but in a benefit neutral fashion as is the case under the Federal Davis Bacon Act. In other words, a prevailing wage and benefits cost of x dollars can be met by x dollars of cash or

ERISA benefits costs which may be substituted for cash. Under these laws, an employer is not required to establish a plan or to provide specific benefits or their costs, but is allowed credit in meeting the prevailing wage for the cost of any ERISA benefits already provided.

No court has preempted such benefit neutral statutes, and the General Electric decision does not address these situations. After 17 years of ERISA it is highly unlikely that any challenge will be made to such a statute. Of course, the bill's exception to ERISA preemption for prevailing wage laws will help to ensure that this latter result will be obtained.

In particular, the proposed ERISA section 514(b)(9)(A) relating to the exception to ERISA preemption for certain prevailing wage laws reads, in part, that the State law exempted must permit "any prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such law be met by crediting (1) the payment of wages in lieu of such contributions or costs, (2) the payment of employee benefit plan contributions or costs, or (3) a combination of wages and such contributions or costs." In a colloquy during committee markup the chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, Mr. WILLIAMS, and I affirmed that it is "the intent of the committee that this section require that a State prevailing wage law, to be exempted from ERISA preemption, be structured so as to allow the crediting or substitution of the contributions or costs of any ERISA pension or welfare benefit plan against the 'prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such law', regardless of whether such ERISA benefits are considered to be 'prevailing' under the State law." What does this mean? In short, that an employer can use any ERISA plan cost to satisfy a State's prevailing benefit requirement.

Also, it can be generally stated that section 514(b)(9)(A) of the bill provides for an exception to ERISA preemption for State prevailing wage laws which permit the crediting or substitution of any combination of wages or ERISA employee benefit plan contributions or costs in satisfaction of the "prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such law." By means of a second colloquy between Mr. WILLIAMS and myself, it was affirmed that "by limiting this exception to the so-called prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such law, it is the committee's intent that there be no inference as to the effect of ERISA preemption on other portions of State prevailing wage laws to the extent that they permit the crediting or substitution of ERISA employee benefit plan contributions or costs in satisfaction of the cash wage portion of such laws."

Again, what does this mean? In short, it means that employer ERISA plan costs in excess of State prevailing benefits can continue to be credited against the cash wage portion of a State's prevailing law, such as is the case in my own State of New Jersey.

APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS

Turning to the apprenticeship and training provision of the bill, the language goes significantly beyond that needed to merely reverse the Hydrostorage and several other court decisions which proponents say is their intent. Since apprenticeship or other training programs are specifically defined as employee welfare benefit plans under ERISA, the courts have determined in these decisions that ERISA preempts the several State laws, rules, regulations, and administrative orders involved.

I want to stress, however, that these decisions do not jeopardize the many aspects of the apprenticeship programs now operating in the States. To the contrary, the courts have gone to great lengths to limit the reach of preemption only to instances in which the State laws have clearly mandated specific plan operations or mandated that employers participate in a particular plan.

In contrast, by going beyond the Hydrostorage decision, the reach of the bill's exception to preemption would allow States to regulate not only apprenticeship and training programs connected with State public works projects, but also any training program of any employer. While such State laws are now typically limited to construction-related occupations, the broad language of the bill leaves an open invitation for States to extend their jurisdiction to occupations under other single and multiple employer plans whether union or nonunion. There was no reason given—in subcommittee, full committee, or the committee report—to expand the ERISA exemption beyond the overturning of the narrow court cases related to public project work.

As with other benefits under ERISA, it can be stated with regard to training programs that varying State laws will stifle innovation, increase the hassle and costs of setting up such programs, and, ultimately, reduce the number of programs. At a time when all agree that worker training is crucial, restrictive changes would be a serious mistake.

It is my understanding that my colleague, Representative GOODLING, will offer an amendment to H.R. 1036 which ensures that ERISA will continue to preempt State laws which discriminate against the continuation or formation of apprenticeship or training programs that meet the standards of the National Apprenticeship Act. I would call your attention to the remarks of my colleague for a fuller explanation of his

amendment and the serious problems that the bill continues to have in the apprenticeship and training area. In this connection, I would point out that this bill contains my amendment adopted on the floor last year, which corrects a weakness which otherwise would have allowed states to undermine the ERISA fiduciary standards applicable to such plans.

MECHANICS' LIENS

In a manner similar to the apprenticeship provision, the bill's exception to ERISA preemption for collection remedies goes significantly beyond that needed to merely overturn the Iron Workers and related court decisions relating to so-called mechanics' lien remedies.

Under the bill as reported, the mechanics' liens and other remedies imposed under the exempted laws may vary from State to State, thereby exposing employers who contribute to regional or national plans to varying remedies. Such laws could even take a form requiring the bonding of contributing employers or third-parties, in advance of a contributor incurring actual contribution obligations. The actual experience obtained under these remedies will have to be carefully monitored to make sure they do not impinge upon the carefully balanced funding standards and withdrawal liability collection remedies applicable to multiemployer plans under ERISA.

□ 1450

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

Mr. FORD of Michigan. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, first I want to compliment the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS] for the hard work he has put forth in getting this to the floor.

I want to thank the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA], I think—I have not decided on that, I say to the gentlewoman. Did the gentlewoman come down with us or against us?

Mr. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD of Michigan. I yield to the gentlewoman from New Jersey.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I say to the gentleman from Michigan that I said we can improve this bill with the amendment that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL] are going to present.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Well, every time we bring this to the floor, we adopt a Roukema amendment. So I am sure that the gentlelady will have—

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Unfortunately, I do not have the authority today. My col-

leagues have preempted me on that, if the gentleman will pardon the pun.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, this legislation is the same as it was after the floor action in 1992. It passed at that time with a voice vote, but it did not finish in the other body before the end of the Congress. The measure was reported this time in a bipartisan way, including the amendment that the gentlewoman from New Jersey offered on the floor when we last considered the bill. She remains consistently a champion of maintaining current ERISA fiduciary and prudent investment requirements which would, by this bill, continue unaffected.

As the chairman of the subcommittee has already indicated, the main purpose of this bill is the restoration of State and local rights over areas that they have traditionally had in the past. He mentioned that he was not here when we wrote ERISA. I was here, and I was on the committee. And I am confounded with how the courts have managed to construct out of whole cloth an intention that was never any place in the record of our consideration of the bill, was never mentioned in either hearings or in markup sessions, and is a total mystery to those of us who were here and did work on the bill on the committee.

The gentleman's legislation is long overdue, and it has the practical effect of restoring to the States things that we who wrote the bill originally never intended to take from the States in the first place.

Therefore, we are not really going back to write a new substantive law here; we are trying to go back to carry out the original intent of the law.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1036, a bill amending the Employee Retirement Income Security Act [ERISA], to insure that such act does not preempt certain State and local laws. H.R. 1036 preserves State prevailing wage and benefits laws applicable to State projects; reinstates the States' ability to establish minimum standards for the certification or registration of apprenticeship or other training programs; and permits the States to use mechanics liens to enforce delinquent contributions to multiemployer pension, health and welfare plans.

This is an important piece of legislation needed to restore the validity of three traditional areas of State law authority. It was never the intent of ERISA that its preemption clause would sweep so broadly as to include laws so basic to the States' proprietary role. The courts have, through a recent line of cases, misinterpreted the ERISA preemption clause, depriving State and local authorities of their basic rights to set contract requirements for their public works projects, to set apprenticeship standards, and to use their historical State laws methods for the collection of delinquent payments. These court decisions have had disastrous consequences for the States, for multiemployer plans that cannot collect pension and welfare contributions, and for the

millions of workers who were protected by these laws. We need to change the courts' direction and again allow States to exercise their rightful powers in these areas of historic State domain.

The predecessor of this bill, H.R. 2782, passed the House on August 4, 1992, by a voice vote. It died at the end of the last Congress. The Committee on Education and Labor has again reported the measure with bipartisan support. It is essentially the same proposal but for the incorporation of two clarifying amendments which were offered during the floor debate last year. The first was offered by my colleague, Mrs. ROUKEMA, and made certain the current ERISA fiduciary and prudent investment requirements would continue unaffected.

The second was an amendment offered by my late colleague, Congressman Henry, and accepted by Congressman BERMAN, the original sponsor of the bill. It was incorporated to ensure that the bill's exception to preemption would not be construed as allowing a State prevailing wage law to otherwise mandate the maintenance of or regulate the benefits or operations of any employee benefit plan. The amendment also clarified that this measure only relates to workers on public works projects and not on private projects. In committee, one additional clarifying change was made to the Henry-Berman agreement. H.R. 1036 conditions the exemption of State law by allowing the employer to meet the prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement in one of three ways: One, by paying cash wages in lieu of such contributions or costs; two, by paying contributions to or costs for employee benefit plans; or, three, by paying any combination of wages and such contributions or costs.

The committee has made every effort to accommodate the legitimate concerns expressed about the intent and wording of this bill. We have debated the policy, we have made legislative changes, and we have, in fact, improved the measure. Now it is time to pass H.R. 1036 as reported and move it one step closer to enactment. I urge my colleagues from both sides of the aisle to vote for H.R. 1036.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], the ranking member of the full committee.

Mr. GOODLING. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak about the concern I continue to have as to the content of H.R. 1036 as currently written.

H.R. 1036 now seeks to depart from ERISA's well-reasoned preemption provision by allowing States excessively broad authority with regard to apprenticeship and training laws. When ERISA was enacted in 1974, its sponsors made clear their intention for the broadest possible preemption of State laws in order to eliminate the threat of restrictive, conflicting, and inconsistent State and local regulation. They were seeking to expand and enhance the benefits employers provided their workers by establishing a single, consistent set of rules that applied to all employee benefit plans.

In short, ERISA's preemption provisions were originally intended, and continue to be, as much in employees' best interest as they are in employers'. This is no more clear than in the case of ERISA apprenticeship and training programs. ERISA has encouraged their development and expansion.

However, by allowing States to restrict the types of apprenticeship and training programs employers may utilize, H.R. 1036 could preclude many employers from training their own workers, thereby increasing their costs while at the same time diminishing their available pool of skilled workers.

This unfortunate, yet inevitable, consequence is all the more confusing, Mr. Chairman, when one considers the growing chorus of experts calling for increased efforts to expand apprenticeship-type training opportunities.

Indeed, President Clinton, along with many in his administration, has repeatedly emphasized the need to improve the training and development of the American work force, and to increase apprenticeship and training opportunities, especially for minorities, women, and youth. I and many others in Congress, on both sides of the aisle, share the President's commitment to work force training and have joined him in that effort.

It is all the more disturbing then, in light of these bipartisan efforts, that we are here today considering legislation that could actually stifle the training and development of American workers.

As it stands, the bill would permit States to erect discriminatory barriers to the training of even entry-level workers. For this reason, I will be supporting the amendment to keep apprenticeship and training opportunities open and fair for all American workers.

Before closing, I should point out that in several respects the bill is somewhat less onerous than the version we considered in this Chamber last year. To a degree, this speaks to the merits of considering this kind of legislation under an open rule as was the case in the 102d Congress. Responding to concerns expressed on this side of the aisle, the prevailing wage exemption was made more acceptable by amendments limiting the exemption to public works projects. Amendments to the bill also make it clear that ERISA plan contributions or costs, wages, or any combination thereof can be used to meet any prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such a law.

As mentioned earlier, ERISA came into being with workers' best interests clearly in mind. The measure of ERISA's success in that regard in perhaps best reflected in its longevity. The fact is that the ERISA preemption section has been amended precious few times in the nearly 20 years it has been in effect. And on those few occasions

when changes have been made, they have been carefully crafted and very narrow in scope. And, virtually all have maintained the fundamental premise of ERISA preemption.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the entirety of H.R. 1036. Instead of tampering with ERISA's 20 years of proven success, Congress should be seeking ways to encourage the establishment of new benefit plans and increased opportunities for worker training. H.R. 1036 can be greatly improved by the passage of an amendment that will be offered, and I urge my colleagues to support this amendment at the conclusion of general debate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN], who has done all the heavy lifting on this bill, and who, as a sponsor of the legislation, has provided leadership which has been very important to our committee on this particular issue.

Mr. BERMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, as the author of H.R. 1036, I rise to urge my colleagues to support this important legislation. Its purpose is simple: To restore the right of States to protect their workers in three critical areas: Prevailing wages, apprenticeships and training, and remedies for the collection of delinquent plan contributions.

H.R. 1036 preserves the agreement reached with our late colleague, Representative Paul Henry, when this legislation was considered and passed by this body by voice vote last year, as well as the amendment offered on the floor last year by our colleague, the gentlewoman from New Jersey.

I view this bill as narrow legislation intended to clarify that section 514 of ERISA, the preemption provision, was never intended to preempt State law in these three areas.

Section 514 provides that, with certain exceptions, ERISA "shall supersede any and all State laws insofar as they may now or hereafter relate to any employee benefit plan."

I think my colleagues would be amazed to learn, as I have, the range of State laws that have been invalidated on the basis of that short sentence—in areas where Congress has never purported to legislate. Relentless efforts have been made to overturn an array of State laws establishing labor standards and other protections for workers. I know that as a former State legislator myself, as are so many of my colleagues here today, I am well aware of the case that was made on behalf of State legislation in those areas—and consequently the tremendous harm resulting to workers as a result of ERISA preemption.

I know firsthand from my discussions with California workers the price they have paid and will continue to pay as a

result of preemption of State prevailing wage laws, State law establishing standards for apprenticeship programs, and State laws providing remedies or means for collecting contributions to multiemployer plans. I am convinced that the harm caused by the interpretation of ERISA as to these issues is so significant that action on our part is required.

On the issue of State prevailing wage law, certainly the interest of the State in establishing minimum standards for employment on publicly funded or assisted projects should be clear. The 31 States that have enacted State prevailing wage laws have, in so doing, acted out of an interest in setting the terms on which they will do business with contractors.

But in 1989, the second circuit in General Electric versus New York State Department of Labor invalidated the fringe benefit provisions of New York's prevailing wage law.

The notion that Congress would willfully bar the States from enacting and enforcing laws effectuating State interests in an area which ERISA does not in any way lay claim to cover, is a strange one to me. I cannot believe that this was the intent of Congress in enacting ERISA, and that is why prevailing wage laws are the first of three issues addressed by the bill.

It is typical of prevailing wage laws that they contain provisions for the determination of both a prevailing level of wages and a prevailing level of benefits. H.R. 1036 will protect State prevailing wage laws from ERISA preemption as long as the benefit provisions of such laws permit an employer to satisfy the payment of the amount attributable to benefits by the payment of employee benefit plan contributions or costs, the payment of wages in lieu of such contributions or costs, or the payment of a combination of wages and such contributions or costs. Benefit plan costs or contributions, additional wages, or a combination of benefit costs and contributions and additional wages can all be credited against the benefit portion of the prevailing wage obligation.

The type of State prevailing wage law which mandates an employer to pay specific benefit contributions on a line item by line item basis would not be protected by this bill.

Furthermore, under H.R. 1036, a State can require that only that portion of the prevailing wage law attributable to benefits can be satisfied by these crediting provisions. If a State law so requires, then an employer must satisfy that portion of the prevailing wage law attributable to wages by the payment of wages.

Let me provide some examples of how this legislation would work. Assume that a State has determined that the prevailing wage level is \$18, consisting of \$12 for wages, \$4 for health benefits

and \$2 for retirement benefits. Thus, \$6 of the total prevailing wage level is attributable to benefits.

Under H.R. 1036, a State must allow an employer to meet the obligation to pay the \$6 attributable to benefits by paying all \$6 in benefit plan contributions or costs or by adding \$6 in wages to the employee or by a combination of wages and benefit plan contributions or costs. For example, an employer could pay an additional \$1 in wages and \$5 in benefit plan costs or contributions. An employer could also satisfy this portion of the obligation by paying \$5 in health benefits and \$1 in retirement benefits.

The employer would receive a dollar-for-dollar credit for additional wages paid or by benefit plan contributions or costs toward that portion of the prevailing wage level which is attributable to benefits.

However, the State would not be permitted to require an employer to contribute exactly \$4 to health benefits or exactly \$2 to retirement benefits.

Moreover, State law could, under this legislation, require that an employer must satisfy the wage portion of the obligation by the payment of wages, not benefits. The provisions of the bill which require credits of payments to benefit plan contributions or costs only apply to that portion of the prevailing wage obligation attribution to benefits. Thus, in the example, an employer who provided a benefit plan with a total cost of \$8 would not be able to reduce the wage level to \$10. If State law so provided, the employer would still be required to pay the prevailing wages of \$12.

With regard to the second of the three types of State worker protection laws addressed by H.R. 1036, every one of the 50 States has enacted laws setting standards for the certification or training of apprentices. States have a patent interest in the development of a skilled work force, capable of performing in real jobs and likely to guarantee safer workplaces. This is the basis of State regulation or employer conduct in the establishment and maintenance of apprenticeship programs—and it is fully consistent with the Federal-State scheme of the 50-year-old Fitzgerald Act.

ERISA certainly does not purport to set standards for apprenticeship programs. Yet, in *Hydrostorage, Inc. versus Northern California Boilermakers*, the ninth circuit in 1989 invalidated California apprenticeship standards on ERISA preemption grounds.

In this area, too, we see State laws that have in many instances been on the books for decades thrown out on preemption grounds, leaving a vacuum in their wake, and in essence nullifying the Fitzgerald Act. H.R. 1036 provides essential clarification on this issue, as well, spelling out that ERISA does not preempt State law establishing appren-

ticeship program standards, making certified or registered apprenticeship or other training an occupational qualification, or regarding the establishment, maintenance, or operation of apprenticeship programs.

The third and final element of H.R. 1036 provides that ERISA does not preempt State law providing additional remedies or means for collection of contributions to multiemployer plans.

It is quite clear to me that preservation of State collection remedies was explicitly intended by Congress to be an integral part of the ERISA scheme for assisting plans in collecting contributions. Congress reaffirmed this intention in the Multiemployer Pension Plan Amendments Act of 1980. Yet, in *Carpenters Southern California Administrative Corp. versus El Capitan Development Co.*, the California Supreme Court invalidated California mechanics lien law on ERISA preemption grounds.

There is a long history of bipartisan support for effective means of maintaining the fiscal integrity of multiemployer plans. There is certainly no disagreement among plan trustees on this issue; to the contrary, State remedies and means for collecting unpaid contributions simply provide fiduciaries with the necessary tools to protect the plans for which they are responsible. Yet the *El Capitan* case—and the fifth circuit decision in the *Iron Workers Mid-South Pension Fund* cases—have severely undermined the fiscal soundness of many plans. We must take action.

Mr. Chairman, every one of the issues I have addressed today was raised first with me by my constituents. And the concerns they have raised have stood the test of time.

State labor standards and remedies that have been on the books for decades have been wiped out; lower court cases which were first brought to my attention several years ago have not been reversed.

These cases certainly do not square with my notion of federalism, and I suspect that they are at odds with all of the rhetoric heard regularly in this Chamber about returning government to the people at State and local levels.

Where Federal law spells out rights and remedies in the interest of protecting Americans and promoting uniformity of our laws, then indeed preemption is in order. But in the cases I have outlined, our courts have invalidated vitally important State laws on matters to which ERISA does not purport to speak.

We cannot allow this situation to stand, and that is why I urge my colleagues to vote for H.R. 1036.

□ 1500

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee will rise informally in order that the House may receive a message.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KLING) assumed the chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will receive a message.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Hallen, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2520), an act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees, to the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 18, 23, 24, 38, 39, 62, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 90, 100, 102, 118, 120, 121, and 125 to the above-entitled bill.

The message also announced that the Senate recedes from its amendments numbered 123 and 124, to the above-entitled bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Committee will resume its sitting.

AMENDING THE EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT INCOME SECURITY ACT OF 1974

The Committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA].

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL], a member of the committee.

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding this time to me.

My comments, even though I know this bill deals with three main issues, but nevertheless, my comments will be in regard to the area of the bill that pertains to apprenticeship training.

In that regard, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1036, in my view, is anticompetitive and an antiworker training bill.

H.R. 1036 seeks to allow State laws to establish minimum standards for apprenticeship plans without such laws being subject to ERISA preemption. The reason often cited, of course, is "States' rights". Ironically, however, despite ERISA preemption, States have for many years been establishing minimum standards for apprenticeship plans under the National Apprenticeship Act and such State apprenticeship laws are not subject—I repeat—not subject to ERISA preemption as long as one is functioning within the scope of the National Apprenticeship Act.

The problem that has arisen and is the genesis for this bill is that a few

States, only about four or five, have passed State laws which have attempted to discriminate against other qualified apprenticeship plans which are competing against established apprenticeship plans. These State laws have been held to be outside the scope of the National Apprenticeship Act, and therefore subject to ERISA preemption, precisely because they have discriminated against other apprenticeship plans.

H.R. 1036 is a bill, therefore, designed primarily to resuscitate efforts in a few States to pass discriminatory apprenticeship standards in order to ward off competition in apprenticeship and job training in the construction trades.

There is nothing new about that. We all know that groups with special influence seeking to discriminate against competition is something we see around here quite a bit. Virtually every profession or trade group in history has attempted to regulate the number of people that can compete with it.

A direct and open attempt in Congress, of course, to endorse this type of discrimination against qualified apprenticeship training would fail. Therefore, what H.R. 1036 does is indirect and a bit subtle, but without having any problems in regard to ERISA preemption, the States are now free to favor a locally-established apprenticeship plan, for instance, and restrict competition. The State could declare, for instance, that only one apprenticeship plan could be approved in a given area. Or the State could require that all employers seeking to bid on State public works projects would be required to have their apprentices trained by an "established" union plan favored by the State Apprenticeship Council.

There are cases that have involved these kinds of issues.

Now, the victims of this type of discrimination, so that we have in effect less apprenticeship plans, are not merely small or nonunion construction firms. The persons who have been consistently excluded from construction union training, and I am talking about training of 4 to 5 years on-the-job training and in-the-classroom training, are minorities, women, disadvantaged youths, native Americans, intercity workers. They are the ones who suffer the most when open competition, and I think that is to be stressed, open competition of qualified apprenticeship plans are frustrated.

□ 1510

The bill is directly aimed, therefore, at the growth and competition from new sponsors of apprenticeship plans expanding into territory previously dominated by an established plan.

Fortunately there is an easy answer for these concerns which I have expressed. I, along with others, will be certainly backing the Goodling amend-

ment which, while accepting the loss of Federal preemption of State apprenticeship standards, which are discriminatory in nature, will require that State laws not limit apprenticeship or training opportunities by discriminating against apprenticeship training programs. It simply says, to States, "Don't discriminate," that is, don't use your powers to establish apprenticeship standards to in effect discriminate against new apprenticeship programs in order to protect established union apprenticeship plans. That is the message of the Goodling amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1036 as reported by the Committee on Education and Labor.

Enactment of this legislation is of critical importance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and to hundreds of thousands of workers who labor in my State.

During the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee hearing in March, Pennsylvania's Secretary of Labor and Industry, Thomas Foley, called for prompt enactment of H.R. 1036 to head-off lawsuits threatening to destroy the State's longstanding prevailing wage law.

In July of this year, Secretary Foley's nightmare became real. A Federal judge ruled that ERISA preempts, and renders enforcement, Pennsylvania's prevailing wage act in a case called *Keystone Chapter, Associated Builders & Contractors versus Foley*.

That court decision is dead wrong. It misreads ERISA's letter and intent, and must be overruled. H.R. 1036 would overrule the decision by clarifying that ERISA does not preempt State prevailing wage laws like Pennsylvania's.

Pennsylvania's decades-year old law simply requires contractors awarded public works projects to pay their workers on these projects the wages prevailing in the communities where the projects are located. Prevailing wages include employee pension and health benefit contributions, reflecting the fact that these contributions have become an important aspect of the compensation paid to workers for their labor.

This law represents a public policy judgment by the people of Pennsylvania that public contracts should not undercut the wages and living standards of a community. This law is also a means by which Pennsylvania ensures fair competition among contractors for public works contracts.

ERISA was never intended to prevent Pennsylvania, or any other State, from setting the terms and conditions under which it contracts for public works projects. ERISA was never intended to deprive States of their fundamental right to contract.

ERISA was designed to regulate the structure and content of employee benefit plans. Pennsylvania's prevailing wage law does not interfere with ERISA's regulatory scheme. It does not regulate the content or operation of employee benefit plans. It does not mandate employers to create or maintain plans.

In fact, my State's law allows contractors who do not have employee pension or health plans to meet their prevailing wage obligations by paying increased wages in lieu of the benefit plan contributions prevailing in the community. The law does not allow contractors to pay less than the prevailing cash wages, even if they choose to pay more than the prevailing benefit contributions. The prevailing cash wage is in minimum wage for the project, and the setting of minimum cash wages remains of fundamental State concern even though we also have a Federal minimum wage floor. Pennsylvania's policy is that the payment of at least the prevailing cash wage is important to workers and to the economies of their communities.

H.R. 1036 would restore Pennsylvania's prevailing wage law to life. It would restore to my State its fundamental right to determine the terms and conditions under which it would contract for public works financed with State or local funds. Such decisions are Pennsylvania's to make; not Washington's.

I want to note for my colleagues that H.R. 1036 has nothing to do with the Federal Davis-Bacon Act. The bill deals only with State laws. It removes ERISA as an unintended impediment to States which decide to enact prevailing wage laws with respect to State and local contracts.

Beyond preserving the right of States to have prevailing wage laws, H.R. 1036 would clarify that ERISA does not preempt States from continuing to play a vital role in the Nation's regulatory scheme for apprenticeship training and employment.

Since the enactment of the National Apprenticeship Act—or Fitzgerald Act—in 1937, apprenticeship has been regulated through a Federal-State partnership. The Fitzgerald Act itself does not set any apprenticeship standards. It directs the Secretary of Labor to work with State agencies which develop and enforce such standards.

Pursuant to the act, the Labor Department has delegated regulatory authority over apprenticeship to State agencies, called State Apprenticeship Councils, in 27 States. These councils have been free to establish and enforce apprenticeship training and employment standards that go beyond the bare minimums set in Labor Department regulations. The councils set specific requirements that meet the particular needs, policies, and practices of their States.

ERISA was never intended to disturb this longstanding regulatory scheme for apprenticeship. ERISA itself contains no apprenticeship standards. It has nothing to do with the training and employment of apprentices.

It is incomprehensible to me that courts have construed ERISA to prevent State Apprenticeship Councils from performing the vital role in apprenticeship regulation that another Federal law—the Fitzgerald Act—assigned to them. These court decisions are wrong. They create the kind of legal catch 22 that gives Government a bad reputation. I am pleased that H.R. 1036 would overrule these judicial mistakes.

A few may argue that the State Apprenticeship Councils should be cutback and restricted to doing only that which the U.S. Department of Labor's regulations specifically require. Such a cutback in the councils' longstanding authority is no compromise. It would emasculate the councils from playing their traditional role of addressing local needs and concerns, and would further erode essential protections against ineffective and fraudulent apprenticeship programs.

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 1036 as reported.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BALLENGER], a member of the committee.

Mr. BALLENGER. Mr. Chairman, mention ERISA preemption and apprenticeship training programs in the same sentence and you'll probably notice eyes beginning to glaze over and a lot of yawns. While the issue may be dull, this legislation, H.R. 1036, could have a dramatic impact for nonunion contractors.

H.R. 1036 is designed to stop the growth of nonunion apprenticeship programs by reversing a series of Federal and State court rulings that prohibit discrimination in favor of union sponsored programs. Basically, passage of this bill would mean systematic discrimination against nonunion training programs precisely because they compete with entrenched union operations.

The case of Walther Electric of California dramatically illustrates this point. Every attempt has been made to prevent the Walther Electric Co. from providing a training program because it is not controlled by organized labor. Yet, even the California Supreme Court, in an unanimous decision, ruled against the special interest of organized labor and for the Asian, Hispanic, and two women employees who were in the Walther Electric Co.'s training program.

This is the story of this company as I understand it. Operating in California's Central Valley which suffers from high unemployment levels, Walther Electric employs between 50 and 100 people depending on the conditions in

the construction industry. The company has been involved in industrial and commercial construction and electrical service since 1953. The company provides its employees with a full benefit package.

Walther Electric has spent a significant amount of time and money to have its apprenticeship training program approved by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training [BAT]. Five apprentices for Walther Electric including an Asian, a Hispanic, and two women, one of them a veteran, have been approved for the apprenticeship program.

With a good ratio of women and minorities in his work force Len Edh, the president and owner of this company, presided building an education program which included on-the-job training as well as regular classroom instruction under the supervision of competent journeymen electricians. Insisting on the highest level of training for his employees, Mr. Edh is aware of the benefits of good instruction—safer job sites, quality work, and reduced worker liability.

When the company's program was first approved and then turned down by California's Apprenticeship Council, the company went to court to seek equal training opportunities for its workers. In every instance, right through a unanimous decision by that State's Supreme Court, Walther Electric has prevailed. Even so, California's Department of Apprenticeship Standards and its apprenticeship council has not only refused to obey the courts in freeing up the certification for Walther Electric, it has also commenced a series of harassment actions against the company in an obvious attempt to prevent it from engaging in training apprentices. The California Department of Apprenticeship Standards (DAS) refuses to approve additional Walther trainees, even while admitting that the program standards are sound in every way.

The situation of this company is not unique. The California Apprenticeship Council is treating a number of open shop contractors the same way.

In a 61-page decision, the California Supreme Court unanimously agreed with the court of appeals. ERISA preemption of State apprenticeship laws clearly stops attempts to manipulate State law so as to prevent nonunion employers from operating approved apprenticeship programs. The Walther Electric Co. and other similar nonunion companies see H.R. 1036 as a deliberate attempt to build barriers to needed training.

The direct targets of this legislation are open shop contractors expanding into previously union-dominated territory, and the real victims, however, are the women, minorities, and young people who will be denied training opportunities. Already there is a growing

waiting list for existing apprenticeship training programs. Even the Clinton administration has had trouble supporting this antitraining bill in the face of the President's call for expanded training opportunities.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I notice that, as last year, charges about how this bill is intended to benefit organized labor are beginning to creep into the debate here, and I just want to quickly make a point.

This bill is not about employers and employees or an unorganized versus an organized work force. This bill is about States rights, States rights to determine how State money shall be used on State projects. It does not go beyond that.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KLINK].

Mr. KLINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1036.

This legislation will amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to ensure that ERISA does not preempt three types of State worker protection laws: Those dealing with prevailing wages, apprenticeship and training, and mechanics liens.

I have cosponsored H.R. 1036. I know that ERISA preemption of State laws is a big problem for New York, California, and Louisiana.

It has also become a problem in my State. In fact, my friend, Pennsylvania labor and industry secretary Tom Foley, testified before the Education and Labor Committee, of which I am a member, about Pennsylvania's prevailing wage law being preempted by ERISA.

Secretary Foley told us that Pennsylvania's efforts to regulate wage standards have been seriously weakened. Pennsylvania is less able to protect workers from unscrupulous employers or maintain a level playing field for contractors who engage in competitive bidding on public works projects.

Like many of my colleagues, I have also been contacted by businesses in my district who are opposed to H.R. 1036. I understand their concerns about the bill.

However, ERISA was designed to protect the interests of workers and retirees. Ironically, it is now preempting State laws that are also designed to protect workers and retirees.

That is why I am in support of H.R. 1036. I urge my colleagues to do likewise.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOEHNER], a member of the committee.

□ 1520

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Chairman, the issues brought up by this bill are not

straightforward or easy to understand. ERISA is one of the most complicated Federal statutes on the books. Understanding this law and its relationships with State apprenticeship programs is difficult to explain. However, the results of enactment of this legislation are not nearly as difficult to interpret. Enactment of H.R. 1036 will result in union control of construction trade apprenticeship programs.

Union membership in the construction trades has declined dramatically over the past 30 years. Today, less than 30 percent of the construction industry is unionized. Seizing control of apprenticeship programs would reverse this trend in two ways.

First, union control of apprenticeships would force those who want to learn a trade to join a union, since the union would control the apprenticeship training program. Second, nonunion labor would be prevented from participating in apprenticeship programs. This would deny those who choose not to join a union the opportunity to learn the necessary skills for construction work or in other words, this legislation would allow unions to decide who gets training and who doesn't.

Union control of the construction industry work force is just one of the goals supporters of H.R. 1036 have in mind. There is a second item on the agenda of this bill's supporters: A narrowing of the broad preemptive powers under the ERISA Act.

For almost 20 years, employee benefit programs have been governed by the ERISA statute. It was enacted to create a set of national rules and regulations for employee benefits. The foundation of ERISA is its broad preemption powers. It was the obvious intent of those who wrote this law to preempt all State and local laws that relate to employee benefits.

H.R. 1036 is the first in a series of bills purposely designed to undermine the ERISA preemption. If Congress passes this bill, we would signal to all special interest groups a willingness by Congress to create special carve outs to the ERISA preemption.

This is a very dangerous trend. Many States are facing severe fiscal problems, and employee benefits would be a tempting source of revenues. If Congress were to enact H.R. 1036, it would be an open invitation to the States to enact mandates, regulations, and taxes on employee benefit plans.

For 20 years, ERISA has created a national framework for workplace benefits. Within the parameters of ERISA, employers and employees can determine what benefits best fit the needs of each. Instead of considering legislation to weaken ERISA, the House should be looking for ways to strengthen our Nation's employee benefit laws. Unfortunately, this bill is a step in the opposite direction. I urge my colleagues to oppose this legislation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, given some of the things that have been said in the debate, I want to make a few points here. First, H.R. 1036 would not allow broad State mandates to be imposed on all contracts or all plans. The bill deals only with very specific types of State law, State prevailing wage laws applicable only to contractors, union as well as nonunion, who successfully bid on publicly financed or publicly assisted State or local projects.

In addition, the only State laws that would be reinstated are those which permit an employer the choice of satisfying the prevailing wage portion of the minimum wage requirement in one of three ways: First, by paying cash equal to the value of prevailing benefits; second, by paying benefits equal to the value of prevailing benefits; or, third, by a combination of cash and benefits equal to the value of prevailing benefits.

I want to point out to my colleagues that the bill specifically prevents States from mandating the specific passage of benefits that an employer must offer or requiring that the benefits be provided in a particular way or under a particular type of plan.

For instance, in my home State of Montana, our prevailing wage law used to give an employer credit toward the prevailing benefit portion of the prevailing wage only if benefits would be provided through a multiemployer plan. That type of a law would continue to be preempted even if H.R. 1036 were enacted.

Second, H.R. 1036 would reinforce and strengthen the long-standing role of the States in apprenticeship and training, and would not, as critics argue, stifle innovation and undermine the expansion of these programs.

Although ERISA includes apprenticeship and other training programs as a form of employee welfare benefits, the substantive rules governing these programs are actually provided under another Federal statute, the National Apprenticeship Act, also referred to as the Fitzgerald Act, passed in 1937. The Fitzgerald Act and its implementing regulations establish Federal minimum standards and encourage states to expand on them.

Consistent with the regulatory scheme established in the Fitzgerald Act, 28 states have chosen to regulate apprenticeship through State Apprenticeship Councils [SAC's], using State-appropriated funds. In each case, these State programs have been approved by the Department of Labor. So the State laws at issue in H.R. 1036 are part of a 56-year old Federal-State partnership.

Finally, H.R. 1036 would in fact, as its opponents claim, overturn the current situation in which a single uniform remedy for collecting delinquent con-

tributions must be utilized. But that's the point.

Prior to Federal preemption of State law, multi-employer plans had access to a variety of collection remedies, including mechanics liens laws, some of which have been around from the 19th century, and so-called little Miller Acts which provide for collection through contract bonds or surety bonds. More than one type of collection mechanism is necessary since the needs of the plan vary by industry.

For example, the building and construction industry is characterized by thousands of relatively small, mobile employers who work on short-term projects and who can easily go out of business or simply disappear.

The ERISA remedy for delinquent contributions, suing the employer and trying to collect a money judgment after the fact, simply does not work in most cases. The purpose of the bill is to restore long-standing State remedies that have been invaluable as a collection tool for multiemployer pension, health, and welfare plans.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to point out that the State laws that are restored by its provisions affecting apprenticeship, training, prevailing wages, and mechanics liens and surety bonds are of vital importance to the workers of America organized and unorganized. We must act swiftly to restore these protections that the courts have taken away. Thus, I urge a yes vote on H.R. 1036.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, it should be repeated that what we are dealing with here is legislation that will try to affect or underscore the delicate balance between ERISA Federal preemption and State laws. I think we are two-thirds of the way there with respect to the way we have dealt with prevailing wages and the mechanic liens.

Mr. Chairman, with America's workers and employers facing the competitive pressures of the global economy, we must be extremely careful in making changes so that we do not discourage the establishment and maintenance of plans under our voluntary pension and welfare benefit system.

Consequently, I urge my colleagues to support the efforts of Representative GOODLING to amend this bill in order to clarify States' ability to set apprenticeship and training standards without discriminating or interfering with the establishment of worker training programs. It is my hope that the bill can be improved from its present form by eliminating the restrictive effect it will have on our voluntary employee benefit system.

□ 1530

It is my hope that we can perfect this bill, that it will be improved through

the amendment process from its present form by eliminating any restrictive effects it will have on our voluntary employee benefits system.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1036 as reported by the Committee on Education and Labor.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is the most recent victim of the mistaken judicial interpretations of ERISA that this bill is designed to correct.

In July, a Federal court misread ERISA to deprive the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of its right to require payment of prevailing wages on public projects involving State or local moneys. This court decision was wrong, and should be overturned by this bill.

Pennsylvania's tradition of regulating the terms of employment on public contract work dates back to the last century. The current prevailing wage act is more than 30 years old.

There is no way that Congress intended ERISA to deprive Pennsylvania, or any other State, of the fundamental right to set the terms and conditions under which contracts for public works and services are awarded. The Federal Government sets the terms and conditions of its public contracts. It cannot deny that right to State and local governments, at least in the absence of any conflict with Federal law or policy.

ERISA was intended to federalize the regulation of employee pension and health plans. State prevailing wage laws like Pennsylvania's do not conflict with this regulatory scheme. These State laws do not regulate benefit plans or interfere with their operations. They do not require employers to create or maintain plans. Employers who do not have pension or health plans can substitute cash wages in lieu of plan contributions to satisfy their prevailing wage obligations.

Pennsylvania does require all employees on public contract to pay their workers no less than cash wages prevailing in the community where the project is located, and does not allow this minimum to be offset by benefit contributions in excess of the prevailing rate of contributions. The setting of a minimum wage is a fundamental State right preserved even under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. That act sets a floor which the States are free to raise.

H.R. 1036 is a States' rights bill. It does not require any State to enact, or to retain, a prevailing wage law, an apprenticeship standards law, a mechanics lien law, or any other law. The bill merely clarifies that ERISA does not prevent a State from enacting these laws.

My colleagues, you cannot say that you are for States' rights and yet oppose this legislation. You cannot say that you are for States' rights and try to limit the content of the State laws that are preserved by this measure. If you do not like the State law, work to change it in the State. Do not encourage the Federal Government to make these choices for the States. I urge a yes vote on H.R. 1036 as reported.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of these amendments to the Employee

Retirement Income Security Act [ERISA] of 1974. These amendments return to States the right to: First, set standards for contractors on State public works programs with respect to prevailing wages; second, establish requirements for apprenticeship and training programs; and third, provide mechanisms for securing the employer contribution to pension plans.

These amendments are necessary because the courts have misread ERISA as displacing the States' traditional authority in these three areas. States like California should have the authority to set wage protection determined to be in the public interest—particularly for projects supported by State funds. Further, workers in California need remedies to protect the sound funding of their pension and health plans.

Mr. Chairman, the late Congressman Phil Burton was actively involved in passing ERISA back in 1974. The intent of Congress then was to protect workers and to respond to worker's concerns about the security of their pension plans. We need to reaffirm these worker protections today.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote for this bill which will assure employee benefit plans, workers and employers the protection ERISA originally intended.

Mrs. KENNELLY. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support for H.R. 1036. This legislation would amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act [ERISA] to provide that ERISA does not preempt certain State worker protection laws. A series of Federal court decisions have struck down various State laws providing protections for workers on the grounds that ERISA preempted them. This was clearly not the intent of Congress when it enacted ERISA in 1974.

Currently, 31 States have enacted State prevailing wage laws, setting the terms on which they can do business with contractors. Yet, in both New York and California, the prevailing wage laws have been struck down on the ERISA preemption provisions.

In addition, all 50 States have enacted laws setting standards for certification and training of apprentices. In fact, my State of Connecticut has a very strong and successful apprenticeship program. Our States have a vested interest in establishment and maintenance of their apprenticeship programs. These apprenticeship programs serve an important function in the development of our workers skills.

This legislation also addresses the issue of mechanics' lien laws by restoring power to the States to provide for collection of delinquent contributions. Without a lien on the contracted property, workers and their benefit plans would often remain unpaid by employers.

I cosponsored this bill in the 102d Congress and have again cosponsored this year. Last year the House passed an almost identical bill. I, like many of my colleagues, was disappointed that the other body failed to act. I am most pleased that it has come to the floor again. This legislation will restore to States traditional powers that courts denied them and will assure what ERISA originally intended. I commend the Committee on Education and Labor, chaired by Congressman Bill FORD, for their hard work on this important piece of legislation. I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 1036.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1036. The opponents of this legislation contend that State prevailing wage, apprenticeship, and mechanics' lien laws somehow conflict with, rather than complement, the policies that ERISA was intended to further. Such a contention is absurd on its face.

State prevailing wage laws require that employers providing services paid for by public funds provide wages and benefits equal to those prevailing for workers performing similar work in that area. Public contracts are typically awarded on a low bid basis. Absent prevailing wage protection, the low bidder would in many cases be the employer who paid the lowest wages. To contend that ERISA preempts State prevailing wage laws is to claim that in the name of protecting pensions we must adopt a policy that discourages employers from ever providing a pension.

It is equally absurd to contend that ERISA was intended to or should preempt State mechanics' lien laws. These laws provide employees in the construction industry and their pension plans with a means of securing what is owed to them in an industry that is otherwise characterized by thousands of small, mobile employers who work on short term projects, do not own real assets, and frequently disappear without a trace. Such laws have been enacted in all 50 States and many date back to the 19th century. ERISA is intended to promote and not undermine the financing of pension plans.

Nor can one find any more logic in the contention that ERISA was intended to or should preempt State laws intended to regulate apprenticeship programs. Rather, the opponents of H.R. 1036 would seek to preclude the States from ensuring that apprenticeship programs do not serve a guise for undermining both wages and skills. They further contend that we are somehow serving minorities and women by permitting employers to establish sham programs that take work from skilled journeymen and women without providing trainees with either the skills or the opportunity to better their own circumstances.

As one who has been privileged to serve on the Education and Labor Committee since ERISA was enacted, I assure my colleagues this legislation has become necessary as the result of the impact of the appointment of Federal judges unconcerned with the rights and welfare of working Americans rather than any intent on the part of the ERISA's authors. The contention that Jacob Javits, John Dent, Carl Perkins, Frank Thompson, or Phil Burton intentionally sought to preempt State prevailing wage, apprenticeship, or mechanics' lien laws is as absurd as the argument that undermining wages, training, or the ability to collect debts furthers one's retirement security. I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 1036 and to oppose any amendments to it.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1036, a bill to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to limit ERISA preemption of certain State laws.

The ERISA preemption language contained in section 514 has been broadly interpreted to preempt State laws that relate to ERISA-covered employee benefit plans.

When Congress enacted ERISA in 1974, the intent was to establish minimum standards

to protect the interests of participants and beneficiaries of private pension plans and to require the prudent management of pension funds. The preemption language contained in the original legislation was never intended to be interpreted by judicial decision to so broadly preempt State prevailing wage, apprenticeship, and mechanics' lien laws.

It is imperative, therefore, that H.R. 1036 be enacted to overturn a line of court decisions that have strayed from ERISA's original intent and the intent of the 1980 amendments. H.R. 1036 will restore to the States their traditional right and power in the areas previously and erroneously held preempted by ERISA.

As a current member of the Committee on Education and Labor and as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor when ERISA was originally reported out of committee and enacted into law, I can attest to the original intent underlying the passage of ERISA in 1974. H.R. 1036 amends ERISA to be true to its original intent.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote for H.R. 1036, and to support its enactment into law. It is what was intended in 1974, and it is necessary to correct the misinterpretation of the original intent of Congress.

Mr. FRANKS of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, the changes in ERISA we are voting on today exempt certain State and local laws regarding apprenticeship programs from ERISA preemption. In 1974, ERISA greatly expanded employee pensions and other employee benefit plans, including training programs, for union and non-union employees. The law created one set of rules for all employers, but left companies and their employees the ability to create their own arrangements to pension, benefit, and training needs.

Recently, a few States have attempted to pass State regulations which ended recognition of certain apprenticeship programs. Federal courts overturned these regulations on the basis of ERISA preemption. Now Congress is attempting to overturn these cases by giving States the ability to establish minimum apprenticeship standards without being subject to ERISA preemption.

If H.R. 1036 is passed, States will be able to discriminate against union or non-union programs. A monopoly on certain types of apprentice programs will stifle innovation, increase the cost of setting up training programs, and ultimately discourage employers from offering training and apprenticeship programs. Most likely to suffer from this change will be women, minorities, and young people who are looking for jobs that require training.

With the changes happening in the American economy today, Congress should not be passing legislation that allows States to require non-union companies to join union training programs or be denied an approved apprenticeship program. I feel that competition between open-shops and union shops expands our workforce and results in better American products. I will vote against this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate has expired.

Pursuant to the rule, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the bill is considered as an original bill for the purpose of amendment and is considered as having been read.

The text of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

H.R. 1036

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. ERISA PREEMPTION RULES NOT TO APPLY TO CERTAIN ADDITIONAL STATE LAWS.

Section 514(b) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1144(b)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(9) Subsection (a) shall not apply to—

"(A) any provision of State law to the extent that such provision requires the payment of prevailing wages, including employee benefits, on public projects and permits any prevailing employee benefit plan contribution or cost requirement of such law to be met by crediting—

"(i) the payment of employee benefit plan contributions or costs,

"(ii) the payment of wages in lieu of such contributions or costs, or

"(iii) the payment of a combination of wages and such contributions or costs;

except that this subparagraph shall not be construed to exempt from subsection (a) any such provision to the extent it otherwise mandates the maintenance of, or otherwise regulates the benefits or operations of, any employee benefit plan;

"(B) any provision of State law to the extent that such provision—

"(i) establishes minimum standards for the certification or registration of apprenticeship or other training programs,

"(ii) concerns the establishment, maintenance, or operation of a certified or registered apprenticeship or other training program, or

"(iii) makes certified or registered apprenticeship or other training an occupational qualification, and does not conflict with any right, requirement, or duty established under this title; or

"(C) any provision of State law to the extent that such provision provides for a mechanics' lien or other lien, bonding, or other security for the collection of delinquent contributions to a multiemployer plan."

SEC. 2. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendment made by section 1 shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act and shall apply to matters with respect to which actions are pending on or after such date.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill shall be considered for amendment under the 5-minute rule for a period not to exceed 4 hours.

Are there any amendments to the bill?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODLING

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODLING: Page 4, line 2, insert after "title;" the following: "except that nothing in this subparagraph shall be construed to exempt from subsection (a) any portion of such provision of the law of such State to the extent that such portion limits apprenticeship or training opportunities by discriminating against any apprenticeship or training program under an employee benefit plan for an anti-competitive purpose which is based on the affiliation or nonaffiliation of the plan sponsor, any par-

ticipant, or any employer of a participant with any labor organization, or which is designed to benefit or protect any other apprenticeship or training program under such a plan;"

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is the product of long, hard work by two members of the committee on the minority side.

You may recall that Congressman FAWELL last year offered an amendment entirely striking the section of this bill dealing with apprenticeship and training programs. The result of that amendment would have been that ERISA would have continued to preempt all State laws regarding such programs. The amendment I am offering now represents a well-thought-through compromise on this issue.

This compromise strikes a sound balance between allowing the States maximum flexibility in setting standards for apprenticeship programs in their jurisdiction, while providing that standards which unfairly discriminate, through anticompetitive means, would remain preempted by ERISA.

The bottom line is that this amendment in no way will affect or limit in any way the ability of States to confidently move ahead with progressive and innovative apprenticeship programs.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take a moment to actually read the amendment so that everyone understands this point. The amendment is fair because it expands States rights to establish and monitor apprenticeship plans while also making sure that women, minorities, and other workers will be able to secure training for jobs through apprenticeship plans.

In contrast, the apprenticeship programs of H.R. 1036 are deeply flawed. Under the guise of overturning a few narrow court cases, its provisions will seriously undermine the establishment of needed ERISA apprenticeship and training programs. The American worker will be the ultimate loser.

But in closing, I want to reemphasize that this amendment will intrude on the State's discretion to set standards only in the most rare circumstances—that is, in cases where a State is limiting apprenticeship opportunities for anticompetitive purposes—a difficult thing to prove—which are either based on the affiliation of the plan sponsor, such as union, nonunion, or is designed to benefit or protect any other apprenticeship or training program under such a plan—one example being a situation where a State decrees that only one program in the area may qualify for approval regardless of the need for and quality of other programs which are available.

The Washington State director of the bureau of apprenticeship training called this exact situation "discriminatory against a segment of our construction industry that performs the majority of the work, and it will continue to

deny hundreds of individuals the opportunity of training in a bona fide apprenticeship program. Politics and philosophies aside, we should be looking to advance the training opportunities for all people in our society and to help alleviate the shortage of skilled workers that is now upon us." I urge you to support this amendment, a revision of the Fawell amendment of which you have heard much about already incorporating the Gunderson ideas.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word, and I rise in opposition to the amendment.

My colleagues, I notice that our good friend, an important member of the full committee and subcommittee from which this legislation emanated, the gentleman from Pennsylvania refers to himself as the offeror, not the author of this amendment. This amendment has at various times been called the Fawell amendment, the Gunderson amendment, and now I guess it is the Goodling amendment. I think I know why the authors are so hard to find. This amendment is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, we changed it to Goodling because Goodling "good," it is a good amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, it does have that to commend it. The sponsor is a good gentleman. But he has offered an amendment, as I say, that is wholly unnecessary.

It is also troubling, because I think that this amendment is going to cause a flood of wasteful litigation. Lawsuits are going to be filed, mark my words. They are going to be filed to challenge State apprenticeship standards as subterfuge for discrimination against nonunion programs.

Look, ERISA is not the appropriate vehicle for regulating the standards for apprenticeship training and employment. Those standards are under the Fitzgerald Act. If changes are needed to prevent unfair discrimination against nonunion programs, then amendments should be offered to the Fitzgerald Act. The Fitzgerald Act is not before us now. This is ERISA.

Without this amendment, without this amendment, this bill will in no way disturb the extensive protections that prohibit discrimination against nonunion programs. Under existing law, which is unaffected by this bill, any complainant who believes that a State apprenticeship council is unfairly discriminating against the complainant's apprenticeship program has full recourse under State law, just as they have always had, has full recourse under the State process.

In addition, the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training regulations provide a formal complaint

process, procedure which can result in the Department's withdrawing recognition of a State apprenticeship council and thereby withdrawing the State's authority to register and regulate apprenticeship programs for Federal purposes.

If a nonunion employer association believes that a State is unfairly excluding its programs from registration, the association files a formal complaint with the Federal Labor Department seeking to have the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training withdraw recognition of the State program. And that pressures the State to reconsider.

Through this complaint process, the particular facts of the situation can be developed and considered. Nonunion apprenticeship programs have been registered under both the State and Federal programs. No State program conditions registration of an apprenticeship program on sponsorship by a union. No State requires that.

For example, in the State of the sponsor of this bill, the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN], in California, there are at least 10 State-registered nonunion apprenticeship programs and more than 600 single employer programs that are registered.

□ 1540

Therefore, I worry that the so-called Fawell—pardon me, the so-called Gunderson—I mean the so-called Goodling—that amendment that has been looking for a home, I fear that it is going to do more harm than good. Rather than preventing discrimination, it will upset the effectiveness of the existing prohibitions, and worst of all, it will result in constant litigation.

Mr. Chairman, I urge that the amendment of my three good friends be defeated.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1036, a bill to clarify ERISA, and I oppose any changing amendments. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I was pleased to support this bill at full committee, and want to thank both Chairman FORD and Chairman WILLIAMS for moving this important piece of legislation.

Mr. Chairman, recent Federal court decisions have found that State laws requiring contractors on public works projects to comply with standards on apprenticeship training, mechanics liens, and prevailing wages are a violation of ERISA preemption. These rulings completely misconstrue the original intent of ERISA preemption. This law was intended to protect benefit plans from multiple Government regulation by establishing benefit plan regulation as an exclusive concern of the Federal Government. It was not the aim of Congress when it passed this law to preempt States from setting the terms under which they contract for public works, goods, and services.

My home State of New York requires that general contractors provide a bond on public construction contracts to assure the payment of wages and benefits in the event of a default by the general contractor or any of its subcontractors. This valuable source for collection of moneys owed to employees is being eroded by courts that misconstrue ERISA to preempt these important State laws.

H.R. 1036 would address this problem so that State laws governing apprenticeship training and prevailing wages would not be preempted by ERISA. Passage of H.R. 1036 is crucial in order to preserve the power of the States to protect employees and their benefit plans.

H.R. 1036 is in essence win-win legislation. Everybody wins. Employees and their benefit plans win, and the States win, because they will be able to legislate in this area to protect the unique needs of each State.

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 1036, and against any amendments which would gut the bill.

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Goodling amendment.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1036 is an anti-competitive and antiworker training bill, presented in the guise of State's rights.

It is a bill designed to ward off competition in apprenticeship and job training in the construction trades. H.R. 1036 would permit States to undermine the National Apprenticeship Act by establishing nonuniform sets of apprenticeship standards which, history has shown, discriminate against one select group of apprenticeship plans at the expense of many others.

There is nothing new about groups with special influence seeking to discriminate against their competition. Virtually every profession or trade group in history has attempted to regulate its number of competitors. The medieval guilds limited access by birthright.

Of course, a direct and open attempt in Congress to endorse this type of discrimination would clearly fail because of a justifiable public outcry. Therefore, the approach of H.R. 1036 is indirect and subtle; a State, no longer subject to Federal preemption, would be free to set standards which, in effect, only existing apprenticeship—union—programs could meet. In order to favor a locally established apprenticeship plan and restrict competition, the State could declare, for instance, that only one apprenticeship plan could be approved in an area. Or the State could require that all employers seeking to train their work force must register their apprentices only with the established apprenticeship program, thereby, in effect, barring competition from other union or nonunion sponsors.

These examples are not idle conjecture. Each has been tried in several States. But for the fact that the Federal law preempted such State laws because they were outside the scope of the National Apprenticeship Act, as determined by the Federal courts, officially sanctioned discrimination would be the rule in various parts of the country. H.R. 1036 overturns those court decisions and clears the way for abuse by powerful special interests.

The victims of this type of discrimination are not merely small, nonunion construction firms. The persons who have been consistently excluded from construction union training—4 to 5 years of on-the-job and classroom training—minorities, women, and disadvantaged youths are the ones who suffer the most under H.R. 1036.

The experience of California dramatizes this point. The California Apprenticeship Council has established policies which ensured that apprenticeship plans offered by nonunion companies would be denied. The State's Little Hoover Commission found that the policies hampered efforts to increase apprenticeship participation among minorities and females in the construction industry. Specifically, the Commission found that the State apprenticeship council had shown reluctance in certifying more than one program in a given area "because second or parallel programs are usually not union-sponsored, and the California Apprenticeship Council is composed in large part of union representatives."

Without amendment, H.R. 1036 would allow States like California to again subtly limit and discriminate against competition to established apprenticeship plans from both union and nonunion apprenticeship and training programs.

The bill is directly aimed at the growth and competition from new sponsors of apprenticeship plans expanding into territory previously dominated by an established apprenticeship plan—usually a union plan—favored by a State Apprenticeship Council.

But, as indicated, the real victims will be the nontraditional construction workers, that is, women, minorities, native Americans, disadvantaged youth, inner-city workers, who will be denied training opportunities to learn and compete in the construction trades. Also affected will be construction craft unions with the temerity to sponsor new apprenticeship plans which may compete with an older union's apprenticeship plan.

Congress should be in the business of expanding apprenticeship training opportunities, not undermining the National Apprenticeship Act by giving States power to treat apprenticeship plans unequally where no reasonable distinction between those plans favored by the State and those not favored can be found. That is what plan discrimina-

tion is and that is what H.R. 1036 would allow unless the Goodling amendment is accepted. Surely, that is not asking too much.

Proponents have also argued that the Goodling amendment does not save from Federal preemption State apprenticeship plans which are of higher standards of more rigorous than the minimum standards of the National Apprenticeship Act. This is not true. The Goodling amendment does not in any way affect State laws taken under the National Apprenticeship Act no matter how high or rigorous those standards may be. Again, the Goodling amendment only asks that States not discriminate between competing apprenticeship plans.

Surely, that is not asking too much.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDERMOTT). The time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL] has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. FAWELL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FAWELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

There are a number of things I want to say, Mr. Chairman, but I will seek my own time for that. The gentleman keeps talking about plans which exceed the scope of the national act.

Mr. FAWELL. Yes.

Mr. BERMAN. The national act is the Fitzgerald Act.

Mr. FAWELL. That is correct.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, it is not ERISA. It authorizes cooperation with State agencies engaged in the formulation and promotion of standards of apprenticeship. By definition, it says, "You can have a Federal program or you can have a State program. Both are within the scope of this act."

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, let me reclaim my time. If one is outside the scope of the National Apprenticeship Act, that is the only time one can suffer ERISA preemption.

We will note the cases, we will note, because otherwise the courts have held if it is under the National Apprenticeship Act, lawfully under this act, it is a Federal act and we do not have preemption of sister Federal statutes.

Mr. BERMAN. If the gentleman will continue to yield, I disagree completely with that point.

Mr. FAWELL. It is that which we are taking away. No longer will laws or standards of the State which actually may discriminate rather subtly, and that is usually the case, it is usually not overt discrimination, no longer will one be able to file a lawsuit and say, "Because this is outside the scope of the National Apprenticeship Act, it is therefore subject to ERISA preemption." That has been lost.

Therefore, we are substituting an amendment that simply says, "Well, in

regard to all State standards pertaining to apprenticeship, we are merely asking that the States will agree not to discriminate against one particular apprenticeship plan and in favor of another."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL] has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. FAWELL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

□ 1550

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FAWELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ENGEL. The gentleman talks about the intent to establish uniform Federal standards. The Fitzgerald Act never intended uniformity. The implementing regulations, which I have here, and I would like to read, specifically contemplate States going beyond the Federal standards.

It says that they want each State to supply a description of the policies and operating procedures which depart from or oppose requirements in addition to those prescribed in this part. So uniformity was never intended.

All we are saying is allow the States to pass the legislation that is right for their State. Do not put the States in straitjackets.

Mr. FAWELL. May I respond? I do not want to repeat what I have already said, but the Goodling amendment makes it very clear the States can do anything they wish in regard to setting standards in reference to apprenticeship plans. That is a given. We know that ERISA preemption would be lost.

But we are saying something that everybody ought to be able to readily agree to, and that is that the State laws and standards will not in effect discriminate between apprenticeship plans. That is, discriminate in regard to the competition of these plans so that if you have a building trades or an employer who meets all of the standards of the State, that you will not subtly or otherwise discriminate so as to deny that particular apprenticeship plan to operate. When you do that, when you have competition in what is basically educational programs, apprenticeship plans, then you have more and more people who are able to break into the construction trades, and that means to a great degree the minorities, the inner-city people, disadvantaged youth, women, who do not have and never have had that opportunity. That is all that the amendment does. It simply says that the States do not discriminate in regard to apprenticeship plans.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words and I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment by our friend and offeror, the gentleman

from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], is a very bizarre way to try and reach a result that could be reached much more directly, clearly, and effectively by approaching the underlying law. This amendment is imprecise. It undercuts the fundamental purpose of the bill, and it comes from a part of the House which, in the area of other ERISA legislation, has screamed and yelled about the consequence and flow of litigation that will come if we were to undo the cases which we are seeking to undo.

I guarantee if this amendment were to pass that in every single State, all 27 where you have apprenticeship programs, as to the dozens and dozens of apprenticeship programs you have in each State you will now find you have a lot of Federal litigation trying to find out whether a provision of ERISA passed in 1974, that was never intended to have any impact on State apprenticeship programs, will now preempt or not preempt based on a whole series of undefined, ambiguous terms.

We are not talking about amending the Fitzgerald Act to increase the effectiveness of remedies against discrimination. We heard about a case. The gentleman from North Carolina talked about a case of a Republican activist family in California and the problems they had with an apprenticeship program. The absurdity of this issue is they are saying an apprenticeship council, State apprenticeship council appointed by Governor George Deukmejian and Governor Pete Wilson has been out in this case to get this particular company's apprenticeship program because they are not union. Anyone who has followed the appointment process in California and the political process in California and thinks that George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson have spent the last 10 years seeking to discriminate against nonunion apprenticeship programs has been looking at something very different from what I have been looking at out in California for the past 10 years.

What is this amendment that is in front of us? I will ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Perhaps he can clarify or one of the Members on that side could clarify. We talk about a provision of law to extend, that that provision of law limits apprenticeship or training opportunities, discriminating against any apprenticeship or training program under an employee benefit plan for an anticompetitive purpose. Let us start with anticompetitive purpose, a term of art that is not defined in the amendment, that it is not defined in ERISA, that is not defined in the Fitzgerald Act, and which construed one way can make certain sense, and in another way can make no sense.

The whole premise of apprenticeship programs and the efforts to provide certain skills and certain standards to workers in certain crafts can be used and viewed as an anticompetitive pur-

pose. It is saying in order to do certain kinds of electrical work you have to know and pass certain electrical standards, any standard, any test, any State's licensing process which has certain kinds of anticompetitive consequences. We balance those against the desire to ensure that that craft and that skill is reliable, and that consumers can depend upon it, and it makes perfect sense.

There is no effort to define what we mean by anticompetitive purpose.

One last point, and then I am happy to yield. Then we have a phrase which is based on the affiliation or nonaffiliation of the plan sponsor. Affiliation with what? The local Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis Club, the AFL-CIO, a non-AFL-CIO association? This language has not been drafted with any thought to specificity, to definition, to providing standards by which you are going to have 27 State laws challenged in the Federal courts for program after program that exist based on an application that this amendment gives no hope to.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN] has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BERMAN was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BERMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is all about discrimination. The States are being given complete authority, unrestricted authority to establish standards in regard to apprenticeship programs.

Mr. BERMAN. Discrimination on what basis?

Mr. FAWELL. Let me explain. Discrimination in regard to favoritism for the established, usual apprenticeship plan in an area, and in effect discrimination that says to the other apprenticeship plans, brother, or sister, your apprenticeship plan is not going to qualify. For instance, as I said before, the rule of no parallel plans allowed.

Mr. BERMAN. May I reclaim my time to ask, and we are getting right to the heart of this, is the gentleman suggesting that any State limitations authorized under State law as envisioned in the Fitzgerald Act which might limit to 600 rather than 1,200 or to 200 rather than 900 the number of apprenticeship programs, based on viability, ability to police, and the need for the work force, any effort to put a limit, which by definition then favors the ones that have been established versus the ones that might seek to be established, any type of limit like that makes that State law fall, makes it preempted by ERISA by the State apprenticeship regulation, is that what the gentleman intends?

Mr. FAWELL. Of course not.

Mr. BERMAN. Where in this amendment does the gentleman distinguish what discrimination is appropriate with reference to established plans, which is appropriate and which is not? Where in the amendment is this kind of language?

Mr. FAWELL. The amendment, I repeat, refers to discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN] has again expired.

(On request of Mr. FAWELL and by unanimous consent, Mr. BERMAN was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. FAWELL. The amendment deals with discrimination.

Mr. BERMAN. On what basis?

Mr. FAWELL. It is explained here. Discrimination in regard to particular apprenticeship plans which are denied the opportunity to compete in the educational endeavor called apprenticeship training for American workers.

Now there is a lot of case law on the subject, and the facts and circumstances may vary. But let me give an example if I may.

Mr. BERMAN. Just to reclaim my time, this amendment is what is in front of us. No case is in front of us. This is new law the gentleman is seeking to support in this legislation.

□ 1600

Tell me what kind of discrimination is allowed and what kind of discrimination is not allowed? If one does not have to accept every single person's idea of apprenticeship program at the State level and approve every apprenticeship program, how many do you have to approve? What is the standard? What is the marketplace test?

Mr. FAWELL. May I respond?

Mr. BERMAN. Sure.

Mr. FAWELL. As it is stated here, if you have standards of State laws which are designed to benefit or protect any particular apprenticeship program at the expense of others, that is a factual situation, obviously. And just as in the past when we litigated these matters and basically we litigated them on the assumption that if they are outside the scope of the apprenticeship act, the National Apprenticeship Act, they would be subject to preemption. That was the issue in those cases. That is how discrimination against certain plans occurs so that certain people never have the opportunity to have their plans approved; that is how it took place. You are taking that away. You are taking it away because some States found they were losing in the courts as a result of it. What we have here is a definition, a broad definition that points out that there can be discrimination where one plan will be favored over the other. That is just part of it, of course. And if you have, for instance, you find that the affiliation or nonaffiliation of a plan's sponsor—let us say I am an

employer or that I represent the building and trades council so that there is discrimination because of my lack of an affiliation with the union. That, in part, is what it refers to.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN] has expired.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN]?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would just say to my colleagues that the debate is, frankly, becoming circular, it is turning back on itself. I think it has been helpful, but there are others here, including perhaps the other sponsor of this amendment, who would probably like to be heard.

So I will not object to this request, but I may in future extensions of time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BERMAN was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. BERMAN. I would like to ask, if I may, the gentleman from Illinois: Affiliates with whom? The gentleman does not say in the statute.

Mr. FAWELL. It does.

Mr. BERMAN. Based on the affiliation or nonaffiliation of a plan's sponsor. Affiliates with whom or what?

Mr. FAWELL. It refers to a labor organization.

Mr. BERMAN. Where, where?

Mr. FAWELL. Right in the affiliation or nonaffiliation of a plan's sponsor with a labor organization.

Mr. BERMAN. Affiliation of the plan's sponsor, any participating or any employer participant?

Mr. FAWELL. Yes; with a labor organization.

Mr. BERMAN. And on that basis, what should happen?

Mr. FAWELL. What we are saying is that because you are not affiliated with a labor organization, there could be discrimination against any sponsor who presented an apprenticeship program. And if the court were to find that there was that kind of discrimination, then of course you have a violation of this law.

Mr. BERMAN. In order not to—I do not want to abuse the time. I have already had a good deal of time.

Let me just close by indicating I would suggest the appropriate approach is to amend the Fitzgerald Act, if that is what you seek to do, establish the standards you want, define what the gentleman means by anticompetitive, indicate when it is appropriate to say, "Enough apprenticeship plans in this particular skill area," versus, "We have to continue allowing more," set up the standards the gentleman wants,

create a new administrative remedy with a judicial remedy at the end of it. Do not have 27 State laws challenged as they would apply to each different skill or craft, and let us defeat this amendment and take an approach which makes coherence, which follows on the law.

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Chairman, in order to get somebody else involved in this debate, if I may, I move to strike the requisite number of works.

Mr. Chairman and colleagues, I have got to tell you I am up here not as an opponent of this bill but as a supporter. But I am also a supporter of this amendment. So I do not want people to understand that this amendment is a quote unquote killer amendment to the bill. That is why I am involved in this whole process.

Let us understand the bill in front of us is the same bill from the last Congress dealing with three issues: prevailing wage, I do not think there is any debate; mechanics liens, I do not think there is any debate; apprenticeship preemption under ERISA, and obviously there is some debate, evidenced by what we have just been listening to.

I passionately believe that training programs in this country, to be successful, must be done at the most local level possible. And everything we are doing in our Education and Labor Committee with job training programs, with last week's school-to-work transition programs, everything we are doing is sending those training programs back to the States and the locals.

That is why I support the legislation in front of us, because I think that is where it belongs, and I can tell you from personal experience in the State of Wisconsin that is where our State wants it to belong. That is a State administration under a Republican Governor.

We talked to them about this legislation, and we have talked to them about the amendments from the last Congress and the amendments in the Committee on Education and Labor, and they too share the concern that Mr. BERMAN and others have raised here about, "Do we want to recreate a Federal preemption under the Fitzgerald Act when we are eliminating our under ERISA?" They do not want that, and, very frankly, ladies and gentleman, I do not want that.

We began in 1989 a program in Wisconsin to modernize and reform our apprenticeship programs in that particular State. We are succeeding in innovative ways, creating dynamic new standards and goals for those programs, hopefully, unlike anything else being done anywhere in the country.

In all due respect, we do not want the Federal Government to come in and tell us we cannot do that, that we have to be part of some national standard on apprenticeship programs.

The problem we have today is that all of a sudden in solving the ERISA

problem we have this new question of what are we going to do under the Fitzgerald Act?

The first thing this Congress ought to do under the Fitzgerald Act is to commit to modernizing it. It was written in 1937. It is antiquated for apprenticeship programs for the 21st century. That is why we find ourselves in the catch-22 situation here this afternoon.

And at the same time that we do not want to create a new preemption, I think we ought to admit that there is a problem. That problem is: If you give States total control to design the apprenticeship programs they want without any limitations, you allow the possibility of, very frankly, discrimination based on affiliation.

Now, hopefully, there are enough of us in this Congress on both sides of the aisle who are neither 100 percent pro nor 100 percent anti-union, but want to allow both the opportunity to compete and succeed based on the merits of their programs, that we want to try to find a solution to this problem.

I want to read to my colleagues the language of the amendment offered by Mr. GOODLING:

Nothing in this subparagraph shall exempt any provision of such State to the extent that in doing so we, No. 1, limit apprenticeship or training opportunity by, No. 2, discriminating against any apprenticeship or training program, No. 3, based on the affiliation or nonaffiliation of the plan's sponsor or any participant.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUNDERSON. I will yield when I am—

Mr. FORD of Michigan. I want to know what the gentleman is reading. I have the Goodling amendment before me, and I do not find the language the gentleman is reading.

Mr. GUNDERSON. Okay. I can read the whole thing. I was trying to take those pertinent words and convert this legalese into plain English.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. The gentleman from Illinois is a very skillful lawyer and frequently confuses me because he talks way over my head most of the time. The gentleman from Wisconsin has always demonstrated such fine Midwestern common sense that I usually understand him. That is why I am upset when I read the same thing he does and do not see the same words.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON] has expired.

(On request of Mr. FORD of Michigan and by unanimous consent, Mr. GUNDERSON was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

□ 1610

Mr. GUNDERSON. All right, let us not read it. Let us talk plain English.

The fact is what this amendment is trying to do is say, "Look, we're going to eliminate any ERISA preemption except under one circumstance. That

circumstance being where a State limits apprenticeships by discriminating against any apprenticeship program based on the affiliation or non-affiliation either of the sponsor or the participants."

Now, why did we develop this language? We developed this language because we were trying to get at the goal that I have been told is supported on both sides of the aisle, which is parallel programs ought not to be prohibited just by virtue of their sponsor. You do not want a right-to-work State denying a union-sponsored apprenticeship program, and very frankly you do not want a union-controlled State apprenticeship program denying a non-union sponsor if the merits of that program are there. We like that kind of competition. That has to be dealt with somehow, someday. Ideally, and that gets to the point that the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN] and the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS] are trying to get at.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUNDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman tell me, it is certainly not my State the gentleman has in mind. Is this a problem in Wisconsin?

Mr. GUNDERSON. This is not a problem in Wisconsin at the present time.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Where is the problem we are trying to solve?

Mr. GUNDERSON. There is a concern that it will be a problem in a number of States in the future.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. It is a hypothetical concern that has not happened and it might happen?

Mr. GUNDERSON. It is a concern that the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS] does not want.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Well, it has not happened, has it?

Mr. GUNDERSON. It has not happened? Wait a minute.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. I would maybe not agree, but I would feel more at ease if the gentleman could tell me, where has this evil practice existed by State law?

Mr. GUNDERSON. Well, first of all, I think we have got the State law. We have the State of Washington case. We obviously have the Hydrostorage case and others that have brought this issue to the Congress.

Now, they happen to have used the ERISA preemption as the basis. That is why we are here today overturning that, because most of us do not believe that ERISA benefits are to include apprenticeship, and we certainly do not believe that we ought to have one national standard.

But having agreed on those two goals, I would hope that we also do not disagree on the desire not to discriminate based on the affiliation of the

sponsor. I am trying to make sure we solve all three problems.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. GUNDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. I am trying very hard to understand what it is we are curing here. In the first instance, the gentleman says he has no problem with the idea that we pull the Federal Government out of the States' hair to regulate these three areas. The gentleman mentioned apprenticeship as one of them.

Except we say but the States in operating their apprenticeship programs shall be subject to a new rule, except that I cannot read in this amendment any standard that would let a State legislature know when they were within the rule and outside the rule.

This is a lawyer's employment dream.

I would suggest that the gentleman and I do not belong to the same union as lawyers, but this will put every lawyer to work in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. GUNDERSON was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUNDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to clarify this issue.

The chairman of the committee asked the question, where is the problem? The gentleman from Wisconsin mentioned Hydrostorage. Hydrostorage was not a case about discrimination. Hydrostorage was a case that decided that little phrase in ERISA relating to employee benefit plans preempted—

Mr. GUNDERSON. A State council from doing what they had been doing.

Mr. BERMAN. A State council from doing what they were doing. There was no finding that the State council had exercised its power abusively or discriminatorily or had shut out certain people. It just said you cannot regulate in this area because ERISA preempts you. So Hydrostorage was not the case of discrimination. Hydrostorage was the case of preemption.

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to reclaim my time, because we all agree on that, but we also know that the reason that case was filed is because there was inability to get apprenticeship programs approved by the State Apprenticeship Council in California.

We also know that despite what has been said here this afternoon, people who suggest that the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training in Washington can reclaim a State certification, that is not going to happen when we are cutting money at the Federal level. That has never been done in recent

memory, even under Ronald Reagan. We did not retract that authority here at the Federal level when we did not like what a union-dominated apprenticeship council was doing, for budget reasons. So that is not going to happen, either.

The fact is that the gentleman and I both know that ideally we ought to be dealing with the reform of Fitzgerald. We do not have that opportunity.

The gentleman knows in an attempt to correct this problem, the gentleman was going to offer an amendment that says we could not deny a plan simply based on whether it was union or non-union. That was the same intent of this language, only we both know and recognize that nobody ever says the reason we are rejecting this application for apprenticeship program is because it is union or nonunion program. They come up with some other reason to do that.

So if we are going to try to make the kind of reforms that I think the gentleman wants and that I want as sponsors and supporters of this bill and supporters of the right of States to design and implement the highest standard possible programmatically in their apprenticeship programs, this amendment, added to the bill, solves that problem and makes it a better bill.

Mr. Chairman, I encourage Members to vote for the amendment, and upon its adoption, for the bill.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I rise in support of the amendment, and I yield to my colleague, the ranking member, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding to me.

I was sitting over here in amazement, kind of chuckling the whole way through because I have sat beside I forget how many chairmen so far and every time we have the labor issue, I say, "If we can produce legislation from this committee to guarantee full employment for attorneys, why can we not do it for the rest of the Nation?"

All of a sudden today I am being told from that side that we are producing legislation that is somehow or other going to produce work for attorneys. Every time I have said that, they have said, "Oh, this will never happen. You're just over-reacting," et cetera, et cetera. So I found that amazing.

The second thing that I found amazing was the fact that everybody on that side of the aisle, everybody on this side of the aisle, all of our Members who may or may not be listening know exactly what the legislation is protecting. Everybody knows that, and they know who you are protecting.

When the Secretary of Labor came and said to me, "I would like your support to see whether we can do the kind

of training that we need to do if we are going to stay competitive," I said, "Mr. Secretary, I will be very happy to help you, but first of all, you have to bring organized labor into the 21st century when it comes to training and when it comes to apprenticeship programs."

And he said, "I realize changes have to be made."

That is what we are trying to do here. Changes have to be made.

So again, let us support an amendment that will give us an opportunity to truly prepare and train for the 21st century, not those programs that are no longer effective, not those programs where you have to know an uncle, an aunt, a cousin, a brother, a sister, et cetera, et cetera. It does not matter whether you are underprivileged and should get an opportunity. It does not matter whether you are a woman and you should have that opportunity. The only thing that matters is that you know the right people.

So let us be realistic. Let us not play games. Let us pass the amendment and make sure that we have a good ERISA program and that we have a good training and apprenticeship program.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman, the author of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the other author of the amendment, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL].

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Chairman, there was a question put to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON] as to whether or not there have been problems. One case was mentioned, Hydrostorage, where indeed in that case a contractor from Tennessee was told that in order to be able to bid on a public works project, he had to sign a boilermaker's union apprenticeship plan and drop his own.

I have got a list of other cases, too. There have been a number of cases. We all know that.

There is the Electrical Joint Apprenticeship Committee versus MacDonald:

The standards of the State Committee (which allowed an exemption from a state prevailing wage law for a State Apprenticeship Council approved programs but not for BAT approved programs) (are) 'independent and apart from the regulation authorized and provided for by the Fitzgerald Act and its accompanying regulations against plans.'

The Inland Pacific Chapter of Associated Builders and Contractors versus Joseph A. Dear:

It is clear that the State of Washington is not allowing parallel apprenticeship programs (union and nonunion), which are allowed under the Fitzgerald Act and the applicable regulations.

Southern California Chapter of Associated Builders and Contractors versus California Apprenticeship Council:

In speaking of a California "no parallel program" rule, the court stated, "we observe that the only apparent purpose of the challenged requirement in section 212.2(a) is to

restrict competition among apprenticeship programs, as it was interpreted by the Council to do in this case.

The experience in California I think is especially poignant. The California Apprenticeship Council has established policies which insured that apprentice plans offered by nonunion companies would be denied, and the State's Little Hoover Commission found that the policies hampered efforts to increase apprenticeship participation among minorities and females in the construction industries.

Specifically, the commission found that the State Apprenticeship Council had shown "reluctance" in certifying more than one program in a given area, "because second or parallel programs are usually not union sponsored and the California Apprenticeship Council was composed in large part of union representatives."

□ 1620

That is the Little Hoover Commission, Mr. Chairman. Those are not my words.

So, there are problems that exist right now, and I thank the gentleman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA] for having yielded this time to me.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Goodling amendment and in opposition to H.R. 1036. In what is clearly a triumph of the efforts of trial lawyers and the AFL-CIO, H.R. 1036 represents a new direction counter to the original intent of ERISA. For those Members who may be confused about this issue, let me give you some background. The purpose of the Employment Retirement Income Security Act is to provide for uniform regulation of employer provided benefit programs. Employee benefits can include pension plans, employer provided health packages and the like. Congress sought to shield these plans from dual Federal and State regulation by broadly preempting State laws. Representative John Dent, an early supporter of ERISA, made the case on the floor of this House for the broadest possible preemption of State laws in the area of regulation of employee benefit plans. He stated, and I quote,

Finally, I wish to make note of what is to many the crowning achievement of this legislation, the reservation to Federal authority [of] the sole power to regulate the field of employee benefit plans. With the preemption of the field, we round out the protection afforded participants by eliminating the threat of conflicting and inconsistent State and local regulation.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1036 would practically throw this consensus out the window. In fact, it is precisely the inconsistent and conflicting local and State regulation that the supporters of this legislation seek. Straining credi-

bility, the backers of H.R. 1036 argue that it was never the intent of ERISA to preempt State laws regulating apprenticeship and prevailing wage programs or collection remedies for multi-employer plans.

The fact of the matter is that many past efforts by the States go to the heart of ERISA precisely because their result, if unchallenged, is the regulation of employee benefit plans. Invariably the decisions of the courts have demonstrated that these State laws or regulations relate to employee benefits and thus are preempted by ERISA.

My colleague recognizes the problems of H.R. 1036 and offers alternatives that this House should consider. His amendment would ensure that apprenticeship programs aren't subject to discrimination by union dominated State apprenticeship boards. In a move designed to foster job training and employment opportunity, the Goodling amendment would prevent special interests from either decertifying legitimate apprenticeship programs or from disallowing the creation of new apprenticeship programs.

Today, this House is being asked to start down the pathway of unraveling the uniformity of ERISA. What will the result be? With passage of H.R. 1036 we risk lowering worker training. We will be encouraging discriminating against nonunion apprenticeship programs. We will raise the cost of providing employee benefits. We will raise more barriers against women and minorities by keeping them out of the work force. Mr. Chairman, the Goodling amendment will protect most apprenticeship programs from the effects of this new change, and for that reason I will support it.

But overall, the erosion of ERISA is not in the interest of workers. It's not in the interest of small business. It's not in the interest of minorities and women. In whose interest then is passage of H.R. 1036? The AFL-CIO and the American Trial Lawyers Association. They will benefit, and they will prosper.

Having a host of differing standards across the Nation will be administratively and financially a nightmare. Complying with a different standard all across the country may be good for the unions and trial lawyers, but it's extremely burdensome for struggling small businesses and contractors. It will force companies to pay additional benefits to its workers where local prevailing wages were found to vary even slightly from those provided by the company. Even if a company whose benefits were superior to the local prevailing benefits would have to provide additional payments or benefits to its workers.

The shredding of the uniformity and predictability of ERISA regulation will severely impair the preemption cornerstone provided by ERISA which has

served our Nation well for nearly 18 years. With American workers and employers facing the competitive pressures of the global economy, now is the time to discourage the establishment and maintenance of apprenticeship and training programs.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1036 is bad for apprenticeship, bad for minority and women participation in the work force, and bad for the American worker. I urge my colleagues to vote for the Goodling amendment and against H.R. 1036, and I admonish my colleagues to listen to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL] who has command of the details and is unchallenged by anybody with an objective understanding of this legislation held aside from service to a special interest group that would like to control the workers' destiny, thousands of Americans who have exercised their freedom and prerogative in this country to not join a union.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, the merits or demerits of the issue aside, it is unfortunate that some people, including the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY] who just spoke, use occasions like this to draw a line in the sand, to claim all the good people are on one side and the bad people are on the other, and they try to paint millions of people, lawyers, common workers who happen to decide to join a union, on the side of the line with the bad people. Polarization, name calling, no matter how subtle, really has no place in a debate like this.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY] simply is wrong. Those of us on this side who are supporting the bill of the gentleman from California are not trying to defend any particular interest group. But neither are we attempting to condemn any particular group that does not see the language of this bill precisely the way we do.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

The Goodling amendment preserves the availability of a very important employee benefit—training and apprenticeship programs for American workers. Under the Goodling amendment, any employer who wants to offer their workers training which meets the standards of the National Apprenticeship Act may do so.

In its present form, H.R. 1036 would allow States to force nonunion employ-

ers to participate in union training programs or be denied an approved apprenticeship plan, even if those plans meet Federal standards. The minorities, women, and young people generally employed by nonunion firms are sure to feel the negative impact of such action. In addition, nonunion firms will find themselves at a competitive disadvantage, with a less talented work force and higher payroll costs.

Mr. Chairman, this is simply an issue of fairness. The Goodling amendment eliminates the discriminatory effects of H.R. 1036 by preserving the right of union and nonunion employers alike to provide quality worker training to improve the skills of their employees, while providing States flexibility.

We cannot afford to inhibit the productivity of America's work force by denying access to quality training, nor can we afford to encourage a less competitive environment in which American businesses must operate. We must provide flexibility for our businesses and opportunity for our workers to meet high standards.

I strongly support the Goodling amendment. A vote in favor of this amendment is a vote for education, and a vote for American workers, American business, and American competitiveness. Vote "yes" on the Goodling amendment.

□ 1630

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, as an independent contractor, I rise in support of the Goodling-Fawell amendment.

In its current form, H.R. 1036 would add burdensome and unnecessary costs to independent contractors by permitting States to discriminate against nonunion organizations regarding apprenticeship programs. As a result, State laws which discriminate against nonunion-affiliated contractors will be permitted if this bill is passed.

Such discrimination is not only unfair, it is also unwise, as it will reduce the number of apprenticeship and training programs because of cost. This will mean fewer trained workers and a less competitive American work force.

For these reasons, I strongly urge my colleagues to support the Goodling-Fawell amendment.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Goodling amendment which will protect an outstanding training program in my district. Brazosport College has worked in cooperation with the local chapter of the Associated Builders and Contractors and Dow Chemical Co. in training apprentices in the Brazosport community for over 20 years.

Obviously, I am very proud of this successful program. But my colleagues should be aware that this partnership is nationally recognized. The John Gray Institute of Lamar University was commissioned to conduct a study for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in the Labor Department.

The lead author of that study, Dr. John Wells, stated that the program run in the Brazosport area should be a model for the Nation. To quote Dr. Wells, he said "I think the story of Dow Chemical Plant Freeport, TX, and the Brazosport ABC chapter can be a shining light for this industry and this Nation."

I submit for the RECORD a copy of an article which appeared in the Brazosport Facts which discusses the wonderful success of this program.

H.R. 1036, as written, would jeopardize the continuation of this program.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to submit for the RECORD a letter from John Grable, president of Brazosport College expressing his opposition to H.R. 1036 which threatens to end the successful training program at his school.

I support the Goodling amendment which would prevent the big labor unions from ending this nonunion training program which is a model for the Nation. I strongly urge my colleagues to support the Goodling amendment and oppose H.R. 1036.

BRAZOSPORT COLLEGE,

Lake Jackson, TX, September 24, 1993.

Hon. TOM DELAY,

House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DELAY: Brazosport College, a two-year community college, serving your constituents, strongly opposes H.R. 1036, which exempts certain state laws from the preemption provisions of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA).

H.R. 1036 seeks to amend ERISA by exempting state laws from ERISA in the areas of apprenticeship and training, benefits on private and public projects, and mechanics liens.

Apprenticeship and other training programs are important benefits which many employers, both union and non-union, offer on a multi-state and multi-locality basis. The effect of the proposed amendment could have a negative impact on providing training opportunities for non-union employees by requiring non-union companies to join union training or be denied an approved apprenticeship program.

A part of the mission of Brazosport College is to provide educational programs which insure success of all students. Brazosport College has worked successfully with Associated Builders and Contractors, an association of non-union employers, in training apprentices for over twenty (20) years. This cooperative training partnership has been a model for other ABC chapters throughout the nation. The passage of H.R. 1036 would be extremely detrimental to the ability of the college to provide for the needs of local employers.

It is my belief that unnecessary limitations or restrictions that might be placed on non-union employers as a result of H.R. 1036 should be viewed as being in direct opposition to President Clinton's focus on improving the skill level of the entire work force.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. GRABLE,
President.

[From the Brazosport (TX) Facts, Aug. 14, 1991]

CONTRACTOR SAFETY—INSTITUTE OFFICIAL
PRAISES ABC, DOW, COLLEGE
(By Rachelle Whitney)

The president of John Gray Institute called the partnership between the Dow Chemical Co., Brazosport College and Associated Builders and Contractors a model for the nation.

Slaughter	Thompson	Waters
Smith (IA)	Thornton	Watt
Smith (NJ)	Torkildsen	Waxman
Solomon	Torres	Weldon
Spratt	Torricelli	Wheat
Stark	Towns	Williams
Stokes	Traffant	Wilson
Strickland	Tucker	Wise
Studds	Unsoeld	Woolsey
Stupak	Velazquez	Wyden
Swett	Vento	Wynn
Swift	Visclosky	Yates
Synar	Volkmer	Young (AK)
Tejeda	Washington	

NOT VOTING—9

Lewis (FL)	Romero-Barcelo	Underwood (GU)
Moakley	(PR)	Whitten
Norton (DC)	Rose	
Petri	Tauzin	

□ 1653

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Lewis of Florida for, with Mr. Moakley against.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida, Mr. LIPINSKI, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Messrs. RUSH, ORTIZ, and TEJEDA changed their vote from "aye" to "no."

Mr. DERRICK changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

□ 1655

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. HUGHES) having assumed the chair, Mr. McDERMOTT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1036) to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt certain State laws, pursuant to House Resolution 299, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 276, noes 150, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 554]

AYES—276

Abercrombie	Geddeson	Mollohan
Ackerman	Gephardt	Moran
Andrews (ME)	Gibbons	Morella
Andrews (NJ)	Gilman	Murphy
Andrews (TX)	Glickman	Murtha
Applegate	Gonzalez	Nadler
Bacchus (FL)	Gordon	Natcher
Baessler	Green	Neal (MA)
Barca	Greenwood	Neal (NC)
Barclay	Gunderson	Oberstar
Barlow	Gutierrez	Obey
Barrett (WI)	Hall (OH)	Oliver
Becerra	Hamburg	Ortiz
Bellenson	Hamilton	Orton
Bentley	Harman	Owens
Berman	Hastings	Pallone
Bevill	Hayes	Pastor
Bilbray	Hefner	Payne (NJ)
Bishop	Hillard	Pelosi
Blackwell	Hinchey	Penny
Bliley	Hoagland	Peterson (FL)
Blute	Hochbrueckner	Peterson (MN)
Boehlert	Holden	Pickett
Bonior	Horn	Pomeroy
Borski	Houghton	Poshard
Boucher	Hoyer	Price (NC)
Brewster	Hughes	Quinn
Brooks	Inslee	Rahall
Brown (CA)	Jacobs	Rangel
Brown (FL)	Jefferson	Reed
Brown (OH)	Johnson (CT)	Regula
Bryant	Johnson (GA)	Reynolds
Byrne	Johnson (SD)	Richardson
Cantwell	Johnson, E. B.	Ridge
Cardin	Johnston	Roemer
Carr	Kanjorski	Ros-Lehtinen
Chapman	Kaptur	Rose
Clay	Kennedy	Rostenkowski
Clayton	Kennelly	Roukema
Clement	Kildee	Rowland
Clyburn	King	Roybal-Allard
Coleman	Kleczka	Rush
Collins (IL)	Klein	Sabo
Collins (MI)	Klink	Sanders
Condit	Kopetski	Sangmeister
Conyers	Kreidler	Santorum
Cooper	LaFalce	Sawyer
Coppersmith	Lambert	Saxton
Costello	Lancaster	Schenk
Coyne	Lantos	Schroeder
Danner	LaRocco	Schumer
Darden	Lazio	Scott
de la Garza	Leach	Serrano
Deal	Lehman	Sharp
DeFazio	Levin	Shays
DeLauro	Levy	Shepherd
Dellums	Lewis (GA)	Sisk
Derrick	Lipinski	Skaggs
Deutsch	Lloyd	Skelton
Diaz-Balart	Long	Slattery
Dicks	Lowe	Slaughter
Dingell	Machtley	Smith (IA)
Dixon	Maloney	Smith (NJ)
Dooley	Manton	Solomon
Durbin	Margolies	Spratt
Edwards (CA)	Mezvisky	Stark
Edwards (TX)	Markey	Stokes
Engel	Martinez	Strickland
English (AZ)	Matsui	Studds
English (OK)	Mazzoli	Stupak
Eshoo	McCloskey	Swett
Evans	McCurdy	Swift
Farr	McDade	Synar
Fazio	McDermott	Tejeda
Fields (LA)	McHale	Thompson
Filner	McHugh	Thornton
Fingerhut	McKinney	Thurman
Fish	McNulty	Torkildsen
Flake	Meehan	Torres
Foglietta	Meek	Torricelli
Ford (MI)	Menendez	Towns
Ford (TN)	Mfume	Traffant
Frank (MA)	Miller (CA)	Tucker
Franks (NJ)	Mineta	Unsoeld
Frost	Minge	Velazquez
Furse	Mink	Vento
Gallo	Molinari	Visclosky

Volkmer
Washington
Waters
Watt
Waxman
Weldon

Wheat
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Woolsey
Wyden

Wynn
Yates
Young (AK)
Zimmer

NOES—150

Allard	Gilchrest	Moorhead
Archer	Gillmor	Myers
Armey	Gingrich	Nussle
Bachus (AL)	Goodlatte	Oxley
Baker (CA)	Goodling	Packard
Baker (LA)	Goss	Parker
Ballenger	Grams	Paxon
Barrett (NE)	Grandy	Payne (VA)
Bartlett	Hall (TX)	Pickle
Barton	Hancock	Pombo
Bateman	Hansen	Porter
Bereuter	Hastert	Portman
Billrakis	Hefley	Pryce (OH)
Boehner	Herger	Quillen
Bonilla	Hobson	Ramstad
Browder	Hoekstra	Ravenel
Bunning	Hoke	Roberts
Burton	Huffington	Rogers
Buyer	Hunter	Rohrabacher
Callahan	Hutchinson	Roth
Calvert	Hutto	Royce
Camp	Hyde	Sarpalius
Canady	Inglis	Schaefer
Castle	Inhofe	Schiff
Clinger	Istook	Sensenbrenner
Coble	Johnson, Sam	Shaw
Collins (GA)	Kasich	Shuster
Combest	Kim	Skeen
Cox	Kingston	Smith (OR)
Cramer	Klug	Smith (TX)
Crane	Knollenberg	Snowe
Crapo	Kolbe	Spence
Cunningham	Kyl	Stearns
DeLay	Laughlin	Stenholm
Dickey	Lewis (CA)	Stump
Doolittle	Lightfoot	Sundquist
Dornan	Linder	Talent
Dreier	Livingston	Tanner
Duncan	Manzullo	Tauzin
Dunn	McCandless	Taylor (MS)
Emerson	McCollum	Taylor (NC)
Everett	McCrery	Thomas (CA)
Ewing	McInnis	Thomas (WY)
Fawell	McKeon	Upton
Fields (TX)	McMillan	Valentine
Fowler	Meyers	Vucanovich
Franks (CT)	Mica	Walker
Gallegly	Michel	Walsh
Gekas	Miller (FL)	Wolf
Geren	Montgomery	Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—7

Lewis (FL)	Petri	Zeliff
Mann	Smith (MI)	
Moakley	Whitten	

□ 1712

The Clerk announced the following pairs: On this vote:

Mr. Mann for, with Mr. Lewis of Florida against.

Mr. Moakley for, with Mr. Smith of Michigan against.

Mr. ORTIZ and Mr. TEJEDA changed their vote from "no" to "aye."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks, and include extraneous matter, on H.R. 1036, the bill which was just considered and passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUGHES). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana? There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall 554 I would like to indicate that I was unavoidably detained and could not cast my vote. Had I cast my vote I would have voted "aye."

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3116, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994

Mr. MURTHA submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 3116) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes.

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 103-339)

The Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3116) "making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 27, 36, 57, 61, 62, 64, 80, 88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 131, 135, 149, 150, 153, 160, 164, 166, 171, 175, 176, 177, 184, 193, 195, 199, 200, 202, 204, 206, 207, 210, 213, 215, 219, and 223.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 12, 15, 17, 20, 24, 28, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 60, 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 85, 87, 98, 118, 123, 125, 126, 134, 137, 146, 158, 159, 162, 167, 168, 172, 179, 181, 182, 188, and 224, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$21,296,177,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$18,330,950,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$5,772,317,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$15,823,030,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate num-

bered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,149,147,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 6:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,555,800,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$350,890,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 8:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$781,958,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$3,340,283,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,223,492,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$15,802,057,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

After the words "on January 1, 1947 and ending on December 31, 1971" named in said amendment strike out all the matter that follows:

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$19,860,309,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: : *Provided, That \$350,000 shall be available only to connect residences located in the vicinity of the Naval Air Warfare Center, Warminster, to the Warminster municipal water supply system: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than*

\$56,442,500 shall be made available only for the Pacific Missile Range Facility, Hawaii: Provided further, That for costs associated with the termination of the planned MHC facility in Astoria, Oregon, \$2,000,000 shall be made available only to the State of Oregon within 60 days after enactment of this Act for the Marine and Environment Station at South Tongue Point, Oregon, and of this amount, \$500,000 shall be made available for program development; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$1,857,699,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$19,093,805,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: : *Provided further, That \$15,500,000 shall be used only to operate, maintain and enhance the Tactical Interim CAMS and REMIS Reporting System (TICARRS-92): Provided further, That TICARRS-92 be reestablished, with direct maintenance data input, as the supporting system for at least one wing each of F-15, F-16 and F-117A aircraft by no later than May 31, 1994: Provided further, That TICARRS-92 be reestablished, with direct maintenance data input, as the supporting system for all F-15, F-16, and F-117A aircraft by no later than August 31, 1994: Provided further, That none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available under this Act shall be used to operate, maintain or otherwise support an automated maintenance management system for F-15, F-16, and F-117A aircraft other than TICARRS-92 after August 31, 1994: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not more than \$9,538,000 shall be available only for a grant to the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation, Inc., to be used solely to perform the repair, restoration, and preservation of the main gate structures, center plaza, and Homicycle of the Arlington National Cemetery, and these funds shall be made available solely for project costs and none of the funds are for remuneration of any entity or individual associated with fund raising for the project: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$5,000,000 shall be made available only for continued environmental restoration of the former Olmsted Air Force Base, Pennsylvania; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 22:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 22, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$9,456,801,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 23:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: : *Provided, That of*

the funds appropriated in this paragraph, \$10,000,000 shall be made available for activities to support the clearing of landmines for humanitarian purposes: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$48,000,000 shall be made available only for aiding school districts in accordance with authority granted under Public Law 81-874: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated in this paragraph, not less than \$50,000,000 shall be made available only for the Legacy Resource Management Program, of which not less than \$200,000 shall be made available for the Legacy Resource Management Program fellowships: Provided further, That notwithstanding the provisions of the Federal Cooperative Grant and Agreement Act of 1977 (31 U.S.C. 6303-6308), the Department of Defense may hereafter negotiate and enter into cooperative agreements and grants with public and private agencies, organizations, institutions, individuals or other entities to implement the purposes of the Legacy Resource Management Program: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$10,000,000 shall be made available only for the repair and maintenance of federally owned education facilities located on military installations; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 25:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 25, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$1,075,140,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 26:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 26, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$763,137,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$83,130,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 30:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 30, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$1,335,354,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 31:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,230,419,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 32:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: *Provided, That of the funds appropriated in this paragraph, \$10,000,000 shall be made available only for a National Guard Outreach Program in the Los Angeles School District: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$3,000,000 shall be made available only for the MEDRETES program; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 33:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 33, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,632,298,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 34:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: *Provided, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$10,000,000 shall be made available only for the operation of Air National Guard C-130 operational support aircraft of the 159th Air National Guard Fighter Group, the 169th Air National Guard Fighter Group, and the 118th Airlift Wing; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 38:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 38, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,962,300,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 40:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 40, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SUMMER OLYMPICS

For logistical support and personnel services (other than pay and nontravel related allowances of members of the Armed Forces of the United States, except for members of the reserve components thereof called or ordered to active duty to provide support for the 1996 Games of the XXVI Olympiad to be held in Atlanta, Georgia) provided by any component of the Department of Defense to the 1996 Games of the XXVI Olympiad; \$2,000,000.

WORLD CUP USA 1994

For logistical support and personnel services (other than pay and nontravel related allowances of members of the Armed Forces of the United States, except for members of the reserve components thereof called or ordered to active duty to provide support for the World Cup USA 1994) provided by any component of the Department of Defense to the World Cup USA 1994; \$6,000,000.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: *Provided, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, \$30,000,000 shall be made available only for Kurdish relief activities, of which \$15,000,000 shall be made available for a 1993-1994 winterization relief program; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 46:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 46, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

After the words "Congressional defense" named in said amendment in two instances insert: *, foreign affairs, in two instances;*

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 47:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate num-

bered 47, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,320,886,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 49:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 49, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,094,309,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 51:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 51, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$888,817,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment Numbered 54:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 54, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$735,445,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment Numbered 56:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 56, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,892,766,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment Numbered 58:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 58, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$5,704,220,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment Numbered 59:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 59, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum "\$2,972,906,000" named in said amendment insert: \$2,986,720,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment Numbered 63:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 63, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert: *, and in addition, \$50,000,000 for advance procurement on the LHD-7 amphibious assault ship; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment Numbered 65:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 65, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$110,049,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 67:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 67, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: \$343,104,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 68:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$4,195,075,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 70:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 70, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,994,231,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 71:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 71, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: *Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, not less than \$20,000,000 shall be obligated and expended only for automatic data processing investment equipment and peripheral equipment and related software for the Defense Accounting Office and Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station, New Orleans, the Enlisted Personnel Management Center, the Naval Reserve Personnel Center, and the Naval Reserve Force Information Systems Office: Provided further, That the Department of Defense shall establish a central management and control site for local area networks at the Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station, New Orleans: Provided further, That the operations and functions of the Reserve Financial Management System and other Reserve specific automation systems shall remain colocated with the Commander, Naval Reserve Force; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 76:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 76, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$441,216,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 78:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 78, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$6,662,934,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 81:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 81, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$3,899,170,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 83:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 83, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$7,637,250,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 84:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 84, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,200,000,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 86:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 86, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,810,039,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 89:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 89, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$5,427,546,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 90:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 90, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: *Provided further, That not less than \$1,000,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be made available only to a joint research partnership involving an educational institution, not now engaged in a large volume of basic research, and a biomedical research institute, including a working arrangement with Canadian and German scientists, for the development and testing of a new insulin derivative for the treatment of diabetes and hypoglycemia in the dependents of active duty military members: Provided further, That \$850,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be available for a Lyme disease program; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 91:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 91, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$8,365,786,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 99:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 99, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$12,314,362,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 100:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 100, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: *Provided, That not less than \$21,000,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be made available only for the Joint Seismic Program and Global Seismic Network administered by the Incorporated Research Institutions for Seismology: Provided further, That not less than \$40,000,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be made available only for the National Center for Manufacturing Sciences (NCMS): Provided further, That of the funds appropriated in this paragraph, not less than \$15,000,000 of the funds in the Advanced Weapons program element shall be made available only to continue the establishment and operation of an image information processing center supporting the Air Force Maui Space Surveillance Site (MSSS); and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 101:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 101, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$8,838,690,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 102:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 102, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken by said amendment insert: *Provided, That not less*

than \$97,000,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph are available only for the Extended Range Interceptor (ERINT) missile: Provided further, That not less than \$55,000,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph are available only for the Patriot Multimode Missile: Provided further, That not less than \$56,424,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph are available only for the Arrow Continuation Experiments (ACES): Provided further, That the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) shall continue its current strategy of flight testing, ground testing, simulations, and other Government analyses of the Patriot Multimode Missile and the Extended Range Interceptor for selection of the best technology in terms of cost, schedule, risk, and performance to meet PAC-3 missile requirements for theater missile defense and that the Director, BMDO, will determine when there is adequate information to proceed to selection for engineering and manufacturing development: Provided further, That the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Energy shall jointly certify to interested Committees of Congress that activities conducted by the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy in the areas of research, development, demonstration, or commercialization of electric vehicles and the related infrastructure; fuel cell research; and natural gas research are coordinated: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$43,000,000 shall be made available only for the Computer-aided Acquisition and Logistics Support (CALS) Shared Resource Center (CSRC) program, which shall be managed only by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) and of that amount, not less than \$23,000,000 shall be made available only for the continued operation of the original CSRC by the current nonprofit institution or its successor in interest, as the Department's tri-service CALS standards and technologies development, deployment, training, and education hub for the CSRC program; the continued operation of the CSRC Regional Satellite (CRS); and the establishment and continued operation of additional CRSs to be operated by educational or other nonprofit institutions: Provided further, That the remaining \$20,000,000 shall be made available only for the continued operation of the six original CRSs: Provided further, That nothing shall prohibit use of the CSRC or CRSs by industry, associations, other Department of Defense services and agencies, and other government agencies for efforts to be separately negotiated and funded: Provided further, That \$2,300,000 of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be made available only for cell adhesion molecule research: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated in this paragraph, not less than \$5,000,000 of the funds in the High Performance Computing Modernization program element shall be made available only to upgrade the supercomputing capability and capacity of the Maui High Performance Computing Center; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 103:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 103, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Delete the matter stricken and delete the matter inserted by said amendment.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 107:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 107, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$232,457,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 108:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 108, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,102,295,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 109:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 109, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: *Provided, That none of the funds available in the Defense Business Operations Fund shall be used for any hardware procurement, new development, or expansion of the Defense Business Management System beyond that required to support fiduciary, management information and other requirements established by law or directive and support existing customers consistent with the provisions of the DBOF Improvement Report; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 113:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 113, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,540,800,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 114:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 114, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows: *Provided, That up to \$50,000,000 shall be available for transfer to the Secretary of Transportation: Provided further, That none of the funds provided in this paragraph shall be used to award a new contract that provides for the acquisition of any of the following major components unless such components are manufactured in the United States: auxiliary equipment, including pumps, for all shipboard services; propulsion system components (that is; engines, reduction gears, and propellers); shipboard cranes; and spreaders for shipboard cranes: Provided further, That the exercise of an option in a contract awarded through the obligation of previously appropriated funds shall not be considered to be the award of a new contract: Provided further, That the Secretary of the military department responsible for such procurement may waive this restriction on a case-by-case basis by certifying in writing to the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate, that adequate domestic supplies are not available to meet Department of Defense requirements on a timely basis and that such an acquisition must be made in order to acquire capability for national security purposes; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 115:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 115, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$9,626,072,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 116:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 116, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$9,352,435,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 117:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 117, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$273,637,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 119:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 119, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert: *Provided further, That of the funds appropriated in this Act, such funds as necessary shall be used for the continuation of the cooperative program model being established at Madigan Medical Center for severely behavior disordered students: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$1,410,000 shall be made available only for annual incentive pay bonuses for certified nurse anesthetists: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$3,000,000 shall be made available only for nursing research programs; and the Senate agree to the same.*

Amendment numbered 120:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 120, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$389,947,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 121:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 121, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$291,261,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 122:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 122, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: \$67,986,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 124:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 124, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: \$30,700,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 127:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 127, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$868,200,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 128:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 128, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: \$3,200,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 129:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 129, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$137,601,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 130:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 130, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$136,801,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 132:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 132, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: \$10,000,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 133:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 133, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$151,288,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 136:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 136, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,500,000,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 138:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 138, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8014A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 139:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 139, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8023. None of the funds made available by this Act may be obligated for the acquisition of major automated information systems which have not successfully completed oversight reviews required by Department of Defense regulations: Provided, That the automated information systems oversight review board will be independent of any other Department review function and chaired by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence: Provided further, That except for those programs to modernize and develop migration and standard automated information systems that have been certified by the Department's senior information resource management (IRM) official as being fully compliant with the Department's information management initiative as defined in Defense Department Directive 8000.1, no funds may be expended for modernization or development of any automated information system (AIS) by the military departments, services, defense agencies, Joint Staff or Military Commands in excess of \$2,000,000 unless the senior official of the Office of the Secretary of Defense with primary responsibility for the functions being supported or to be supported certifies to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence that the functional requirement(s) is valid and that the system modernization or development has no unnecessary duplication of other available or planned AISs: Provided further, That the Department shall develop the capability for open systems integration of commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) applications within

the Composite Health Care System (CHCS): Provided further, That the Department shall limit deployment of the Defense Blood Standard System (DBSS) to existing donor and processing centers, the ten Primary Casualty Receiving Hospitals (PCRHS), and two OCONUS military hospitals, with transfusion services only, and shall procure, install, and integrate by April 1, 1994, at two or more CHCS sites an open system compliant COTS hospital-based blood bank/transfusion application, with security access by application function and developed in the same application language as CHCS: Provided further, That the Department shall procure and install at all CHCS alpha and beta sites by September 1, 1994, an open system integrated anatomic pathology COTS application with security access by application function and developed with the same software application language as CHCS: Provided further, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the one time investment cost, including the procurement or lease of new or reutilized automatic data processing investment equipment, peripheral equipment and related software, for the July 16, 1993 DOD Data Center Consolidation Plan shall not exceed \$309,000,000.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 140:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 140, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8025. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, to establish region-wide, at-risk, fixed price managed care contracts possessing features similar to those of the CHAMPUS Reform Initiative, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Congress a plan to implement a nation-wide managed health care program for the military health services system not later than December 31, 1993: Provided, That the program shall include, but not be limited to: (1) a uniform, stabilized benefit structure characterized by a triple option health benefit feature; (2) a regionally-based health care management system; (3) cost minimization incentives including "gatekeeping" and annual enrollment procedures, capitation budgeting, and at-risk managed care support contracts; and (4) full and open competition for all managed care support contracts: Provided further, That the implementation of the nation-wide managed care military health services system shall be completed by September 30, 1996: Provided further, That the Department shall competitively award contracts in fiscal year 1994 for at least four new region-wide, at-risk, fixed price managed care support contracts consistent with the nationwide plan, that one such contract shall include the State of Florida (which may include Department of Veterans Affairs' medical facilities with the concurrence of the Secretary of Veterans Affairs), one such contract shall include the States of Washington and Oregon, and one such contract shall include the State of Texas: Provided further, That any law or regulation of a State or local government relating to health insurance, prepaid health plans, or other health care delivery, administration, and financing methods shall be preempted and shall not apply to any region-wide, at-risk, fixed price managed care contract entered into pursuant to chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code: Provided further, That the Department shall competitively award within 13 months after the date of enactment of this Act two contracts for stand-alone, at-risk managed mental health services in high utilization, high-cost areas, consistent with the management and service delivery features in operation in Department of Defense managed mental health care contracts: Provided further, That the Assistant

Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs shall, during the current fiscal year, initiate through competitive procedures a managed health care program for eligible beneficiaries in the area of Homestead Air Force Base with benefits and services substantially identical to those established to serve beneficiary populations in areas where military medical facilities have been terminated, to include retail pharmacy networks available to Medicare-eligible beneficiaries, and shall present a plan to implement this program to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations not later than January 15, 1994.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 141:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 141, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

In lieu of the matter restored by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8028. Of the funds appropriated to the Army, \$217,600,000 shall be available only for the Reserve Component Automation System (RCAS): Provided, That none of these funds can be expended—

(1) except as approved by the Chief of the National Guard Bureau;

(2) unless RCAS resource management functions are performed by the National Guard Bureau;

(3) to pay the salary of an RCAS program manager who has not been selected and approved by the Chief of the National Guard Bureau and chartered by the Chief of the National Guard Bureau and the Secretary of the Army;

(4) unless the Program Manager (PM) charter makes the PM accountable to the Chief of the National Guard Bureau and fully defines his authority, responsibility, reporting channels and organizational structure;

(5) to pay the salaries of individuals assigned to the RCAS program management office unless such organization is comprised of personnel chosen jointly by the Chiefs of the National Guard Bureau and the Army Reserve;

(6) to pay contracted costs for the acquisition of RCAS unless RCAS is an integrated system consisting of software, hardware, and communications equipment and unless such contract continues to preclude the use of Government furnished equipment, operating systems, and executive applications software; and

(7) unless RCAS performs its own classified information processing: Provided further, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the funds appropriated shall be available for procurement of computers for the Army Reserve Component which are used to network or expand the capabilities of existing or future information systems or duplicate functions to be provided under the RCAS contract unless the procurement meets the following criteria: (A) at sites scheduled to receive RCAS equipment prior to September 30, 1995, RCAS ADP equipment may be procured and only in the numbers and types allocated by the RCAS program to each site; and at sites scheduled to receive RCAS equipment after September 30, 1995, RCAS ADP equipment from a list of RCAS compatible equipment approved by the Chief of the National Guard Bureau or his designee, may be procured and only in the numbers and types allocated by the RCAS program to each site; (B) the requesting organizational element has insufficient ADP equipment to perform administrative functions but not to exceed the number of work stations determined by the RCAS program for that site; (C) replacement equipment will not exceed the minimum required to maintain the reliability of existing capabilities; (D) replacement will be justified on the basis of cost or feasibility of repairs and maintenance of present ADP equipment as compared to the cost of replacement; and (E) the procurement under this policy must be approved by the Chief of the National Guard Bureau or his designee, provided that the procurement is a one for one replacement action of existing equipment.

And further

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8028A and

Delete the words "Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Logistics)" named in said retained matter and insert in lieu thereof: Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense, Acquisition; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 142:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 142, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8029A; and

After the words "February 28, 1992" named in said retained matter insert: : Provided, That the Director of Central Intelligence may waive this provision, on a case by case basis only, upon certification that the above cited locks are not adequate for the protection of sensitive intelligence information; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 143:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 143, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8030A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 144:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 144, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

SEC. 8035. None of the funds available to the Department of Defense shall be obligated or expended for (or to implement) automatic data processing, data processing center, central design activity, DMRD 918, defense information infrastructure, and military or civilian personnel function consolidation plans, consolidations, and disestablishment or realignment plans that impact, in terms of reductions in force or transfers in military and civilian personnel, end strength, billets, functions, or missions, the Enlisted Personnel Management Center, the Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station, New Orleans, and the Naval Reserve Personnel Center until sixty legislative days after the Secretary of Defense submits to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a report, including complete review comments and a validation by the Department of Defense Comptroller, justifying and validating that such plans and actions: (1) do not consolidate, plan to consolidate, plan to consolidate, disestablish or realign Department of Defense or Service data processing functions or centers, central design activities, or military and civilian personnel functions

and activities, or claim savings from such function and activity consolidations and disestablishment, realignment, or consolidation plans, that are in more than one defense management report plan or decision or any other Department of Defense or Service consolidation, disestablishment or realignment plan; (2) utilize criteria to evaluate, measure and compare, using objective measurements, how data processing centers, central design activities, and military and civilian personnel functions and activities are ranked in terms of operational readiness, customer satisfaction, and the most cost effective and least expensive from a business performance, and regional operations cost standpoint; (3) will provide equal or better service for DoD customers; (4) provide details as to the impacts on the quality of life and benefits of the individual service person, dependents, and civilian personnel, and (5) will not adversely impact the mission and readiness of the Navy and Navy Reserves: *Provided, That funds made available to the Department Base Closure and Realignment Commission approved recommendations concerning the Enlisted Personnel Management Center and the Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station, New Orleans.*

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 145:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 145, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8035A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 147:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 147, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8046A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 148:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 148, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8051. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a qualified Indian Tribal corporation or Alaska Native Corporation furnishing the product of a responsible small business concern shall not be denied the opportunity to compete for and be awarded a procurement contract pursuant to section 2323 of title 10, United States Code, solely because the Indian Tribal corporation or Alaska Native Corporation is not the actual manufacturer of processor of the product to be supplied under the contract.

and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 151:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 151, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8056A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 152:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate num-

bered 152, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter restored by said amendment as follows:

Delete the words "and supporting software, not engineered and" named in said restored matter and insert in lieu thereof: *not, and further*

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number "8059" named in said amendment insert: 8059A and

Delete the words "(4)(B)" named in said retained matter.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 154:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 154, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, of the amounts available to the Department of Defense during fiscal year 1994, not more than \$1,352,650,000 may be obligated for financing activities of Federally Funded Research and Development Centers.

(d) The total amount appropriated by this Act is hereby reduced by \$200,000,000 to reflect the obligation limitation contained in subsection (c).

(e) The total amount appropriated to or for the use of the Department of Defense in titles III and IV of this Act is reduced by \$200,000,000 to reflect savings from the decreased use of non-FFRDC consulting services by the Department of Defense.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 155:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 155, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter restored by said amendment as follows:

Delete all the matter contained in said restored matter appearing after the words "being as of the date of enactment of this Act." down to and including "national security purposes."

And further

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of section "8065" named in said retained matter insert: 8065A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 156:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 156, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

In lieu of the matter restored by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8070. (a) Of the funds made available in this Act in title II, Operation and Maintenance, Army, \$5,000,000 shall be available only to execute the cleanup of uncontrolled hazardous waste contamination affecting the Sale Parcel at Hamilton Air Force Base, in Novato, in the State of California.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the event that the purchaser of the Sale Parcel exercises its option to withdraw from all or a portion of the sale, as provided in the Agreement and Modification, dated September

25, 1990, between the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, and the purchaser, as amended, the purchaser's deposit of \$4,500,000 shall be returned by the General Services Administration and funds eligible for reimbursement under the Agreement and Modification, as amended, shall come from the funds made available to the Department of Defense by this Act.

(c) In the event that the purchaser purchases only a portion of the Sale Parcel and exercises its option to withdraw from the sale as to the rest of the Sale Parcel, the portion of the Sale Parcel that is not purchased (other than Landfill 26 and an appropriate buffer area around it and the groundwater treatment facility site), together with any of the land referred to in section 9099(e) of Public Law 102-396 that is not purchased by the purchaser, shall be sold to the City of Novato, in the State of California, for the sum of One Dollar as a public benefit transfer for school, classroom or other educational use, for use as a public park or recreation area or for further conveyance as provided herein, subject to the following restrictions: (1) if the City sells any portion of such land to any third party within ten years after the transfer to the City, which sale may be made without the foregoing use restrictions, any proceeds received by the City in connection with such sale, minus the demonstrated reasonable costs of conducting the sale and of any improvements made by the City to the land following its acquisition of the land (but only to the extent such improvements increase the value of the portion sold), shall be immediately turned over to the Army in reimbursement of the withdrawal payment made by the Army to the contract purchaser and the costs of cleaning up the Landfill and (2) until one year following completion of the cleanup of contaminated soil in the landfill and completion of the groundwater treatment facilities, the sale must be at a per-acre price for the portion sold that is at least equal to the per-acre contract price paid by the purchaser for the portion of the Sale Parcel purchased under the Agreement and Modification, as amended, and thereafter must be at a price at least equal to the fair market value of the portion sold. The foregoing restrictions shall not apply to a transfer to another public or quasi-public agency for public uses of the kind described above. The deed of the City shall contain a clause providing that, if any of the proceeds referred to in clause (1) are not delivered to the Army within 30 days after sale, or any portion of the land not sold as provided herein, is used for other than educational, park or recreational uses, title to the applicable portion of such land shall revert to the United States Government at the election of the General Services Administration. The Army shall agree to deliver into the applicable closing escrow an acknowledgement of receipt of any proceeds described in clause (1) above and a release of the reverter right as to the affected land, effective upon such receipt.

(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Air Force shall be reimbursed for expenditures in excess of \$15,000,000 in connection with the total clean-up of uncontrolled hazardous waste contamination on the aforementioned Sale Parcel from the proceeds collected upon the closing of any portion of the Sale Parcel purchased by the contract purchaser under the Agreement and Modification, as amended.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the purchaser's reimbursement claims shall be audited by the Defense Contract Audit Agency for reasonableness and accuracy before the Department of Defense provides any funds under the purchaser's withdrawal and reimbursement rights.

And further

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8070A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 157:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 157, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of section "8075" named in said retained matter insert: 8074A and

After the words "Environmental Policy Act" named in said retained matter insert: , or for General Accounting Office studies requested by a member of Congress or a Congressional Committee; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 161:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 161, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8083A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 163:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 163, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

In lieu of the matter retained by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8088A. None of the funds available to the Department of Defense for establishing a Naval East Coast Electronics Engineering Center may be obligated or expended for the establishment of such Headquarters at any location other than Charleston, South Carolina: Provided, That no such funds may be obligated or expended for the establishment or operation of subordinate detachments at Portsmouth, Virginia, with manning levels or broader functions than that specifically stated in the 1993 Report to the President of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission: Provided further, That no funds may be obligated or expended for the relocation, alteration or modification of the functions specified in the 1993 Report to the President of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission to be maintained at St. Inigo, Maryland, including all civilian management, support personnel and management operations associated with these functions that were in existence as of September 20, 1993.

and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 165:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 165, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter restored by said amendment as follows:

Delete the words "domestic owned and" in said restored matter, and further

In lieu of the matter retained by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8090A. None of the funds available to the Department of the Air Force shall be available to establish or support any organic depot maintenance support activity for the B-2 bomber until the Under Secretary of Defense, Acquisition reviews the existing infrastructure for the private sector and Air Force Depot support and maintenance of the B-2, and reports to the Con-

gressional Defense Committees no later than May 15, 1994, the most efficient and cost effective utilization of both public and private facilities to support the B-2.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 169:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 169, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8094A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 170:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 170, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

(TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

SEC. 8096. In addition to amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act, \$25,000,000 is hereby appropriated to the Department of Defense and shall be available only for transfer to the National Park Service, of which: \$10,000,000 shall be available to repair and rehabilitate military structures transferred from the Department of Defense to the National Park Service as part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area; \$10,000,000 shall be available to convert and rehabilitate military structures at Fort Wadsworth for National Park Service's purposes; and \$5,000,000 shall be available for cultural cyclic resource programs within the National Park Service system: Provided, That these funds shall remain available for obligation until September 30, 1995.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 173:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 173, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8099A. None of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be used for the support of any nonappropriated funds activity of the Department of Defense that procures malt beverages and wine with nonappropriated funds for resale (including such alcoholic beverages sold by the drink) on a military installation located in the United States unless such malt beverages and wine are procured within that State, or in the case of the District of Columbia, within the District of Columbia, in which the military installation is located: Provided, That in a case in which the military installation is located in more than one State, purchases may be made in any State in which the installation is located: Provided further, That such local procurement requirements for malt beverages and wine shall apply to all alcoholic beverages only for military installation in States which are not contiguous with another State: Provided further, That alcoholic beverages other than wine and malt beverages, in contiguous States and the District of Columbia shall be procured from the most competitive source, price and other factors considered.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 174:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 174, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken and retain the matter inserted by said amendment, amended as follows:

Amend the matter retained by said amendment as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said retained matter insert: 8102A; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 178:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 178, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8109. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds made available in this Act for the Defense Intelligence Agency may be used for the design, development, and deployment of General Defense Intelligence Program intelligence communications and intelligence information systems for the Services, the Unified and Specified Commands, and the component commands.

SEC. 8110. None of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be available for the planning, programming or actual movement of any component or function of the Defense Mapping Agency Aerospace Center annex from the St. Louis, Missouri, area.

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

SEC. 8111. In addition to amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act, \$21,700,000 is hereby appropriated to the Department of Defense and shall be available only for transfer to the United States Coast Guard for a 2.2 percent pay increase for uniformed members.

SEC. 8112. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, and in accordance with section 2905 of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990, Public Law 101-510, the Department of Defense shall proceed with implementation of the 1993 Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission recommendation concerning the consolidation of tactical missile maintenance at Letterkenny Army Depot.

SEC. 8113. In addition to amounts appropriated elsewhere in this Act, \$200,000 shall be available only for settlement of claims and interest thereon, associated with contract numbered N62474-86-C-0253 for construction of a multipurpose range complex at the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center in Twentynine Palms, California: Provided, That such settlement shall be made pursuant to the recommendation of August 19, 1993, of the Comptroller General of the United States (case B-230871.3): Provided further, That such settlement shall be accomplished within thirty days of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 8114. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the funds appropriated for fiscal year 1993 and fiscal year 1994 for the DDG-51 destroyer program shall be obligated or expended for procurement of the ring laser gyroscope inertial navigation system under a sole source contract.

SEC. 8115. The Secretary of the Navy shall carry out the establishment of the Mine Warfare Center of Excellence at the naval station at Ingleside, Texas (including the establishment of all subordinate units and the relocation of Navy mine warfare forces), in accordance with the schedule of the Navy for the establishment of such center and without regard to any alteration in that schedule that would otherwise be required pursuant to any other provision of law enacted during the first session of the 103d Congress that applies specifically to the construction and operation of that center or to the relocation of Navy mine warfare forces to Ingleside, Texas.

SEC. 8115A. None of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to begin closing a military treatment facility unless the Secretary of Defense notifies the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate ninety days prior to such action.

SEC. 8116. Unobligated balances of the funds appropriated in Public Law 102-172 and Public Law 102-396 under the headings "World University Games", "Summer Olympics" and "World Cup USA 1994" in title II of those Acts shall, notwithstanding any other section of those Acts, remain available for obligation until September 30, 1995.

SEC. 8116A. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, reimbursements received from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the E-3 Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) Radar System Improvement Program (RSIP) attributable to development work for fiscal years 1987 through 1992 shall be available to the Air Force until September 30, 1994, for meeting that service's financial commitments for the AWACS RSIP.

SEC. 8117. (a) None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available in this Act may be used to transport or provide for the transportation of chemical munitions to the Johnston Atoll for the purpose of storing or demilitarizing such munitions.

(b) The prohibition in subsection (a) shall not apply to any obsolete World War II chemical munition of the United States found in the World War II Pacific Theater of Operations.

(c) The President may suspend the application of subsection (a) during a period of war in which the United States is a party.

SEC. 8118. None of the funds available to the Department of Defense may be used to support the relocation of P-3 aircraft squadrons or other aircraft or units from the Naval Air Station at Barbers Point, Hawaii unless such relocation was specifically stated in the 1993 Report to the President of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission.

SEC. 8119. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to use, for foreign military sales otherwise authorized under Chapter 39, title 22 United States Code or for transfer to United States Army, Army National Guard, or Army Reserves, articles and services procured for the implementation of the Italian air defense agreements: Provided, That the term "Italian air defense agreements" has the meaning given such term in Section 1050 of Public Law 102-190 (105 Stat. 1469): Provided further, That upon notification of the Government of the United States by the Government of Italy of its desire to withdraw from the Italian air defense agreement or 180 days from the enactment of this Act, section 1050 of Public Law 102-190 (105 Stat. 1469) is repealed.

SEC. 8119A. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds and credits received from the contractor under contract warranties for the failure of the first ultra high frequency follow-on satellite shall no longer be available for a replacement ultra high frequency satellite but shall be made available to finance a replacement extremely high frequency satellite and its launch.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 180:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 180, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

Under the heading, "Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Navy, 1993/1994", \$42,936,000;

Under the heading, "Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Air Force, 1993/1994", \$55,500,000;

Under the heading, "Aircraft Procurement, Navy, 1992/1994", \$8,000,000;

Under the heading, "National Guard and Reserve Equipment, 1992/1994", \$3,400,000;

Under the heading, "National Guard and Reserve Equipment, 1992/1994", \$3,618,000;

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 183:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 183, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

After the sum "\$49,868,000;" named in said amendment insert: Under the heading, "Other Procurement, Navy 1993/1995", \$58,456,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 183:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 185, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

Under the heading, "Aircraft Procurement, Navy 1993/1995", \$45,700,000;

Under the heading, "National Guard and Reserve Equipment, 1993/1995", \$29,282,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1991/1995";

Craft, outfitting, post delivery, and special support equipment, \$3,806,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1992/1996";

DDG-51, destroyer program, \$41,800,000;

Craft, outfitting, post delivery, and DBOF transfer, \$2,560,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1992/1995";

T-AO fleet oiler program, \$27,000,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1993/1994";

T-AO fleet oiler program, \$13,000,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1993/1996";

T-AO fleet oiler program, \$12,129,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 186:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 186, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$55,932,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 187:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 187, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$38,062,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 189:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 189, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

From:

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1993/1996";

T-AO fleet oiler program, \$31,371,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1993/1997";

DDG-51 destroyer program, \$14,400,000;

Refueling overhauls, \$909,000;

MHC coastal mine hunter program, \$9,343,000;

Craft, outfitting, post delivery, and first destination transportation, and inflation adjustments, \$45,177,000;

To:

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1987/1991";

AO conversion program, \$256,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1988/1992";

LSD-41 cargo variant ship program, \$28,250,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1989/1993";

T-AO fleet oiler program, \$14,184,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1990/1994";

LSD-41 dock landing ship cargo variant program, \$30,300,000; Oceanographic ship program, \$410,000;

Under the heading, "Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy, 1991/1995";

LSD-41 dock landing ship cargo variant program, \$27,800,000

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 190:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 190, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8120A. The provision in Public Law 102-396 requiring that not less than \$55,500,000 be made available only for the Space Nuclear Thermal Propulsion Program is hereby repealed.

SEC. 8121. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds appropriated in this Act for the upgrade, purchase, or modernization of supercomputing capability and capacity under the High Performance Computing Modernization program shall only be available for contracts, contract modifications, or contract options which are awarded as the result of open competition based upon the requirements of the users without regard to the architecture or design of the supercomputer system.

SEC. 8122. Amounts collected for the use of the facilities of the National Science Center for Communications and Electronics during the current fiscal year pursuant to section 1459(g) of the Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1986 and deposited to the special account established under subsection 1459(g)(2) of that Act are appropriated and shall be available until expended for the operation and maintenance of the Center as provided for in subsection 1459(g)(2).

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 191:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 191, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8124. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the funds appropriated in this or any other Act shall be used for the purchase of a totally enclosed lifeboat survival system, which consists of the lifeboat and associated davits and winches, if less than 50 percent of the entire system's components are manufactured in the United States, and if less than 50 percent of the labor in the manufacture and assembly of the entire system is performed in the United States.

SEC. 8125. None of the funds appropriated by this Act may be used (1) to transfer to the United Nations a facility in the continental United States for use as a United Nations peacekeeping facility, or (2) for the renovation of such a facility in preparation for such a transfer.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 192:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 192, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8126. (a) None of the funds appropriated in this Act may be expended by an entity of the Department of Defense unless the entity, in expending the funds, complies with the Buy American Act. For purposes of this subsection, the

term "Buy American Act" means title III of the Act entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1993 (41 U.S.C. 10a et seq.).

(b) If the Secretary of Defense determines that a person has been convicted of intentionally affixing a label bearing a "Made in America" inscription to any product sold in or shipped to the United States that is not made in America, the Secretary shall determine, in accordance with section 2410f of title 10, United States Code, whether the person should be debarred from contracting with the Department of Defense.

SEC. 8127. In the case of members who separate from active duty or full-time National Guard duty in a military department pursuant to a Special Separation Benefits program (10 U.S.C. Sec. 1174a) or a Voluntary Separation Incentive program (10 U.S.C. Sec. 1175) at any time after the enactment of this Act, the separation payments paid such members who are also paid any bonus provided for in chapter 5, title 37, United States Code, during the same years in which they separate shall be reduced (but in no event to an amount less than zero) by an amount equal to any such bonus: Provided, That any future bonus payments to which such members would otherwise be entitled are rescinded: Provided further, That this measure will not apply to members who separate during the last year of a bonus paid pursuant to chapter 5, title 37, United States Code: Provided further, That civilian employees of the Department of Defense are prohibited from receiving voluntary separation payments if such employees are rehired by another agency of the Federal Government within one hundred and eighty days of separating from the Department of Defense.

SEC. 8128. Under the heading "Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Army" in the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1993 (Public Law 102-396), delete the final proviso and insert in lieu thereof: "Provided further, That of the funds appropriated in this paragraph, \$4,000,000 shall be used only for a grant to the Assistive Technology Center at the National Rehabilitation Hospital for laboratory and other efforts associated with research and development and other programs of major importance to the Department of Defense".

SEC. 8129. None of the funds available to the Department of Defense in this Act shall be used by the Secretary of a military department to purchase coal or coke from foreign nations for use at United States defense facilities in Europe when coal from the United States is available.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 194:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 194, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8131; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 196:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 196, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8132; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 197:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 197, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8133; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 198:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 198, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8134.(a)(1) The Secretary of Defense shall pay a death gratuity under this section to each beneficiary under a Servicemen's Group Life Insurance policy in the case of each deceased member of the uniformed services described in paragraph (2).

(2) This section applies with respect to any member of the uniformed services—

(A) who died on or after October 29, 1992 (the date of the enactment of the Veterans' Benefits Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-568)), and before December 1, 1992 (the effective date of amendments made by title II of the Act, relating to veterans' life insurance programs); and

(B) whose death was in performance of duty.

(b)(1) The amount of the death gratuity payable to a beneficiary under this section shall be equal to the amount of the life insurance proceeds paid or payable to that beneficiary under section 1967(a) of title 38, United States Code, by reason of death of such member.

(2) In the case of a deceased member of the uniformed services who, before death, affirmatively elected, in writing, to apply for an increase in SGLI coverage in an amount less than \$100,000 under subsection (e) of section 1967 of title 38, United States Code, the death gratuity paid under this section shall be equal to the amount of the increase so elected.

(c) A death gratuity may not be paid under this section if the deceased member, before death, affirmatively elected, in writing, to apply for increased SGLI coverage under subsection (e) of section 1967 of title 38, United States Code, and, by reason of a provision of law enacted after October 29, 1992, insurance is payable pursuant to that election.

(d) A death gratuity shall be payable under this section to a SGLI beneficiary upon receipt of a written application for the payment of such gratuity. Any such application must be received by the Secretary of Defense not later than September 30, 1994.

(e) In addition to amounts otherwise appropriated in this Act, the amount of \$5,300,000 is hereby appropriated for, and shall be available only for, the payment of death gratuities under this section. Funds provided under this section shall remain available until expended for any valid claims received by the Secretary of Defense not later than September 30, 1994.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 201:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 201, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

(RESCISSIONS)

SEC. 8135. Of the funds provided in Department of Defense Appropriations Acts, the following funds are hereby rescinded from the following accounts in the specified amounts:

"Aircraft Procurement, Army, 1993/1995", \$42,700,000;

"Procurement of Ammunition, Army, 1992/1994", \$30,181,000;

"Procurement of Ammunition, Army, 1993/1995", \$52,480,000;

"Other Procurement, Army, 1992/1994", \$4,000,000;

"Weapons Procurement, Navy, 1992/1994", \$15,000,000;

"Weapons Procurement, Navy, 1993/1995", \$7,500,000;

"Other Procurement, Navy, 1993/1995", \$26,600,000;

"Procurement, Marine Corps, 1992/1994", \$8,274,000;

"Procurement, Marine Corps, 1993/1995", \$6,508,000;

"Missile Procurement, Air Force, 1993/1995", \$6,000,000;

"Other Procurement, Air Force, 1993/1995", \$13,706,000;

"Other Procurement, Air Force, 1992/1994", \$17,276,000;

"Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Air Force, 1993/1994", \$51,000,000;

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 203:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 203, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8136. Not later than May 1, 1994, the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition shall submit to the Congressional defense committees the complete results of an independent study of options for accomplishing the functions now performed by the Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA): Provided, That of the total amounts available to the Department of Defense for financing the activities of defense federally funded research and development centers during fiscal year 1994, \$1,000,000 shall be made available within 30 days after the enactment of this Act for the purposes of the aforementioned study.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 205:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 205, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8137; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 208:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 208, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8138; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 209:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 209, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8139; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 211:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 211, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8140; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 212:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 212, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8141

In lieu of the word "Senate" named in said amendment insert: Congress; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 214:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 214, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of section number "8152" named in said amendment insert: 8142; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 216:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 216, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8143. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Navy shall obligate the funds appropriated for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 for the USH-42 Mission Recorder program within the A-6 aircraft program: Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy verifies that the mission recorder is required in the future for Navy aircraft for peacetime training and bomb damage assessment in combat: Provided further, That the Secretary shall make this verification within thirty days of this Act becoming law: Provided further, That the Secretary shall obligate such funds within thirty days of this verification that the mission recorder is required in Navy aircraft for peacetime training and bomb damage assessment in combat.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 217:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 217, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the section number named in said amendment insert: 8144

Delete the words "an annual" named in said amendment and insert in lieu thereof: a Delete the word "annual" named in said amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 218:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 218, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of section number "8156" named in said amendment insert: 8145; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 220:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 220, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the words "Sec. 8158.(a) Is is" named in said amendment insert: Sec. 8146.(a) It is; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 221:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 221, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of section number "8159" named in said amendment insert: 8147; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 222:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 222, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

SEC. 8148. Funds appropriated in title III of this Act for the Department of defense Pilot Mentor-Protege Program may be transferred to any other appropriation contained in this Act solely for the purpose of implementing a Mentor-Protege Program developmental assistance agreement pursuant to Section 831 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991 (Public Law 101-510; 10 U.S.C. 2301 note), as amended, under the authority of this provision or any other transfer authority contained in this Act.

SEC. 8149. Funding appropriated under the heading "Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide" for increasing energy and water efficiency in Federal buildings may be transferred to other appropriations or funds of the Department of Defense, to be merged with and to be available for the same purposes, and for the same time period, as the appropriation or fund to which transferred.

SEC. 8150. Upon approval by the Secretary of the Navy, clause (2) of section 7308(c) of title 10, United States Code, shall not apply with respect to the transfer of the USS Blueback by the Secretary of the Navy under section 7308(a) of such title.

SEC. 8151. (a) The Congress finds that—
(1) the United States entered into Operation Restore Hope in December of 1992 for the purpose of relieving mass starvation in Somalia;

(2) the original mission in Somalia, to secure the environment for humanitarian relief, had the unanimous support of the Senate, expressed in Senate Joint Resolution 45, passed on February 4, 1993, and was endorsed by the House when it amended S.J. Res. 45 on May 25, 1993;

(3) Operation Restore Hope was being successfully accomplished by United States forces, working with forces of other nations, when it was replaced by the UNOSOM II mission, assumed by the United Nations on May 4, 1993 pursuant to United Nations Resolution 814 of March 26, 1993;

(4) neither the expanded United Nations mission of national reconciliation, nor the broad mission of disarming the clans, nor any other mission not essential to the performance of the humanitarian mission has been endorsed or approved by the Senate;

(5) the expanded mission of the United Nations was, subsequent to an attack upon United Nations forces, diverted into a mission aimed primarily at capturing certain persons, pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 837, of June 6, 1993;

(6) the actions of hostile elements in Mogadishu, and the United Nations mission to subdue those elements, have resulted in open conflict in the city of Mogadishu and the deaths of 29 Americans, at least 159 wounded, and the capture of American personnel; and

(7) during fiscal years 1992 and 1993, the United States incurred expenses in excess of \$1.1 billion to support operations in Somalia.

(b) The Congress approves the use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia for the following purposes—

(1) The protection of United States personnel and bases; and

(2) The provision of assistance in securing open lines of communication for the free flow of supplies and relief operations through the provision of—

(i) United States military logistical support services to United Nations forces; and

(ii) United States combat forces in a security role and as an interim force protection supplement to United Nations units: Provided, That funds appropriated, or otherwise made available, in this or any other Act to the Department of Defense may be obligated for expenses incurred only through March 31, 1994, for the operations of United States Armed Forces in Somalia: Provided further, That such date may be extended if so requested by the President and authorized by the Congress: Provided further, That funds may be obligated beyond March 31, 1994 to support a limited number of United States military personnel sufficient only to protect American diplomatic facilities and American citizens, and noncombat personnel to advise the United Nations commander in Somalia: Provided further, That United States combat forces in Somalia shall be under the command and control of United States commanders under the ultimate direction of the President of the United States: Provided further, That the President should intensify efforts to have United Nations member countries immediately deploy additional troops to Somalia to fulfill previous force commitments

made to the United Nations and to deploy additional forces to assume the security missions of United States Armed Forces: Provided further, That—

(A) captured United States personnel in Somalia should be treated humanely and fairly; and

(B) the United States and the United Nations should make all appropriate efforts to ensure the immediate and safe return of any future captured United States personnel: Provided further, That the President should ensure that, at all times, United States military personnel in Somalia have the capacity to defend themselves, and American citizens: Provided further, That the United States Armed Forces should remain deployed in or around Somalia until such time as all American service personnel missing in action in Somalia are accounted for, and all American service personnel held prisoner in Somalia are released: Provided further, That nothing herein shall be deemed to restrict in any way the authority of the President under the Constitution to protect the lives of Americans.

SEC. 8152. Funds appropriated by this Act for intelligence or intelligence-related activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of section 504 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 414) during fiscal year 1994 until the enactment of the Intelligence Authorization Act for fiscal year 1994.

SEC. 8153. (1) Except as provided in subsection (c) below, it is the sense of the Congress that none of the funds appropriated by this Act should be obligated or expended for costs incurred by the United States Armed Forces units serving in any international peacekeeping or peace-enforcement operations under the authority of Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and under the authority of a United Nations Security Council Resolution, or for costs incurred by United States Armed Forces serving in any significant international humanitarian, peacekeeping or peace-enforcement operations, unless:

(a) the President initiates consultations with the bi-partisan leadership of Congress, including the leadership of the relevant committees, regarding such operations; these consultations should be initiated at least 15 days prior to the initial deployment of United States Armed Forces units to participate in such an operation, whenever possible, but in no case later than 48 hours after such a deployment; and these consultations should continue on a periodic basis throughout the period of the deployment;

(b) such consultation should include discussion of—

(1) the goals of the operation and the mission of any United States Armed Forces units involved in the operation;

(2) the United States' interests that will be served by the operation;

(3) the estimated cost of the operation;

(4) the strategy by which the President proposes to fund the operation, including possible supplemental appropriations or payments from international organizations, foreign countries or other donors;

(5) the extent of involvement of armed forces and other contributions of personnel from other nations;

(6) the operation's anticipated duration and scope;

(c) subsection (a) does not apply with respect to an international humanitarian assistance operation carried out in response to natural disasters; or to any other international humanitarian assistance operation if the President reports to Congress that the estimated cost of such operation is less than \$50,000,000.

(2) Further, it is the sense of the Congress—

(a) that the President should seek a supplemental appropriation to defray the costs of United States military operations in Somalia in

order to restore needed operation and maintenance funds for United States Armed Forces;

(b) that the President should seek supplemental appropriations for any significant future deployment of United States Armed Forces when such forces are to perform or have been performing international humanitarian, peacekeeping or peace-enforcement operations.

SEC. 8154. The Department shall ensure that the A-6 rewing contracts are terminated this fiscal year: Provided, That none of the funds recouped by the Department through the termination of the A-6 rewing program shall be available for obligation or expenditure during this fiscal year.

SEC. 8155. None of the funds available to the Department of Defense shall be available to make progress payments based on costs to large business concerns at rates in excess of 75% on contract solicitations issued after enactment of this Act.

SEC. 8156. Not to exceed \$100,000,000 of the funds provided in this Act may be made available for payment to non-United States government entities for logistical support of Somalia operations: Provided, That the Congressional Defense Committees are notified in advance of any obligations providing such support: Provided further, That any funds obligated pursuant to this authority shall be reimbursed by the United Nations to the Department of Defense to the originating appropriations.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 225:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 225, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

TITLE X

SEC. 10001. CONVEYANCE OF KAHOLAWE ISLAND, HAWAII, TO THE STATE OF HAWAII.

(a) PURPOSE.—It is timely and in the interest of the United States to recognize and fulfill the commitments made on behalf of the United States to the people of Hawaii and to return to the State of Hawaii the Island of Kaholaawe. Kaholaawe Island is among Hawaii's historic lands and has a long, documented history of cultural and natural significance to the people of Hawaii reflected, in part, in the Island's inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and in the longstanding interest in the return of the Island to State sovereignty, public access and use. Congress finds that control, disposition, use and management of Kaholaawe is affected with a federal interest. It also is in the national interest and an obligation undertaken by Congress and the United States under this and other Acts, and in furtherance of the purposes of Executive Order 10436 (1953), to recognize the cultural and humanitarian value of assuring meaningful, safe use of the Island for appropriate cultural, historical, archaeological and educational purposes as determined by the State of Hawaii and to provide for the clearance or removal of unexploded ordnance and for the environmental restoration of the Island for such purposes. Congress also finds it is in the national interest and an essential element in the federal government's relationship with the State of Hawaii to ensure that the conveyance, clearance or removal of unexploded ordnance, environmental restoration, control of access to the Island and future of the Island be undertaken in a manner consistent with the enhancement of that relationship, the Department of Defense's military mission, the federal interest and applicable provisions of law.

(b) CONVEYANCE.—Subject to Section 10001(e) of this Act, the United States, through the Secretary of the Navy (also, hereinafter, "the Sec-

retary"), shall, notwithstanding Section 120(h) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 (42 U.S.C. 9620 (h)) convey and return, without consideration and without conditions other than those set forth in or required by this Act, to the State of Hawaii all right, title and interest of the United States, except that interest set forth in Section 10001(d)(2) and Section 10001(e) of this Act, in and to that parcel of property consisting of approximately 28,776 acres of land known as Kaholaawe Island, Hawaii and its surrounding waters. Such conveyance of title shall occur no later than 180 days from the date of enactment of this Act and the appropriation of funds for such purposes described in this Act.

(c) DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY.—The exact acreage and legal description of the parcel of property to be conveyed under Section 10001(b) shall be determined by a survey that is deemed satisfactory by the State of Hawaii in consultation with the Secretary. The cost of the survey shall be borne by the Secretary, making use of funds provided pursuant to this Act.

(d) IMPLEMENTATION.—(1) The Secretary shall carry out the requirements of this Act following consultation with the State of Hawaii as required by Section 10002 of this Act and with the technical and logistical support, as needed, of the United States Army Corps of Engineers and other federal agencies.

(2) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, the Secretary shall retain the control of access to the Island, in consultation with the State of Hawaii and prior to and following the entering into force of the Memorandum of Understanding contained in Section 10002 of this Act, until either clearance and restoration are completed or within no more than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act, whichever comes first, and control of access is transferred to the State of Hawaii, pursuant to such conditions.

(e) INDEMNIFICATION AND THE CONTROL OF ACCESS.—(1) The Navy shall retain control of the access to the Island during the time period set forth in Section 10001(d)(2) of this Act that it is undertaking unexploded ordnance removal and hazardous materials removal activities required in this Act.

(2) During the time period the United States retains control of access to the Island, the United States shall hold harmless, defend and indemnify the State of Hawaii or its political subdivisions from and against all claims, demands, losses, damages, liens, liabilities, injuries, deaths, penalties, fines, lawsuits and other proceedings, judgments, awards and reasonable costs and expenses arising out of, or in any manner predicated upon, the presence, release or threatened release of any munitions, exploded or unexploded ordnance, solid waste associated with such ordnance or hazardous substance, pollutant or contaminant resulting from the activities of the Department of Defense, including the activities of the Department of the Navy and the Department of the Army and any agent, employee, lessee, licensee, independent contractor or other person on the property during such time that the property was and remains under the control of the Department of Defense, Navy, Army or other agencies of the United States Government. Notwithstanding this subsection or any other provision of law, response action contractors are not included as activities of the Department of Defense under this subsection.

The term "response action contractor" has the meaning given such term in section 119(e)(2) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 (42 U.S.C. 9619(e)(2)), except that such term includes a person who enters into, and is carrying out, a contract to provide at a facility (includ-

ing a facility not listed on the National Priorities List) a response action with respect to any release or threatened release from the facility of a hazardous substance or pollutant or contaminant, or a similar action with respect to petroleum or its derivatives.

(3) Nothing in this Act is intended to alter or affect the federal or state requirements of law governing liability following the transfer of control of access to the State of Hawaii, except that the United States shall remain liable for and retain responsibility for any environmental restoration, remediation, or corrective action required at the property conveyed in paragraph (b).

SEC. 10002. COOPERATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND THE STATE OF HAWAII AND TRANSFER OF CONTROL OF ACCESS.

(a)(1) Upon the request of the Secretary or the State of Hawaii, and in accordance with existing laws and requirements, any department or agency of the Federal Government may provide assistance to the Secretary or the State of Hawaii, as the case may be, in carrying out their respective duties under this Act.

(2) Within 180 days following passage of this Act, and notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall consult with and enter into a Memorandum of Understanding with the State of Hawaii governing the terms and conditions of (i) access to the Island for those purposes set forth in Sections 10001 and 10002 of this Act and any other cultural, archeological, educational and planning purposes provided for in this title, giving due regard to the risk of harm to public health and the environment and safety involved in providing such access and the need to avoid interference with or disruption of the Navy's clearance, removal and remediation activities; (ii) the timing, planning, methodology and implementation of ordnance clearance or removal and hazardous substance clearance and other waste removal and the protection of historical, cultural and religious sites and artifacts, provided that all reasonable effort should be made to avoid harm to such sites and artifacts from the detonation of unexploded ordnance, clearance or removal of ordnance, and hazardous substance clearance; (iii) the establishment of a two-tiered standard of restoration and ordnance clearance, removal, restoration and safety, taking into account the purpose for which any geographic area will be used and the nature and purpose of human access to such area, but assuring the protection of human health and the environment; (iv) the means for protecting historical, cultural and religious sites and artifacts from intentional destruction, harm and vandalism; (v) public participation, as appropriate, including the opportunity for public comment and hearing; and (vi) the means for regular interval clean-ups and removal of newly discovered previously undetected ordnance by the Navy. Under any such terms and conditions, the Secretary shall be assured full and necessary access to carry out the obligations of the Secretary arising out of the responsibilities and liabilities of this title. Such terms and conditions shall remain in existence until the completion of the restoration and remediation activities required by Section 10002 of this Act and be revised periodically by mutual consent and giving due regard to the importance of access to the Island as the level of clean-up, restoration and remediation moves toward attainment. Nothing in this title is intended to diminish or alter the rights and responsibilities of the Navy to allow access to the Island that existed prior to the enactment of this title.

(3) The United States, through the Secretary of the Navy, shall transfer the control of access to the State of Hawaii within no more than 10 years from the date of enactment of this Act or

when the activities required by this Act, including ordnance clearance or removal activities and environmental remediation activities are completed, whichever comes first.

(4) Notwithstanding the duties and obligations set forth in this title and notwithstanding the conveyance required under Section 10001, the State of Hawaii shall not be liable or responsible for the conduct of any clean-up and response actions arising from and relating to the use, environmental clean-up and ordnance removal and remediation of Kaho'olawe Island and its adjacent waters.

SEC. 10003. KAHOLAWE ISLAND CONVEYANCE, REMEDIATION, AND ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION TRUST FUND.

(a) There is established on the books of the Treasury of the United States a fund to be known as the "Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance, Remediation, and Environmental Restoration Fund" (hereinafter in this subsection referred to as the "Fund"). The Fund shall be administered by the Secretary of the Treasury. The Fund shall be used for the accumulation of funds in order to pay the obligations incurred by the Secretary of the Navy or the Department of Defense in carrying out the purposes of this Act and for properly allocable costs of the Federal Government in the administration of the Fund.

(b) There shall be deposited into the Fund the following, which shall constitute the assets of the Fund:

(1) Amounts paid into the Fund from any source.

(2) Any amount appropriated to the Fund.

(3) Any return on investment of the assets of the Fund.

(c) To the extent provided in appropriation Acts, the assets of the Fund shall be available for obligation by the Secretary of the Navy to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(d) There is authorized to be appropriated into the Fund \$400,000,000, which may be appropriated as a lump sum or in annual increments. Of the amounts deposited into the Fund, not less than eleven percent shall be made available to the State of Hawaii to carry out the provisions of Section 10002 of this Act.

(e) Amounts appropriated to the Fund shall remain available until obligated or until the Fund is terminated.

(f) Upon payment of all incremental costs associated with the purposes for which the Fund is established, the Fund shall be terminated.

(g) Subject to the provisions of this Section, the Secretary is authorized to provide \$45,000,000 to the State of Hawaii for the pur-

pose of long term planning and implementation by the State of (i) such long term planning (ii) environmental restoration activities and (iii) the terms and conditions set forth in the Memorandum of Understanding required by Section 10002 of this Act, concerning Kaho'olawe Island and its adjacent waters. Such funds as are provided by the Secretary for the purpose of carrying out this Section shall be made available to the State by the Secretary from funds made available pursuant to this Act and shall be provided to the State of Hawaii.

(h) Funds in addition to those provided pursuant to Section 10003(g) may be provided to the State of Hawaii upon the submission of an acceptable plan containing the elements identified in 10003(g) of this Act and demonstrating, to the satisfaction of the Secretary, that such funds are necessary to the proper fulfillment of such elements and the purposes of this Act. The Secretary shall have sole discretion to award such additional funds, however, the award of such funds shall not be unreasonably withheld.

SEC. 10004. ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS AND RELATED DISPUTE RESOLUTION.

(a) The Secretary shall submit annually a Report, in detail, describing compliance with the provisions of this Act. Such Report shall include the comments of the State of Hawaii and be submitted to the Defense Committees of Congress.

(b) Federal Courts shall have jurisdiction to enforce the terms, conditions and provisions of this Act, regarding the activities, duties, and responsibilities of the United States, its departments, agencies and instrumentalities set forth in this Act and occurring on the Island of Kaho'olawe and in its adjacent waters. In any judicial review under this Act, the United States or the State, or both, if not a party may intervene as a matter of right. The United States, its departments, agencies and instrumentalities shall be subject to only such injunctive relief as may be imposed by the court to enforce compliance with the terms of this Act and the Memorandum of Understanding. Such compliance shall be enforced giving due regard to the need for expeditious clean-up under the terms and conditions of this Act.

And the Senate agree to the same.

JOHN P. MURTHA,
NORMAN D. DICKS,
CHARLES WILSON,
W.G. (BILL) HEFNER,
MARTIN O. SABO,
JULIAN C. DIXON,
PETER J. VISCLOSKEY,
GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN,

[In thousands of dollars]

WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
JOSEPH M. MCDADE,
C.W. BILL YOUNG,
BOB LIVINGSTON,
JERRY LEWIS,
JOE SKEEN,

Managers on the Part of the House.

DANIEL K. INOUE,
FRITZ HOLLINGS,
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON,
ROBERT C. BYRD,
PATRICK J. LEAHY,
JIM SASSER,
DENNIS DECONCINI,
DALE BUMPERS,
FRANK R. LAUTENBERG,
TOM HARKIN,
TED STEVENS,
ALFONSO D'AMATO,
THAD COCHRAN,
ARLEN SPECTER,
PETE V. DOMENICI,
DON NICKLES,
PHIL GRAMM,
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND,
MARK O. HATFIELD,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

JOINT EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

The managers on the part of the House and the Senate at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3116), making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes, submit the following joint statement to the House and the Senate in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the managers and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

The conference agreement on the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1994, incorporates some of the provisions of both the House and Senate versions of the bill. The language and allocations set forth in House Report 103-254 and Senate Report 103-153 should be complied with unless specifically addressed in the accompanying bill and statement of the managers to the contrary.

TITLE I—MILITARY PERSONNEL

The conferees agree to the following amounts and end strength totals for the Military Personnel accounts as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
Active personnel:				
Army	21,206,600	21,571,207	21,212,285	21,296,177
Navy	18,356,900	18,633,383	18,156,982	18,330,950
Marine Corps	5,678,700	5,763,117	5,755,272	5,772,317
Air Force	15,629,630	15,916,937	15,662,809	15,823,030
Reserve personnel:				
Army	2,114,400	2,143,272	2,138,416	2,149,147
Navy	1,528,700	1,565,838	1,550,989	1,555,800
Marine Corps	308,000	350,490	311,661	350,890
Air Force	772,748	783,158	778,919	781,958
National Guard personnel:				
Army	3,290,200	3,334,183	3,332,556	3,340,283
Air Force	1,197,892	1,215,935	1,230,471	1,223,492
Total, Military Personnel	70,083,770	71,277,520	70,130,360	70,624,044

ACTIVE END STRENGTH
(Fiscal year 1994)

	Budget	Conference	Conference versus budget
Army	540,000	540,000	0
Navy	480,800	480,800	0
Marine Corps	174,100	177,000	+2,900
Air Force	425,700	425,700	0

ACTIVE END STRENGTH—Continued
(Fiscal year 1994)

	Budget	Conference	Conference versus budget
Total	1,620,600	1,623,500	+2,900

MILITARY PERSONNEL, ARMY

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates \$21,296,177,000 instead of \$21,571,207,000 as proposed by the House and \$21,212,285,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	313,730	310,600	310,600
Base Support DBOF Adjustment	41,877	41,877	41,877
DCAA/DCMC DBOF Adjustment	9,000	0	9,000
Permanent Change of Station	0	-75,338	-38,000
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-184,908	-92,000
Personnel Underexecution	0	-31,200	-31,200
Separation Programs	0	-110,700	-110,700
Temporary Lodging Allowance	0	10,020	0
Foreign Currency Reimbursement	0	334	0
European Troop Strength PCS Costs	0	45,000	0
Total, Military personnel, Army	+364,607	+5,685	+89,577

MILITARY PERSONNEL, NAVY

Amendment No. 2: Appropriates \$18,330,950,000 instead of \$18,633,383,000 as proposed by the House and \$18,156,982,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	266,483	260,400	260,400
DCAA/DCMC DBOF Adjustment	10,000	0	10,000
Permanent Change of Station	0	-19,289	-10,000
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-158,651	-79,100
Personnel Underexecution	0	-289,304	-205,000
Submarine Duty Pay	0	-2,250	-2,250
Temporary Lodging Allowance	0	8,880	0
Foreign Currency Reimbursement	0	296	0
Total, Military personnel, Navy	+276,483	-199,918	-25,950

MILITARY PERSONNEL, MARINE CORPS

Amendment No. 3: Appropriates \$5,772,317,000 instead of \$5,763,117,000 as proposed by the House and \$5,755,272,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	84,417	84,900	84,417
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-51,645	-25,800
End Strength Adjustment	0	40,000	35,000
Temporary Lodging Allowance	0	3,210	0
Foreign Currency Reimbursement	0	107	0
Total, Military personnel, Marine Corps	84,417	+76,572	+93,617

MILITARY PERSONNEL, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 4: Appropriates \$15,823,030,000 instead of \$15,916,937,000 as proposed by the House and \$15,662,809,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	264,307	263,900	263,900
DCAA/DCMC Adjustment	23,000	0	23,000
Permanent Change of Station	0	-21,398	-11,000
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-158,447	-80,800
Personnel Underexecution	0	-39,269	-2,000
Force Structure/Tactical Airlift	0	-19,260	0
Temporary Lodging Allowance	0	7,890	0
Foreign Currency Reimbursement	0	263	0

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Flight Duty Pay	0	-500	-500
Total, Military personnel, Air Force	287,307	-33,179	+193,400

NATIONAL GUARD AND RESERVE FORCES

The conferees agree to provide \$9,401,570,000 in Reserve personnel appropriations, \$8,119,478,000 in operation and maintenance appropriations, and \$1,200,000,000 in the National Guard and Reserve Equipment appropriation. These funds support a Selected Reserve strength of 1,024,800 as shown below. The conferees agreed to delete House section 8012, which placed a floor on technicians and a ceiling on the number of active Guard and Reserve positions. Amendment number 137 shows the AGR and military technician breakout.

RESERVE STRENGTHS

(Fiscal year 1994)

	Budget	Conference	Conference versus budget
Selected Reserve:			
Army Reserve	260,000	260,000	
Navy Reserve	113,400	113,400	
Marine Corps Reserve	36,900	42,200	+5,300
Air Force Reserve	81,500	81,500	
Army National Guard	410,000	410,000	
Air National Guard	117,700	117,700	
Total	1,019,500	1,024,800	+5,300

RESERVE PERSONNEL, ARMY

Amendment No. 5: Appropriates \$2,149,147,000 instead of \$2,143,272,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,138,416,000 as proposed by the Senate. The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	28,872	28,900	28,872
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-10,639	-5,300
Junior ROTC	0	-5,420	0
Transition Assistance	0	11,175	11,175
Total, Reserve personnel, Army	28,872	24,016	+34,747

RESERVE PERSONNEL, NAVY

Amendment No. 6: Appropriates \$1,555,800,000 instead of \$1,565,838,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,550,989,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	21,038	21,000	21,000
COOP Program	3,200	0	0
P-3 Squadrons	12,900	0	0
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-9,611	-4,800
Transition Assistance	0	10,900	10,900
Total, Reserve personnel, Navy	37,138	22,289	+27,100

RESERVE PERSONNEL, MARINE CORPS

Amendment No. 7: Appropriates \$350,890,000 instead of \$350,490,000 as proposed by the

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
O&M, ARMY				
TRANSFER—DBOF	14,966,194	15,221,091	15,706,229	15,802,057
TRANSFER—STOCKPILE	(880,200)	(880,200)		
O&M, NAVY				
TRANSFER—DBOF	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)
TRANSFER—STOCKPILE	18,139,200	18,097,782	19,845,083	19,860,309
	(1,092,700)	(1,092,700)		
	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)

House and \$311,661,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	4,490	4,500	4,490
Force Structure Adjustment	38,000	0	38,000
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-1,548	-800
Junior ROTC	0	-491	0
Transition Assistance	0	1,200	1,200
Total, Reserve personnel, Marine Corps	42,490	3,661	+42,890

RESERVE PERSONNEL, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 8: Appropriates \$781,958,000 instead of \$783,158,000 as proposed by the House and \$778,919,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	9,687	9,700	9,687
WC-130 Weather Reconnaissance	723	0	723
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-2,486	-1,200
Junior ROTC	0	-1,043	0
Total, Reserve Personnel, Air Force	10,410	6,171	+9,210

NATIONAL GUARD PERSONNEL, ARMY

Amendment No. 9: Appropriates \$3,340,283,000 instead of \$3,334,183,000 as proposed by the House and \$3,332,556,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	43,983	44,000	43,983
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-15,444	-7,700
Transition Assistance	0	13,800	13,800
Total, National Guard personnel, Army	43,983	42,356	+50,083

NATIONAL GUARD PERSONNEL, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 10: Appropriates \$1,223,492,000 instead of \$1,215,935,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,230,471,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	House	Senate	Conference
Pay Increase	18,043	18,000	18,000
Retired Pay Accrual	0	-6,621	-3,300
Force Structure/Tactical Airlift	0	10,300	0
Transition Assistance	0	10,900	10,900
Total, National Guard personnel, Air Force	18,043	32,579	+25,600

TITLE II—OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

A summary of the conference agreement is as follows:

[In thousands of dollars]

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
O&M, MARINE CORPS	1,697,000	1,773,889	1,834,495	1,857,699
TRANSFER—DBOF	(121,000)	(121,000)		
O&M, AIR FORCE	18,582,984	18,305,447	19,107,389	19,093,805
TRANSFER—DBOF	(941,400)	(941,400)		
TRANSFER—STOCKPILE	(200,000)	(200,000)	(200,000)	(200,000)
O&M, DEFENSEWIDE	9,500,581	9,487,133	9,452,165	9,456,801
O&M, ARMY RESERVE	1,107,800	1,115,095	1,057,740	1,075,140
O&M, NAVY RESERVE	773,800	807,200	761,137	763,137
O&M, MARINE CORPS RESERVE	75,100	86,855	75,125	83,130
O&M, ARMY FORCE RESERVE	1,354,578	1,370,222	1,333,470	1,335,354
O&M, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD	2,218,900	2,272,018	2,216,944	2,230,419
O&M, AIR NATIONAL GUARD	2,657,233	2,695,233	2,686,299	2,632,298
NATL BOARD FOR THE PROMOTION OF RIFLE PRACTICE, ARMY	2,483	2,483	2,483	2,483
COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS, DEFENSE	6,055	5,855	6,055	5,855
SUPPORT FOR INTL. SPORTING COMPETITIONS, DEFENSE		6,000		
SUMMER OLYMPICS			2,000	2,000
WORLD CUP USA 1994			12,000	6,000
ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION, DEFENSE	2,309,400	1,716,800	2,207,800	1,962,300
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE		15,000	48,000	48,000
GLOBAL COOPERATIVE INITIATIVES	448,000			
FORMER SOVIET UNION THREAT REDUCTION	400,000	400,000	400,000	400,000
GRAND TOTAL, O&M	74,239,308	73,378,103	76,754,414	76,616,787
TRANSFER	(3,535,300)	(3,535,300)	(500,000)	(500,000)
TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, O&M	(77,774,608)	(76,913,403)	(77,254,414)	(77,116,787)

JUSTIFICATION MATERIALS AND REPROGRAMMING PROCEDURES

The conferees agree that proposed transfers of funds between O-1 budget activity funding categories in excess of \$20,000,000 are subject to normal reprogramming procedures. Due to continuing concerns about military force readiness, the conferees also agree that the Department shall notify the Congressional defense committees prior to transfers in excess of \$20,000,000 from the following subactivity group categories:

O&M, Army

Operating forces: Combat units; Tactical support; Force-related training/special activities.

O&M, Navy

Operating forces: Mission and other flight operations; Mission and other ship operations.

O&M, Air Force

Operating forces: Primary combat forces; Primary combat weapons; Global CSI and early warning.

The conferees direct the Department to submit a Mid-Year Operation and Maintenance Execution Review not later than May 1, 1994. The review should be submitted to the Committees on Appropriations and Armed Services of the House and Senate. The conferees intend to work with the Department to determine the details of this submission.

DEPOT MAINTENANCE

The conferees are concerned about the size and cost of the depot maintenance infrastructure operated by the Department of Defense. To this end, the conferees urge the Department to improve its programs for depot maintenance competition and interservicing, and identify ways to reduce excess capacity. However, the conferees also believe that the Department needs to maintain a core in-house capability because commercial activities cannot support all mobilization needs, and because private concerns may not always be the lowest cost provider of needed depot maintenance services.

Beside the need to reduce costs and improve the efficiency of depot maintenance, the conferees are also concerned about maintaining adequate oversight. Last year the House Appropriations Committee expressed concern over this matter and directed the Department not to unilaterally implement depot "privatization" initiatives absent Congressional approval. The conferees continue

to believe the Department must develop a uniform policy concerning the public-private share of depot maintenance which, if it incorporates changes to existing policy, should be forwarded as a legislative initiative.

The conferees support recommendations found in both the House and Senate reports directing the Department of Defense to conduct analyses required to operate depot maintenance functions more efficiently. Specifically, the conferees direct that Department to take the following actions:

Privatization.—The report directed by both House and Senate in their reports accompanying this bill shall be forwarded to the Committees on Appropriations and Armed Services of the House and Senate by April 15, 1994.

Certification of Bids in Depot Maintenance Competitions.—Section 9095 of the fiscal year 1993 Defense Appropriations Act required certification of both public and private bids for depot maintenance contracts by the Defense Contract Audit Agency. The conferees wish to clarify their intent that, for competitions carried out under this provision, DCAA audit reports containing an opinion that a bid was prepared in accordance with the DoD Cost Comparability Handbook and is acceptable for evaluation shall be considered a valid certification. The inclusion of findings questioning costs as either understated or overstated are to be considered of an advisory nature only, unless specifically stated by DCAA.

Determination of Core Depot Maintenance Workload.—The conferees direct the Department to carry out a study to determine the appropriate public/private mix needed to accomplish depot maintenance workload. In addition to identifying that workload which should be performed by the Department, this study should also develop a plan for distributing workload to DoD facilities to include increasing the use of interservicing. The Department should provide its findings to the Committees on Appropriations not later than April 15, 1994.

Funding Levels.—The conferees have not set funding levels subject to DD 1414, Base for Reprogramming, since there exists a reprogramming threshold of \$20 million between budget activities. However, the conferees caution the Department to use depot maintenance funds as a last resort for emergency purposes and, that once additional funds are provided, to restore those same amounts taken from the depot maintenance accounts. The conferees direct each Service

to report to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate 30 days after their mid-year reviews on the adjustments made to the depot maintenance accounts.

SPECIAL DEPOT FACILITIES

As part of the maintenance structure supporting the Department of Defense, there are a number of special depot facilities with experienced contractor/government teams having a superior record of performance in support of small fleets of uniquely configured aircraft. The Department should consider transferring no workload from these facilities or consolidating workload within other facilities performing unrelated depot services unless such transfer or consolidation is an integral part of the Base Realignment and closure (BRAC) process, or until completion of a cost and operational effectiveness analysis (COEA) which clearly shows the benefits to the user community and to the taxpayer of such a move.

DEFENSE FINANCE AND ACCOUNTING SERVICE

The conferees agree to reduce funding for accounting services by a total of \$85,200,000, as proposed by the Senate. The specific reductions to the service and Defensewide accounts shall be rebated by the Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS), as described in Senate Report 103-153. The conferees strongly agree that DFAS must reduce administrative overhead to a greater degree than that reached to date if it is to achieve the operating and efficiency objectives promised by the agency.

FUEL REPRICING AND WAR RESERVES

Since savings will result from changes in world fuel prices and war reserve requirements, the conferees agree to reduce funding for fuel purchases requested by the military services by a total of \$527,900,000. Because these savings will accrue to the Department's wholesale fuel supply system, the conferees direct the Defense Fuel Supply Center to provide, free-of-charge, fuel to the services in the amounts listed in the table on page 40 of Senate Report 103-153.

CONSOLIDATION OF COMMAND AND STAFF AND WAR COLLEGES

The conferees direct the Secretary of Defense to provide a study detailing potential cost savings from consolidation of the military services command and staff, and war colleges, and their administration. The study should include possible alternative consolidation strategies and timetables, and provide comments on the practicality of each alternative. Consideration shall be given to the

progress that has been made on joint and service-specific education. The study shall also consider possible enhancements to joint education and training that may result from consolidation of these institutions, and a comparison of savings achieved through vertical integration of the administrations within each service, including instances where such integration has occurred, versus the overall integration of the administrations of the service schools. The Department shall not take action on any consolidation until the study has been submitted to the appropriate Congressional committees.

Noting the Department's noncompliance with a similar request made in the fiscal year 1993 Senate Appropriations Committee report (S. Report 102-408), this study shall be submitted to the Congressional defense committees no later than March 31, 1994. The Department's report on this matter shall not be combined with other reports due to the Congress on military personnel management, such as Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA) reform. If the study is not provided by the date specified above, the Conferees will consider corrective actions in ensuing legislation.

TRAVEL

The conferees note that substantial amounts appear to be set aside annually for Department of Defense personnel to attend conventions, conferences, and seminars sponsored by non-governmental organizations. The conferees also note that substantial amounts of resources are used to support conventions, and conferences sponsored by non-governmental organizations. The conferees direct the Department to limit the amount of funds and other resources it provides to various non-governmental organizations at their conventions, conferences, and other functions to one-half of the levels provided in fiscal year 1993. The conferees intend to initiate a review of the Department's support to non-governmental organizations in the near future.

DOD ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY PROGRAMS

OVERVIEW

The conferees have agreed to a reduction of \$347,100,000 to the Defense Environmental Restoration Account (DERA) from the President's budget request due to severe budget constraints. This reduction should in no way lessen the Department's commitment to the restoration and treatment of its natural resources, and the conferees urge the new Administration to work to reduce the impediments to expeditious cleanup.

In addition, the conferees continue to strongly agree that individual site cleanup projects should not be specifically earmarked within the DERA account.

The Senate mandated a number of reports from the Department to assess the validity of requested environmental funds. The conferees agree to these new reports and direct that they be submitted annually to the Defense oversight committees.

Directions provided by either the House or Senate reports should be complied with if funding or direction has either been included by the conferees or was included in the President's budget request.

The conferees agree to the following specific allocations for environmental restoration and compliance projects. DD Form 1414 for fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires prior approval. Amounts shown are in thousands of dollars.

Environmental restoration and compliance projects

Operation and Maintenance, Army:	
Radioactive Waste Disposal Program	*(1,650,000)
Sixth Infantry Division:	
Munitions reaction furnace	*(350,000)
Water treatment controls	*(2,500,000)
Munitions disposal	*(1,500,000)
U.S. Army Pacific Command Joint Task Force Initiative:	
Wastewater Treatment Joint Task Force	*(500,000)
Family Housing Master Plan	*(2,000,000)
Operation and Maintenance, Navy:	
Walker River Palute Reservation	
Operation and Maintenance, Air Force:	
Eleventh Air Force Petroleum, oil and lubricants (POL) cleanup	*(2,500,000)
Kotzebue landfill replacement	*(1,300,000)
Operation and Maintenance, Army National Guard:	
Camp Withycombe	*(800,000)
Oregon National Guard Headquarters	*(835,000)

POLLUTION ABATEMENT TEST

The Energy Policy Act of 1992 calls on the Secretary of Energy in conjunction with industry and federal agencies to conduct a study on diesel engine combustion and fuels and lubricants to reduce emissions of oxides of nitrogen and particulates. To assist in the conduct of this study, the conferees direct the Secretary of Defense to consider developing a program involving DOD fleet vehicles,

in particular trucks and buses, to test diesel fuel additives as a means to reduce emissions.

DOD SUPPORT FOR ANTARCTIC RESEARCH

The conferees note the direction in Senate Report 103-137 for the National Science Foundation and the Department of Defense to report on how changes in the armed forces may impact support for the Antarctic research program. The conferees expect that report to be provided concurrently to the Subcommittees on Defense of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations.

CABLE TELEVISION CONTRACTS

The conferees direct the Department to develop a uniform policy toward all cable television operators that hold contracts or franchise agreements at military installations. The rules of the Federal Acquisition Regulations, including case law applicable to these contracts and franchise agreements, shall be applied in a uniform manner to contracts entered into before and after the date of enactment of this Act. The Department shall transmit a copy of the new policy 90 days after enactment of this Act to the Committees on Appropriations and Armed Services of the House and Senate.

CHILD CARE FACILITIES PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

The Committee is aware that child care facilities at several Army bases have implemented an innovative pre-school education initiative which utilizes the Sesame Street program as the basis for interactive reading and for assisting families to become their children's first teachers. Quality care and education of military dependents should continue to be a high priority of the Department of Defense, and the Committee recommends that the Department examine how to expand the Sesame Street pre-school education program to all branches of the military.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY

Amendment No. 11: Appropriates \$15,802,057,000 instead of \$15,221,091,000 as proposed by the House and \$15,706,229,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 12: Deletes House language to transfer \$880,200,000 from the Defense Business Operations Fund.

Amendment No. 13: Inserts Senate language earmarking \$6,500,000 for the Army Environmental Policy Institute, of which \$2,000,000 shall be for a study on the effects of depleted uranium on the environment; inserts Senate language earmarking \$500,000 to study the effects of uranium milling on individuals employed in uranium mills between 1947 and 1971; and deletes Senate language regarding the Somalia operations which is now carried as a general provision (Section 8151).

The conference agreement is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
100 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY				
150 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
200 LAND FORCES				
250 COMBAT UNITS	1,548,665	1,658,665	1,506,411	1,620,862
300 TACTICAL SUPPORT	1,104,862	1,104,862	1,084,441	1,099,162
350 THEATER DEFENSE FORCES	201,050	201,050	199,704	201,050
400 FORCE RELATED TRAINING/SPECIAL ACTIVITIES	1,107,503	1,137,503	1,061,397	1,137,503
450 FORCE COMMUNICATIONS	61,482	61,482	61,070	61,482
500 DEPOT MAINTENANCE	720,723	920,723	743,196	795,723
550 JCS EXERCISES	61,147	61,147	60,737	61,147
600 BASE SUPPORT	2,809,570	2,843,170	2,712,105	2,748,429
650 LAND OPERATIONS SUPPORT				
700 COMBAT DEVELOPMENTS	227,662	227,662	223,366	227,662
750 UNIFIED COMMANDS	35,165	35,165	35,165	35,165
800 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	7,877,829	8,251,429	7,687,592	7,988,185
850 BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION				
900 MOBILITY OPERATIONS				

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
950 POMCUS	72,600	72,600	59,400	59,400
1000 STRATEGIC MOBILIZATION	171,765	171,765	204,965	204,965
1050 WAR RESERVE ACTIVITIES	30,212	30,212	29,232	30,212
1100 INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS	97,819	97,819	97,819	97,819
1150 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION	372,396	372,396	391,416	392,396
1200 BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING				
1250 ACCESSION TRAINING				
1300 OFFICER ACQUISITION	44,345	44,345	41,458	41,458
1350 RECRUIT TRAINING	12,597	12,597	12,597	12,597
1400 ONE STATION UNIT TRAINING	12,947	12,947	12,947	12,947
1450 RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING CORPS (ROTC)	95,266	101,016	95,266	101,016
1500 BASE SUPPORT (ACADEMY ONLY)	111,077	111,077	108,870	108,459
1550 BASIC SKILL/ADVANCE TRAINING				
1600 SPECIALIZED SKILL TRAINING	327,264	327,264	327,264	327,264
1650 FLIGHT TRAINING	257,448	257,448	257,448	257,448
1700 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION	61,458	61,458	59,432	61,458
1750 TRAINING SUPPORT	349,770	366,770	366,770	366,770
1800 BASE SUPPORT (OTHER TRAINING)	921,972	921,972	899,752	900,246
1850 RECRUITING/OTHER TRAINING				
1900 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	151,284	151,284	155,384	155,384
1950 EXAMINING	50,895	50,895	50,895	50,895
2000 OFF-DUTY AND VOLUNTARY EDUCATION	113,430	113,430	113,430	113,430
2050 CIVILIAN EDUCATION AND TRAINING	86,816	86,816	86,816	86,816
2100 JUNIOR ROTC	69,093	69,093	42,840	69,093
2150 BASE SUPPORT (RECRUITING LEASES)	161,877	194,797	156,584	190,976
2200 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING	2,827,539	2,883,209	2,787,753	2,856,257
2250 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
2300 SECURITY PROGRAMS				
2350 SECURITY PROGRAMS	401,982	401,982	396,511	401,982
2400 LOGISTICS OPERATIONS				
2450 SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION	520,955	595,955	650,955	600,955
2500 CENTRAL SUPPLY ACTIVITIES	479,785	479,785	551,494	479,785
2550 LOGISTIC SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	327,911	338,461	317,411	410,461
2600 AMMUNITION MANAGEMENT	249,790	249,790	249,790	249,790
2650 SERVICEWIDE SUPPORT				
2700 ADMINISTRATION	308,170	272,570	335,266	293,728
2750 SERVICEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS	781,392	751,392	765,692	751,392
2800 MANPOWER MANAGEMENT	71,956	71,956	71,956	71,956
2850 OTHER PERSONNEL SUPPORT	154,704	154,704	150,104	155,204
2900 OTHER SERVICE SUPPORT	421,995	411,995	385,795	392,195
2950 ARMY CLAIMS ACTIVITIES	199,373	199,373	199,373	199,373
3000 REAL ESTATE MANAGEMENT	98,843	98,843	100,843	100,843
3050 DEFENSE ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION PROGRAM				
3100 BASE SUPPORT	678,371	674,743	618,130	659,249
3150 SUPPORT OF OTHER NATIONS				
3200 INTERNATIONAL MILITARY HEADQUARTERS	222,813	212,813	191,758	191,913
3250 MISC SUPPORT OF OTHER NATIONS	23,396	23,396	23,396	23,396
3300 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	4,941,436	4,937,758	5,008,474	4,982,222
3330 CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS UNDISTRIB. REDUCTIONS		15,905	-14,200	5,803
3350 GENERAL REDUCTION, DBOF	-880,200	-880,200		
3400 GENERAL REDUCTION, NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND	-150,000	-150,000	-150,000	-150,000
3450 PRIOR YEAR REDUCTION	-4,806	-4,806	-4,806	-4,806
3500 REDUCTIONS FOR BRAC III	-18,000	-18,000		
3530 TRANSFER TO INSPECTOR GENERAL		-9,800		
3535 AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING		-25,000		-63,000
3585 INVENTORIES		-151,800		
3590 FOREIGN CURRENCY				-205,000
3600 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY	14,966,194	15,221,091	15,706,229	15,802,057
3650 (BY TRANSFER—DBOF)	(880,200)	(880,200)		
3700 (BY TRANSFER—NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)
3750 TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE	(15,996,394)	(16,251,291)	(15,856,229)	(15,952,057)

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES
Adjustments to the budget activities are
shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1:					
250 OPTEMPO	+100,000				
Supplemental Fuel					
Tank	+2,000				
Fuel Repricing	-17,883				
Fuel war reserves	-14,670				
Purchase Threshold	+2,750				
300 Simulation Internet ..	-5,700				
400 OPTEMPO	+30,000				
500 C-E Depot Maint					
Backlog	+46,600				
Aircraft Maint	+28,400				
600 European Base Ops	-20,000				
George AFB/NTC					
Airhead	+3,000				
San Francisco Con-					
servation Corps	+300				
U.S. Base Ops	+10,000				
Equip Maint Shelters					
(Ft. Bragg)	+2,000				
DBOF/Base Ops	+8,650				
Civ Pers Understrength	-66,241				
Castner Range Cleanup	+1,150				
Budget Activity 2:					
950 POMCUS	-13,200				
1000 Strategic Mobility ...	+33,200				
Budget Activity 3:					
1300 Officer Acquisition ..	-2,887				
1450 ROTC Prog & ROTC/					
IU-NW Project	+5,750				
1500 Civ Pers Under-					
strength	-2,618				
1750 Teletraining	+17,000				
1800 Civ Pers Under-					
strength	-21,726				
1900 Recruiting	+4,100				
2150 DBOF/Base Ops	+32,920				
Civ Pers Understrength	-3,821				
Budget Activity 4:					
2450 Retro-Eur	+80,000				
2550 Retro-Eur	+74,000				
Use of Natural Gas					
Technology	+2,600				
Acft & Maint Shelters					
(Italy)	+5,000				
Voice Maintenance					
Test	+950				
2700 Celebrations					+900
SES Workyears					-1,500
Consultant Advisory					
Assistance Sys					-15,000
Defense Nuclear Agen-					
cy					+32,018
Headquarters					-6,360
Travel					-22,100
Criminal Investigation					-2,400
2750 General Communica-					
tions					-30,000
2850 Life Science Lab					+500
2900 DFAS Services					-29,800
3000 Real Estate Admin-					
istration					+2,000
3100 White Sands RPM					
Backlog					+2,700
Hamilton AFB Cleanup					+5,000
Letterkenny RPM					
Backlog					+1,500
DBOF/Base Ops					-6,928
Civ Pers Understrength					-15,994
Pentagon Renovation ..					-5,400
3200 Spt to Other Nations					-30,900

MOBILE SUBSCRIBER EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE

The conferees agree to delete the House reporting requirement on contractual arrangements for Mobile Subscriber Equipment maintenance.

COMBAT SURVIVAL TRAINING PROGRAM

The conferees agree that the Army should establish a combat survival training program similar to the Air Combat Aircrew Training Program. The conferees direct the Army to submit a plan to establish this program to the Committees on Appropriations and Armed Services of the House and Senate by April 15, 1994.

FORT RAY CLEANUP

The conferees agree that \$850,000 shall be available only for the removal of hazardous material and demolition of former military facilities at the Fort Ray site in Alaska. These properties were ultimately conveyed to the Shee Atika Native corporation by the Department of Defense. The Secretary of the Army shall submit a plan for activities at the Ft. Ray site to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate not later than February 1, 1994.

LIFE SCIENCES LAB

The conferees provide \$500,000 for the Air Force's Life Sciences Equipment Labora-

tory. This lab is involved in the identification of POW/MIA remains.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY

Amendment No. 14: Appropriations \$19,860,309,000 instead of \$18,097,782,000 as proposed by the House and \$19,845,083,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 15: Deletes House language to transfer \$1,092,700,000 from the Defense Business Operations Fund.

Amendment No. 16: Restores House language earmarking \$350,000 to connect residences in the vicinity of the Naval Air Warfare Center to the Warminster municipal water supply system.

The conference agreement is as follows:

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
3800 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY				
3850 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
3900 AIR OPERATIONS				
3950 MISSION AND OTHER FLIGHT OPERATIONS	1,797,906	1,847,906	1,744,029	1,760,971
4000 FLEET AIR TRAINING	614,685	635,685	591,650	587,985
4050 INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE	91,482	101,482	91,482	91,482
4100 AIR OPERATIONS AND SAFETY SUPPORT	144,178	144,178	144,178	144,178
4150 AIRCRAFT DEPOT MAINTENANCE	554,404	604,404	603,804	603,804
4200 AIRCRAFT DEPOT OPERATIONS SUPPORT	25,288	25,288	25,288	25,288
4250 BASE SUPPORT	998,210	995,142	985,233	980,932
4300 SHIP OPERATIONS				
4350 MISSION AND OTHER SHIP OPERATIONS	2,044,690	2,104,690	1,978,065	2,004,690
4400 SHIP OPERATIONAL SUPPORT AND TRAINING	453,522	453,522	436,526	438,892
4450 INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE	471,610	486,610	471,619	471,619
4500 SHIP DEPOT MAINTENANCE	2,003,269	2,043,269	2,122,269	2,104,769
4550 SHIP DEPOT OPERATIONS SUPPORT	645,607	645,607	669,807	668,307
4600 BASE SUPPORT	927,787	927,787	900,967	897,166
4650 COMBAT OPERATIONS/SUPPORT				
4700 COMBAT COMMUNICATIONS	203,346	203,346	203,346	203,346
4750 ELECTRONIC WARFARE	7,522	7,522	7,522	7,522
4800 SPACE SYSTEMS AND SURVEILLANCE	222,017	222,017	222,017	222,017
4850 WARFARE TACTICS	128,850	138,850	148,850	148,850
4900 OPERATIONAL METEOROLOGY AND OCEANOGRAPHY	203,039	203,039	203,039	203,039
4950 COMBAT SUPPORT FORCES	265,475	265,475	250,845	250,845
5000 EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE	132,676	132,676	132,676	132,676
5050 DEPOT OPERATIONS SUPPORT	1,438	1,438	1,438	1,438
5100 BASE SUPPORT	410,889	440,889	405,547	404,621
5150 WEAPONS SUPPORT				
5200 CRUISE MISSILE	105,995	105,995	105,995	105,995
5250 FLEET BALLISTIC MISSILE	800,005	800,005	800,005	800,005
5300 IN-SERVICE WEAPONS SYSTEMS SUPPORT	46,752	46,752	46,752	46,752
5350 WEAPONS MAINTENANCE	506,616	536,616	506,616	506,616
5400 BASE SUPPORT	86,837	86,837	85,708	86,037
5410 UNDISTRIBUTED	—	—	—	—
5450 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	13,894,095	14,217,027	13,885,264	13,899,833
5500 BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION				
5550 READY RESERVE AND PREPOSITIONING FORCES				
5600 SHIP PREPOSITIONING AND SURGE	507,725	507,725	507,725	507,725
5650 ACTIVATIONS/INACTIVATIONS				
5700 AIRCRAFT ACTIVATIONS/INACTIVATIONS	6,880	6,880	6,880	6,880
5750 SHIP ACTIVATIONS/INACTIVATIONS	808,505	808,505	808,505	808,505
5800 MOBILIZATION PREPAREDNESS				
5850 FLEET HOSPITAL PROGRAM	17,756	17,756	17,756	17,756
5900 INDUSTRIAL READINESS	12,752	12,752	12,752	12,752
5950 COAST GUARD SUPPORT	18,205	18,205	18,205	18,205
6000 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION	1,371,823	1,371,823	1,371,823	1,371,823
6050 BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING				
6100 ACCESSION TRAINING				
6150 OFFICER ACQUISITION	54,761	54,761	54,761	54,761
6200 RECRUIT TRAINING	4,498	4,498	4,498	4,498
6250 RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS (ROTC)	49,961	54,961	49,961	52,461
6300 BASE SUPPORT	112,519	112,519	112,519	112,519
6350 BASIC SKILLS AND ADVANCED TRAINING				
6400 SPECIALIZED SKILL TRAINING	227,268	237,268	225,268	232,268
6450 FLIGHT TRAINING	334,461	334,461	331,461	331,461
6500 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION	56,773	56,773	77,070	56,773
6550 TRAINING SUPPORT	142,284	142,284	140,284	140,284
6600 BASE SUPPORT	438,117	438,117	431,117	438,117
6650 RECRUITING AND OTHER TRAINING AND EDUCATION				
6700 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	80,478	80,478	90,478	90,478
6750 OFF-DUTY AND VOLUNTARY EDUCATION	55,306	55,306	55,306	55,306
6800 CIVILIAN EDUCATION AND TRAINING	26,848	26,848	26,848	26,848
6850 JUNIOR ROTC	18,484	18,484	14,859	18,484
6900 BASE SUPPORT	427	427	427	427
6950 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING	1,602,185	1,617,185	1,614,897	1,614,685
7000 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
7050 SERVICEWIDE SUPPORT				
7100 ADMINISTRATION	302,943	277,943	295,055	273,166
7150 EXTERNAL RELATIONS	20,298	20,298	20,298	20,298
7200 CIVILIAN MANPOWER AND PERSON MANAGEMENT	48,833	48,833	48,833	48,833
7250 MILITARY MANPOWER AND PERSON MANAGEMENT	127,315	127,315	125,660	126,115
7300 OTHER PERSONNEL SUPPORT	390,476	390,476	364,523	368,876
7350 SERVICEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS	265,267	235,367	226,617	232,767
7400 BASE SUPPORT	294,565	291,365	281,604	279,233
7450 LOGISTICS OPERATIONS AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT				
7500 SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION	193,230	193,230	193,230	193,230
7550 PLANNING, ENGINEERING AND DESIGN	281,596	281,596	281,596	281,596
7600 ACQUISITION AND PROGRAM MANAGEMENT	368,777	368,777	368,777	368,777

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
7650 AIR SYSTEMS SUPPORT	195,006	195,006	195,006	195,006
7700 HULL, MECHANICAL AND ELECTRICAL SUPPORT	63,130	63,130	63,130	63,130
7750 COMBAT/WEAPONS SYSTEMS	18,174	18,174	18,174	18,174
7800 SPACE AND ELECTRONIC WARFARE SYSTEMS	80,182	80,182	80,182	80,182
7850 BASE SUPPORT	129,640	134,240	124,755	131,040
7900 SECURITY PROGRAMS				
7950 SECURITY PROGRAMS	533,130	533,130	436,124	533,130
8000 BASE SUPPORT	4,478	4,478	4,478	4,478
8050 SUPPORT OF OTHER NATIONS				
8100 INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND AGENCIES	7,657	7,657	7,657	7,656
8150 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	3,324,797	3,271,197	3,135,699	3,225,688
8180 CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS UNDISTRIB. REDUCTIONS		-10,000	-12,600	-12,920
8200 GENERAL REDUCTION, DBOF	-1,092,700	-1,092,700		
8250 GENERAL REDUCTION, NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND	-150,000	-150,000	-150,000	-150,000
8320 REDUCTIONS FOR BRAC III	-811,000	-811,000		
8330 TRANSFER TO INSPECTOR GENERAL		-15,200		
8335 AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING		-25,000		-69,000
8385 INVENTORIES		-275,550		
8390 FOREIGN CURRENCY				-19,800
8400 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY	18,139,200	18,097,782	19,845,083	19,860,309
8450 (BY TRANSFER—DBOF)	(1,092,700)	(1,092,700)		
8500 (BY TRANSFER—NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)	(150,000)
8550 TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE	(19,381,900)	(19,340,482)	(19,995,083)	(20,010,309)

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES

Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1:

3950 OPTEMPO	+20,000
Fuel repricing	-20,000
Fuel war reserves	-42,935
Purchase threshold	+6,000
4000 Fuel repricing	-21,000
Simulation Internet	-5,700
4150 Aircraft Maint Backlog	+49,400
4250 DBOF/Base Ops	-3,078
Military personnel understrength	-9,200
Fuel repricing	-5,000
4350 OPTEMPO	+25,000
Fuel repricing	-25,000
Fuel war reserves	-40,000
4400 SOSUS	-14,630
4500 Ship Maint Backlog	+100,000
LCU Modernization	+1,500
4550 Shipyard Modernization	+22,700
4600 UPC	-11,681
Fuel repricing	-10,000
Military personnel understrength	-8,940
4850 Pacific Missile Range Facility	+20,000
4950 Fuel repricing	-14,630
5100 Fuel repricing	-2,468
Military personnel understrength	-3,800
5400 Military personnel understrength	-800

Budget Activity 3:

6250 ROTC	+2,500
6400 Skills training	+5,000
6450 Fuel repricing	-3,000
6550 Schoolhouse tng/prof develop	-2,000
6700 Recruiting	+10,000

Budget Activity 4:

7100 Navy Audit	-2,277
Consultant Advisory Assistance Svcs	-15,000
Criminal investigation	-9,700
Military personnel understrength	-2,800
7250 Military personnel understrength	-1,200

7300 DFAS Services	-18,600
Military personnel understrength	-3,000

7350 Gen Purpose communic	-29,600
Military personnel understrength	3,000

7400 Servicewide support	-9,132
Pentagon Renovation	-3,200

Military personnel understrength	-3,000
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7850 Natural Gas Technology	+2,600
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Military personnel understrength	-1,200
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NAVAL TEST AND FLEET TRAINING RANGE

The conferees agree to add funding to support communications upgrades and operations at the Pacific Missile Range Facility. Below is a listing identifying these projects and the approved funding increases.

Project	Funding
SPS-48E Long Range Air Surveillance Radar	\$12,200,000
Communications Network expansion	27,500
Portable threat emitter simulator upgrade	395,000
PMRF/USER	
Interconnectivity	2,000,000
Haleakala Maui Microwave/Fiber link	1,000,000
High speed data comm.	
FDDI network	1,000,000
Wide band communications	3,000,000
Total	19,622,500

NAVAL PUBLIC WORKS FACILITY, PASCAGOULA

The conferees are aware that after nearly three years the Navy has yet to resolve claims associated with a Naval Public Works Facility, Contract No. N62467-88-CO-0039, even though the facility is complete. The conferees firmly recommend that Navy settle or resolve these claims expeditiously and direct the Department to provide a status report to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate by January 15, 1994 on its actions.

JUNIOR LEADERSHIP CORPS

The conferees urge the Department to apply \$4 million of available funds to the

Junior Leadership Corps pilot program to be conducted at Loring AFB.

HAIFA PORT

In a previous act, the Congress directed the Navy to submit a report detailing possible requirements for upgrades to the Israeli Port of Haifa. Such upgrades would have been in support of U.S. Navy operations in the eastern Mediterranean. That report was submitted by the Secretary of the Navy and reviewed by the Congress. The report indicates that the Haifa port provides a full range of support needed by Navy ships visiting the region. Although no additional funding for port upgrades is available at this time due to budget constraints, the conferees will continue to examine this matter. The conferees wish to express their gratitude to the Government of Israel and the Israeli people for making available to U.S. servicemen and women the facilities of Haifa Port.

NAVY GRADUATE EDUCATION

The conferees direct that funding of at least \$38,500,000 be made available to the Naval Postgraduate School for its fiscal year 1994 programs, including \$1,000,000 for expanding joint warfare analysis programs.

SOUTHERN MARYLAND HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITY

The conferees direct the Navy to provide support for the southern Maryland higher education facility that will exist to provide graduate level engineering and other education courses for military and civilian personnel at the Patuxent Naval Air Warfare Center.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS

Amendment No. 17: Deletes center heading.

Amendment No. 18: Appropriates \$1,857,699,000 instead of \$1,773,889,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,834,495,000 as proposed by the Senate and deletes House language to transfer \$121,000,000 from the Defense Business Operations Fund.

The conference agreement is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
8600 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS				
8650 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
8700 EXPEDITIONARY FORCES				
8750 OPERATIONAL FORCES	297,241	317,241	298,179	319,929
8800 FIELD LOGISTICS	137,586	137,586	137,586	137,586
8850 DEPOT MAINTENANCE	44,152	66,702	41,152	41,152
8900 BASE SUPPORT	713,651	723,921	729,389	715,515
8950 USMC PROPOSITIONING				
9000 MARITIME PROPOSITIONING	64,567	98,667	95,967	95,967
9050 NORWAY PROPOSITIONING	6,705	6,705	6,706	6,705
9100 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	1,263,902	1,350,822	1,308,979	1,316,854
9150 BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING				
9200 ACCESSION TRAINING				
9250 RECRUIT TRAINING	5,389	5,389	5,389	5,389
9300 OFFICER ACQUISITION	204	204	204	204
9350 BASE SUPPORT	56,991	56,991	56,991	56,992
9400 BASIC SKILLS AND ADVANCED TRAINING				
9450 SPECIALIZED SKILLS TRAINING	19,528	19,528	19,528	19,528
9500 FLIGHT TRAINING	164	164	164	164
9550 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION	6,919	6,919	3,290	6,919
9600 TRAINING SUPPORT	49,745	49,745	48,192	48,192
9650 BASE SUPPORT	61,101	61,070	61,101	61,101
9700 RECRUITING AND OTHER TRAINING EDUCATION				
9750 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	51,266	51,266	53,566	53,566
9800 OFF-DUTY AND VOLUNTARY EDUCATION	12,506	12,506	12,506	12,506
9850 JUNIOR ROTC	5,104	5,104	5,104	5,104
9900 BASE SUPPORT	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796
9950 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING	275,713	275,682	272,831	276,460
10000 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
10050 SERVICEWIDE SUPPORT				
10100 LOGISTICS SUPPORT	110,460	110,460	181,460	93,160
10150 SPECIAL SUPPORT	98,122	88,122	102,122	102,122
10200 SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION	37,379	37,379	37,379	37,379
10250 ADMINISTRATION	23,582	23,582	22,882	22,882
10300 BASE SUPPORT	8,842	8,842	8,842	8,842
10350 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	278,385	268,385	252,685	264,385
10400 GENERAL REDUCTION, DBOF	-121,000	-121,000		
10550 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS	1,697,000	1,773,889	1,843,495	1,857,699
10600 (BY TRANSFER—DBOF)	(121,000)	(121,000)		
10650 TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE	(1,818,000)	(1,894,889)	(1,834,495)	(1,857,699)

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES
Adjustments to the budget activities are
shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1:
8750 Force Structure +9,000
OPTEMPO +15,000
Fuel Repricing -1,133
Fuel war reserves -929
Purchase threshold 750
8850 Ammo Rework -3,000
8900 Pendleton Flood Re-
pairs +2,775

DBOF/BOS -911
9000 Maritime Reposi-
tioning Shortfall +31,400
Budget Activity 3:
9600 Professional Delv-
opment -1,553
9750 Recruiting +2,300
Budget Activity 4:
10100 DLR/DBOF -6,000
JLSC overestimate -5,900
DFAS Services -5,400
10150 New Parent Pro-
gram +4,000

(In thousands of dollars)

10250 Travel -700

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR
FORCE

Amendment No. 19: Appropriates
\$19,093,805,000 instead of \$18,305,447,000 as pro-
posed by the House and \$19,107,389,000 as pro-
posed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 20: Deletes House lan-
guage to transfer \$941,400,000 from the De-
fense Business Operations Fund.

The conference agreement is as follows:

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
10700 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE				
10750 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
10800 AIR OPERATIONS				
10850 PRIMARY COMBAT FORCES	2,434,488	2,335,448	2,507,239	2,479,007
10900 PRIMARY COMBAT WEAPONS	482,907	482,907	482,907	482,907
10950 COMBAT ENHANCEMENT FORCES	312,117	312,117	298,549	312,117
11000 AIR OPERATIONS TRAINING	457,821	482,821	419,862	420,384
11050 COMBAT COMMUNICATIONS	552,236	552,236	552,236	552,236
11100 BASE SUPPORT	2,260,124	2,341,085	2,168,578	2,199,521
11150 COMBAT RELATED OPERATIONS				
11200 GLOBAL C3I AND EARLY WARNING	790,353	790,353	786,210	786,210
11250 NAVIGATION/WEATHER SUPPORT	150,578	150,578	150,578	150,578
11300 OTHER COMBAT OPS SUPPORT PROGRAMS	253,223	253,223	251,223	257,223
11350 JCS EXERCISES	31,405	31,405	31,405	31,405
11400 MANAGEMENT/OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	108,357	108,357	108,108	108,108
11450 TACTICAL INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER SPECIAL ACTIVITIES	186,749	186,749	186,749	186,749
11500 SPACE OPERATIONS				
11550 LAUNCH FACILITIES	280,183	280,183	296,183	296,183
11600 LAUNCH VEHICLES	105,474	105,474	105,474	105,474
11650 SPACE CONTROL SYSTEMS	423,008	423,008	420,349	423,008
11700 SATELLITE SYSTEMS	45,315	45,315	45,315	45,315
11750 OTHER SPACE OPERATIONS	81,978	81,978	81,978	81,978
11800 BASE SUPPORT	315,390	315,390	303,665	304,665
11850 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	9,271,706	9,278,627	9,196,608	9,223,068
11900 BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION				
11950 MOBILITY OPERATIONS				
12000 AIRLIFT OPERATIONS	1,521,193	1,521,193	1,419,693	1,471,193
12050 AIRLIFT OPERATIONS C3I	103,481	103,481	103,481	103,481
12100 MOBILIZATION PREPAREDNESS	136,856	136,856	136,856	136,856
12150 PAYMENT TO TRANSPORTATION BUSINESS AREA	1,599,981	1,599,981	1,599,981	1,599,981

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
12200 BASE SUPPORT	1,147,434	1,147,434	1,122,599	1,124,795
12250 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION	4,508,945	4,508,945	4,382,610	4,436,306
12300 BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING				
12350 ACCESSION TRAINING				
12400 OFFICER ACQUISITION	44,672	44,672	42,471	44,672
12450 RECRUIT TRAINING	4,660	4,660	2,839	4,660
12500 RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING CORPS (ROTC)	28,809	38,809	25,709	28,809
12550 BASE SUPPORT (ACADEMIES ONLY)	69,953	54,253	68,361	64,953
12600 BASIC SKILLS AND ADVANCED TRAINING				
12650 SPECIALIZED SKILL TRAINING	208,356	208,356	207,418	208,356
12700 FLIGHT TRAINING	381,565	381,565	381,565	381,565
12750 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION	81,613	72,813	53,724	63,489
12800 TRAINING SUPPORT	69,687	69,687	69,687	69,687
12850 BASE SUPPORT (OTHER TRAINING)	497,306	497,297	474,238	489,806
12900 RECRUITING, AND OTHER TRAINING AND EDUCATION				
12950 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	35,373	35,373	35,373	35,373
13000 EXAMINING	3,788	3,788	3,788	3,788
13050 OFF DUTY AND VOLUNTARY EDUCATION	69,854	69,854	69,854	69,854
13100 CIVILIAN EDUCATION AND TRAINING	71,309	71,309	68,729	71,309
13150 JUNIOR ROTC	16,510	16,510		16,510
13200 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING	1,583,455	1,558,946	1,520,266	1,552,831
13250 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
13300 LOGISTICS				
13350 LOGISTICS OPERATIONS	851,465	901,465	829,855	829,865
13400 TECHNICAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	358,793	361,393	353,793	361,393
13450 SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION	212,749	212,749	211,749	211,749
13500 BASE SUPPORT	735,734	740,354	713,301	719,301
13550 SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
13600 ADMINISTRATION	113,691	98,226	104,049	87,346
13650 SERVICEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS	462,806	396,806	380,806	385,506
13700 PERSONNEL PROGRAMS	85,046	85,046	85,046	85,046
13750 RESCUE AND RECOVERY SERVICES	35,447	35,447	35,447	35,447
13800 SUBSISTENCE-IN-KIND	56,896	56,896	56,896	56,896
13850 ARMS CONTROL	37,887	37,887	37,887	37,887
13900 OTHER SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES	544,266	539,266	511,366	511,766
13950 OTHER PERSONNEL SUPPORT	33,239	33,239	33,239	33,239
14000 CIVIL AIR PATROL CORPORATION	4,392	4,642	4,392	4,392
14050 BASE SUPPORT	153,640	109,820	146,346	129,340
14100 SECURITY PROGRAMS				
14150 SECURITY PROGRAMS	786,859	786,859	753,202	786,859
14200 SUPPORT TO OTHER NATIONS				
14250 INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT	7,368	7,368	7,331	7,368
14300 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	4,444,278	4,407,463	4,264,705	4,283,400
14330 CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS UNDISTRIB. REDUCTIONS		-62,784	-56,800	-25,600
14350 GENERAL REDUCTION, DBOF	-941,400	-941,400		
14400 GENERAL REDUCTION, NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND	-200,000	-200,000	-200,000	-200,000
14452 REDUCTIONS FOR BRAC	-84,000	-84,000		
14460 TRANSFER TO INSPECTOR GENERAL		-12,700		
14470 AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING		-25,000		-53,000
14485 INVENTORIES		-122,650		
14495 FOREIGN CURRENCY				-123,200
14550 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE	18,582,984	18,305,447	19,107,389	19,093,805
14600 (BY TRANSFER - DBOF)	(941,400)	(941,400)		
14650 (BY TRANSFER - NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE FUND)	(200,000)	(200,000)	(200,000)	(200,000)
14700 TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE	(19,724,384)	(19,446,847)	(19,307,389)	(19,293,905)

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES

Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1:	
10850 Depot Level	
Repairables	+280,000
B-1 flying hours	-8,451
Strategic moderniza-	
tion	-24,500
Fuel repricing	-100,000
Fuel war reserves	-58,070
Purchase threshold ...	+5,750
Mothball B-52s	-50,210
11000 Fuel repricing	-31,737
Simulation internet ...	-5,700
11100 Base Ops	-10,000
11th AF RPM	+11,700
DBOF/BOS	-4,048
Civ Pers understrength	-55,857
Beale AFB Cleanup	+2,800
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-5,198
11200 Civ pers under-	
strength	-4,143
11300 Manual Osmosis	
desalinators	+4,000
11400 Military personnel	
understrength	-249
11550 NOAA	+17,000

Civ Pers understrength	-1,000
11800 Civ Pers under-	
strength	-10,000
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-725
12000 Fuel war reserves ...	-50,000
12200 Base Ops	-10,000
Civ Pers understrength	-10,000
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-2,639
Budget Activity 3:	
12550 Base Ops	-5,000
12750 Professional Devel-	
opment	-18,124
12850 Civ Pers under-	
strength	-7,500
Budget Activity 4:	
13350 Logistics support ...	-11,500
DFAS Services	-21,900
Aircraft Depot Maint	
backlog	+11,800
13400 Natural gas tech-	
nology	+2,600
13500 Base Ops	-10,000
JSTARS	-5,000
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-1,433
13600 Major command re-	
organization	-9,500
Arlington Cemetery ...	+9,535
Consultant Advisory	
Assistance Sys	-15,000

Headquarters	-7,680
Criminal investigation	-2,900
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-1,000
13650 Gen Purpose Com-	
munications	-40,300
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-1,000
Alternate dispute reso-	
lution	+200
13900 Disability Com-	
pensation	-32,000
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-500
14000 Civil Air Patrol	+250
14050 Base Ops	-15,000
Hamilton AFB Cleanup	-5,000
Pentagon renovation ...	-3,800
Military personnel un-	
derstrength	-500
Amendment No. 21: Restores and amends	
House language to provide funding for the	
Tactical Interim CAMS and REMIS Report-	
ing System (TICARRS-92); restores House	
language providing funding for the Women in	
Military Service For America Memorial	
Foundation, Inc., for specific repair, restora-	
tion and preservation functions at Arlington	

National Cemetery; and restores House language providing funding for continued environmental restoration of the former Olmsted Air Force Base, Pennsylvania.

AUTOMATED LOGISTICS MAINTENANCE SYSTEMS

Last year, the conferees directed the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) to complete a comparative evaluation of CAMS/REMIS and TICARRS. This evaluation was directed because the General Accounting Office (GAO) and a Department of Defense Major Information System Review Council had found serious deficiencies in the ability of CAMS and REMIS to deliver timely and accurate data.

IDA verified these previous findings that CAMS/REMIS has problems with data integrity, availability and responsiveness. Furthermore, IDA concluded that because of the complexity of the CAMS/REMIS architecture, it is very uncertain that these shortcomings can be overcome. It also found that the Air Force could save \$100,000,000 over ten years by using TICARRS instead of CAMS/REMIS. IDA's overall assessment concluded that TICARRS is at least as effective as CAMS/REMIS with less risk and cost.

Given these findings, the conferees support the House position and direct in the interim that the Air Force reestablish TICARRS, with direct data input, as the maintenance management system for F-15, F-16 and F-117A aircraft.

The conferees further direct that the Deputy Secretary of Defense provide the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate a report not later than May 15, 1994, on plans to develop a new joint service, Secretary of Defense-managed, logistics maintenance system. This report should include, but not be limited to: a proposed acquisition timeline, the cost of one new joint system, an evaluation of the applicability of OMB Circular A-109, and the naming of an Office of the Secretary of Defense designee who will manage this important acquisition.

STANDARDIZATION OF MAINTENANCE SYSTEM APPLICATIONS

The Army was tasked in a Program Decision Memorandum, entitled "Army Maintenance Information System", (September 18, 1992), to implement a smart data system. Subsequently, the Army was directed to fund

a concept demonstration for presentation to the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition on April 1, 1993. However, the conferees have been informed that no action has yet been taken by the Army.

The conferees support the concept of a joint program for maintenance support below the wholesale logistics level, and therefore encourage the Department to carefully evaluate several potential systems before selecting one maintenance support system.

In keeping with this philosophy, the conferees direct that the Army complete a smart data system concept demonstration under the auspices of the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition who shall report the results to the defense committees prior to September 30, 1994.

ALTERNATE DISPUTE RESOLUTION

The conferees recommend an additional \$200,000 over the request for alternate dispute resolution training and program resolution. These funds are required as a result of recent decisions expanding the Air Force's successful efforts to date in implementing the Administrative Dispute Resolution Act of 1990.

OVER-THE-HORIZON BACKSCATTER RADAR SYSTEM

The conferees agree with the Senate language directing the Air Force to continue operating the East Coast Over-the-Horizon Backscatter (OTH-B) radar at no less than the current 40 hour per week schedule, and to ensure that all OTH-B tracking data is transmitted directly to DOD and civilian agencies responsible for providing counterdrug detection and monitoring support to law enforcement agencies. In order to utilize the full potential of this wide-area sensor, the conferees direct DOD to (1) assist the Air Force in linking the East Coast OTH-B radar site data directly to users, including but not limited to the U.S. Customs/Coast Guard C3I Center, Miami; Joint Task Force 4 Operations Center, Key West; U.S. Southern Command Operations Center, Key West; and U.S. Southern Command Operations Center, Panama; and (2) fully cooperate with efforts of other government agencies to utilize the dual-use capabilities of this system for remote environmental and weather monitoring and other purposes.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
14750 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, DEFENSEWIDE AGENCIES				
14800 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
14850 JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF	343,702	343,702	348,702	348,702
14900 SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND	974,314	996,001	962,114	977,301
14950 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	1,318,016	1,339,703	1,310,816	1,326,003
15000 BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION				
15050 DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY	154,200	154,200	154,200	154,200
15150 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 2: MOBILIZATION	154,200	154,200	154,200	154,200
15200 BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING				
15250 DEFENSE ACQUISITION UNIV	104,517	74,000	104,517	87,000
15300 DEF BUSINESS MGT UNIV	3,842	3,200	3,842	3,842
15350 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 3: TRAINING AND RECRUITING	108,359	77,200	108,359	90,842
15400 ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
15450 ARMED FORCES INFOR SVC	74,662	74,662	74,662	74,662
15500 CORPORATE INFORMATION MGT	57,030	132,030	57,030	132,030
15600 CLASSIFIED AND INTEL	3,033,799	2,945,824	2,939,099	2,948,575
15650 DEFENSE CONTRACT AUDIT AG	355,375	355,375	355,375	355,375
15750 DEFENSE INVESTIGATIVE SVC	186,640	186,640	264,137	186,640
15800 DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY	1,333,825	1,380,825	1,328,725	1,367,725
15850 DEFENSE LEGAL SVC AGENCY	6,841	6,841	6,841	6,841
15900 DEFENSE MAPPING AGENCY	707,286	700,000	707,286	700,000
16000 DEFENSE NUCLEAR AGENCY	90,942	58,774		50,285
16050 FEDERAL ENERGY MGT PROGRAM	59,000	59,000	59,000	59,000
16100 DOD DEPENDENTS EDUCATION	1,176,828	1,168,113	1,176,828	1,176,478
16150 DEFENSE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	80,959	80,959	80,959	80,959
16200 DEFENSE TECH SECURITY AG	40,198	8,435	9,198	8,435
16250 JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF	104,295	102,835	104,295	114,295
16300 OFFICE OF ECONOMIC ADJUST	28,812	28,812	38,812	38,812

DOD NAVIGATION AIDS

The conferees understand that the Air Force and Navy plan to terminate non-directional beacon signals (NBS) navigation aids at Adak Naval Air Station and Eareckson Air Force Station. The conferees direct that these facilities remain in operation until thirty days after the Secretary of the Air Force and the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration jointly report to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate the impact of this proposal on military, commercial and private aviation in the regions served by the navigational aids, and how necessary navigational assistance will be maintained.

INVESTIGATION OF RADIATION TESTING

In 1957, the Air Force conducted tests of radioactive material on Alaska Natives. The conferees are concerned about the long term implications of these tests on the Native groups involved, and the failure of the Department of Defense to conduct adequate followup evaluation of these cases. The conferees agree that \$150,000 shall be available only for the investigation of the tests conducted by the Air Force, and for the preparation of a report recommending specific actions to be taken by the Department of Defense to ensure that the health needs of individuals who were involved in these tests are addressed.

C-12 AIRCRAFT

The conferees direct the Air Force to continue funding and performing operation and maintenance activities on C-12 aircraft used by Defense Attaches.

C-20 AIRCRAFT TRANSFER

The conferees direct the Secretary of the Air Force to transfer one C-20 aircraft from the Air Force's current aircraft inventory to the Coast Guard.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, DEFENSE-WIDE

Amendment No. 22: Appropriations \$9,456,801,000 instead of \$9,487,133,000 as proposed by the House and \$9,452,165,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
16350 OFFICE OF SECDEF	383,972	362,472	551,972	530,472
16400 ON SITE INSPECTION AGENCY	114,888	74,888	90,796	84,588
16500 WASHINGTON HDQTS SVCS	171,654	155,920	171,654	155,920
16550 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4:	8,007,006	7,882,405	8,016,669	8,071,092
16560 DBOF ADJUSTMENT—DCAA & DCMC		-87,300	-99,000	-99,000
16570 COMMUNICATIONS		-10,000		
16580 DEFENSE CONVERSION		229,925		65,000
16590 CONSULTANTS ADVISORY ASSISTANCE SERVICES		-12,000		-12,000
16620 REDUCTIONS FOR BRAC III	-87,000	-87,000		
16640 AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING				-30,000
16680 DEFENSEWIDE REDUCTIONS			-38,879	-109,336
16700 TOTAL, OPERATION & MAINTENANCE, DEFENSE-WIDE	9,500,581	9,487,133	9,452,165	9,456,801

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES

Adjustments to the budget activities are as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1:	
14850 Joint Chiefs of Staff:	
Northern Edge JCS Exercise	+\$5,000
14900 Special Operations Command:	
Consulting Service	-2,200
Civilian Personnel	-1,500
Schoolhouse training ..	-4,100
Naval Reserve Boat Units	-3,000
DBOF/BOS	-1,213
OPTEMPO Shortfall	+15,000
Budget Activity 3:	
15250 Defense Acquisition Univ	-17,517
Budget Activity 4:	
15550 Corporate Information Management	+75,000
15800 Defense Logistics Agency:	
Stockpile operations ...	-5,100
Procurement Tech Assistance Prog	+25,000
Automated Document Conversion System ...	+14,000
15900 Defense Mapping Agency Automation	-7,286
16100 DOD Dependents Education:	
Guam DODDS	+500
DBOF/BOS	-850
16200 Defense Tech Security Agency	-31,763
16250 Joint Chiefs of Staff:	
Joint Military Contact Team Program	+10,000
16300 Office of Economic Adjustment	+10,000
16350 Office of SecDef:	
Military Youth Prog ...	+70,000
Impact Aid	+48,000
Project PEACE	+40,000
Legacy	+40,000
Natural Gas Technology	+1,500
CALS	-23,000
16400 OSIA (Arms Control)	-30,300
16500 Washington HQ Svc:	
Automation Enhancement	-11,654
Pentagon renovation ...	-4,080
16680 Defense-wide reductions:	
Fuel repricing	-2,742
Fuel war reserves	-2,249
Civ pers understrength	-33,750
Purchase threshold	+12,325

Foreign Currency Fluctuation	-71,900
DFAS	-9,500
Pentagon renovation ...	-1,520

DEFENSEWIDE REDUCTIONS

The conferees direct that Budget Activity 1, Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide, be excluded from reductions shown under "Defensewide Reductions", Line No. 16680.

SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

Fort Bragg Base Support.—The conferees agree that base support provided by Fort Bragg to the Special Operations Forces stationed at that installation shall be budgeted in Operation and Maintenance, Defense-wide, U.S. Special Operations Command, starting in fiscal year 1995.

Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC).—The conferees expect that all of the funds provided in this Act for the JSOC shall be made available to JSOC for obligation no later than 30 days after enactment by the Special Operations Command, and shall not be withheld for any reason without the explicit approval of the Committees of jurisdiction.

JOINT MILITARY CONTACT TEAM PROGRAM

The conferees agree to provide \$10,000,000 for the Joint Military Contact Team program. As part of this program, the National Guard "Partnership States" arrangement has met with particular success in the Baltic nations. The conferees expect the Department to continue including Guard and Reserve components in this program.

DEFENSE PERSONNEL SUPPORT COMMAND

The conferees agree that the Department should consider increasing its purchases of Jumbo, Colossal and Super Colossal ripe olives.

DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY

AUTOMATED DOCUMENT CONVERSION SYSTEM

The conferees recommend an additional \$14,000,000 only for a competitively procured Automated Document Conversion System for the Defense Logistics Agency. This system shall be capable of efficiently converting information contained in technical documents (including technical manuals, engineering drawings and maps). The system also shall be able to recognize and distinguish between printed alpha numerics, geometric representations, symbols, and foreign font sets as objects.

MILITARY YOUTH PROGRAMS

The conferees agree to provide \$70,000,000 for military youth programs initiated last year by Congress that were not funded in the President's 1994 request. These funds are appropriated to the Office of the Secretary of Defense and may be made available to the following programs: the National Guard ChalleNGe program, STARBAS, and the CCC program. The Department is directed to

provide to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the House a report detailing the objectives of each of these programs, the unique features of each program, objective measures of success, a plan for consolidating these programs, should overlap exist, and a plan for allocating these additional funds. That report is to be provided to the Committees no later than 60 days after enactment of this Act. The conferees intend to work with the Department to determine the exact allocation of these funds over the coming fiscal year, but urge the Department to provide sufficient funds to establish new state ChalleNGe programs in at least five states.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GRANT

The conferees agree that of the funds available to Operation and Maintenance, Defense-wide, \$160,000 shall be available only for a grant to the Network for Educational Development in St. Louis, Missouri, for the support of the Personal Responsibility Education Program. This will be the second year for this program. The Secretary shall notify the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate upon execution of the grant.

Amendment No. 23: Deletes House language for the Special Operations Command; restores House language providing \$10,000,000 for clearing of landmines for humanitarian purposes; deletes House language which made a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation; inserts and amends Senate providing \$48,000,000 for aiding school districts; inserts and amend Senate language providing \$50,000,000 for the Legacy Resource Management Program; and inserts Senate language providing \$10,000,000 for the repair and maintenance of federally owned education facilities located on military installations.

LANDMINE CLEARING

The conferees recommend \$10,000,000 for activities to support the clearing of landmines for humanitarian purposes. The conferees intend that the Department of Defense will use these funds for technical assistance, training and equipment for landmine clearing for humanitarian purposes, including locations where refugees and displaced persons are seeking to return to their land after a conflict has ended.

LEGACY RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

The conferees have provided \$50,000,000 as recommended by the Senate to continue the Legacy Resource Management Program. The conferees direct that lands, facilities and property owned and/or managed by the National Guard in each of the fifty states and territories are specifically included in the Legacy Resource Management Program.

Amendment No. 24: Inserts Senate language providing \$1,000,000 for Secretary of

Defense review of captured Iraqi government documents relating to Kurds, provides \$1,000,000 for Defense Mapping Agency for evaluation of Former Soviet Union materials, and requests a report from Defense Mapping Agency by March 15, 1994.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY RESERVE

Amendment No. 25: Appropriates \$1,075,140,000 instead of \$1,115,095,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,057,740,000 as pro-

posed by the Senate and deletes House language prohibiting obligation of \$19,505,000 until authorized.

The conference agreement is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
16750 Operation and Maintenance, Army Reserve				
16800 Budget Activity 1: Operating Forces				
16850 Mission Operations				
16900 Base support	235,794	225,089	223,734	223,734
16950 Depot maintenance	42,097	42,097	42,097	42,097
17000 Recruiting and retention	32,785	32,785	32,785	32,785
17050 Training operations	684,066	702,066	649,266	666,666
17100 Total, budget activity 1: Operating forces	994,742	1,002,037	947,882	965,282
17150 Budget activity 4: admin & servicewide activities				
17200 Administration and Servicewide Activities				
17250 Information management	24,460	24,460	23,460	23,460
17300 Public affairs	399	399	399	399
17350 Personnel administration	45,339	45,339	44,139	44,139
17400 Staff management	42,860	42,860	41,860	41,860
17450 Total, budget activity 4: admin & servicewide act	113,058	113,058	109,858	109,858
17650 Total, operation and maintenance, Army reserve	1,107,800	1,115,095	1,057,740	1,075,140

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1	
16900 DBOF/BOS	-\$12,210
Purchase threshold	+150
17050 Operations & support	-17,400

17250 Communications -1,000
17350 Communications -1,200
17400 Communications -1,000

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates \$763,137,000 instead of \$807,200,000 as proposed by the House and \$761,137,000 as proposed by the Senate.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
17700 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE				
17750 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
17800 RESERVE AIR OPERATIONS				
17850 MISSION AND OTHER FLIGHT OPERATIONS	278,175	298,575	267,740	269,356
17900 FLEET AIR TRAINING	25,293	25,293	24,344	25,293
17950 INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE	16,449	16,449	16,449	16,449
18000 AIR OPERATION AND SAFETY SUPPORT	1,547	1,547	1,547	1,547
18050 AIRCRAFT DEPOT MAINTENANCE	64,152	64,152	64,152	64,152
18100 AIRCRAFT DEPOT OPS SUPPORT	528	528	528	528
18150 BASE SUPPORT	111,459	111,459	111,709	111,709
18200 RESERVE SHIP OPERATIONS				
18250 MISSION AND OTHER SHIP OPERATIONS	40,757	53,757	39,228	38,663
18300 INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE	23,545	23,545	23,545	23,545
18350 SHIP DEPOT MAINTENANCE	36,175	36,175	36,175	36,175
18400 RESERVE COMBAT OPERATIONS SUPPORT				
18450 COMBAT COMMUNICATIONS	608	608	608	608
18500 COMBAT SUPPORT FORCES	24,560	24,560	24,560	24,560
18550 BASE SUPPORT	58,467	58,467	58,467	58,467
18600 RESERVE WEAPONS SUPPORT				
18650 WEAPONS MAINTENANCE	7,656	7,656	7,656	7,656
18700 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	689,371	722,771	676,708	678,708
18750 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
18800 ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
18850 ADMINISTRATION	7,467	7,467	7,467	7,467
18900 CIVILIAN MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT	2,699	2,699	2,699	2,699
18950 MILITARY MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT	28,283	28,283	28,283	28,283
19000 OTHER PERSONNEL SUPPORT	1,952	1,952	1,952	1,952
19050 SERVICEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS	19,006	19,006	19,006	19,006
19100 BASE SUPPORT	22,278	22,278	22,278	22,278
19150 COMBAT/WEAPONS SYSTEMS	2,744	2,744	2,744	2,744
19200 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	84,429	84,429	84,429	84,429
19350 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE	773,800	807,200	761,137	763,137

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES
Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

[In thousands of dollars]

Budget Activity 1
17850 Fuel repricing - \$5,000
Fuel war reserves - 3,819

18150 Purchase threshold +250
18250 COOP +2,000
Fuel repricing -2,094
Fuel war reserves -2,000

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE,
MARINE CORPS RESERVE
Amendment No. 29: Appropriates \$83,130,000
instead of \$86,855,000 as proposed by the

[In thousands of dollars]

House and \$75,125,000 as proposed by the Senate and deletes House language prohibiting obligation of \$11,805,000 until authorized.

The conference agreement is as follows:

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
19400 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS RESERVE				
19450 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
19500 MISSION FORCES				
19550 TRAINING	12,649	24,349	12,649	20,549
19600 MATERIAL READINESS	17,584	17,584	17,584	17,584
19650 BASE SUPPORT	18,070	18,020	18,095	18,095
19700 DEPOT MAINTENANCE	1,754	1,754	1,754	1,754
19750 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	50,057	61,707	50,082	57,982
19800 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN 7 SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
19850 ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
19900 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	7,197	7,197	7,197	7,197
19950 SPECIAL SUPPORT	2,792	2,792	2,792	2,792
20000 SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION	4,127	4,127	4,127	4,127
20050 ADMINISTRATION	5,846	5,951	5,846	5,951
20100 OTHER BASE SUPPORT	5,081	5,081	5,081	5,081
20150 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	25,043	25,148	25,043	25,148
20300 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINT, MARINE CORPS RESERVE	75,100	86,855	75,125	83,100

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES
Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

[In thousands of dollars]

Budget Activity 1
19550 End Strength Res-
toration + \$7,900

19650 Purchase threshold +25
Budget Activity 4
20050 Environ Compliance
Ofc, New Orleans +105

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR
FORCE RESERVE
Amendment No. 30: Appropriates
\$1,335,354,000 instead of \$1,370,222,000 as pro-

[In thousands of dollars]

posed by the House and \$1,333,470,000 as proposed by the Senate and deletes House language prohibiting obligation of \$15,644,000 until authorized.

The conference agreement is as follows:

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
20350 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE RESERVE				
20400 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
20450 AIR OPERATIONS				
20500 AIRCRAFT OPERATIONS	886,326	901,970	871,243	874,213
20550 MISSION SUPPORT OPERATIONS	33,351	33,351	32,351	32,351
20600 BASE SUPPORT	232,316	232,316	228,491	227,405
20650 DEPOT MAINTENANCE	145,231	145,231	145,231	145,231
20700 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	1,297,224	1,312,868	1,277,316	1,279,200
20750 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
20800 ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
20850 ADMINISTRATION	25,679	25,679	24,679	24,679
20900 MILITARY MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT	19,346	19,346	19,346	19,346
20950 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	6,825	6,825	6,825	6,825
21000 OTHER PERSONNEL SUPPORT	4,936	4,936	4,736	4,736
21050 AUDIOVISUAL	568	568	568	568
21100 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	57,354	57,354	56,154	56,154
21250 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE RESERVE	1,354,578	1,370,222	1,333,470	1,335,354

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES
Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

[In thousands of dollars]

Budget Activity 1
20500 WC-130 +1,884
Fuel repricing -5,000
Fuel war reserves -6,797
Communications -2,200
20550 Fuel repricing -1,000
20600 Fuel repricing -2,286

Purchase threshold +375
Travel -3,000
20850 Travel -1,000
21000 Travel -200

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY
NATIONAL GUARD
Amendment No. 31: Appropriates
\$2,230,419,000 instead of \$2,272,018,000 as pro-
posed by the House and \$2,216,944,000 as pro-
posed by the Senate.

[In thousands of dollars]

Amendment No. 32: Restores House language earmarking \$10,000,000 for a National Guard Outreach Program in the Los Angeles School District; deletes House language prohibiting obligation of \$48,763,000 until authorized; and inserts Senate language earmarking \$3,000,000 for the MEDRETES program.

The conference agreement is as follows:

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
21300 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD				
21350 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
21400 MISSION OPERATIONS				
21450 TRAINING OPERATIONS	1,628,791	1,685,791	1,631,091	1,644,091
21500 RECRUITING AND RETENTION	27,391	27,391	27,391	27,391
21550 MEDICAL SUPPORT	11,997	11,997	11,997	11,997
21600 DEPOT MAINTENANCE	113,674	113,674	113,674	113,674
21650 BASE SUPPORT	256,182	252,300	251,926	252,401

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
21700 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	2,038,035	2,091,153	2,036,079	2,049,554
21750 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
21800 ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
21850 INFORMATION MANAGEMENT	60,862	60,862	60,862	60,862
21900 PUBLIC AFFAIRS	1,537	1,537	1,537	1,537
21950 PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION	81,250	81,250	81,250	81,250
22000 STAFF MANAGEMENT	37,216	37,216	37,216	37,216
22050 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	180,865	180,865	180,865	180,865
22200 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINT, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD	2,218,900	2,272,018	2,216,944	2,230,419

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES

Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1	
21450 LA Unified School District	+10,000
Urban Youth/Youth	
CCC Program	+3,000
O&M Restoration	+2,300
21650 Rhode Island Tan-dem Network	+475
DBOF/BOS	-4,356
Purchase threshold	+100

NATIONAL GUARD PROGRAMS

Training operations.—The conferees direct the Defense Fuel Supply Center to provide free-of-charge all fuel planned for purchase by the Army National Guard in fiscal year 1994. The Army National Guard is directed to apply the resulting savings to other potentially unfunded training programs.

Medivac unit.—As described in Senate Report 103-153 (page 95), the conferees agree to establish a medical combat enhanced capability aviation team at Hilo, Hawaii. Funding totaling \$16,350,000 is set aside for this purpose.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1994 budget amount	House amount	Senate amount	Conference amount
22250 OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR NATIONAL GUARD				
22300 BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES				
22350 AIR OPERATIONS				
22400 AIRCRAFT OPERATIONS	1,769,006	1,805,006	1,794,129	1,742,546
22450 MISSION SUPPORT OPERATIONS	311,105	313,105	315,523	313,105
22500 BASE SUPPORT	288,995	288,995	288,520	288,520
22550 DEPOSIT MAINTENANCE	279,170	279,170	279,170	279,170
22600 TOTAL BUDGET ACTIVITY 1: OPERATING FORCES	2,648,276	2,686,276	2,677,342	2,623,341
22650 BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
22700 SERVICEWIDE ACTIVITIES				
22750 ADMINISTRATION	4,503	4,503	4,503	4,503
22800 RECRUITING AND ADVERTISING	4,454	4,454	4,454	4,454
22850 TOTAL, BUDGET ACTIVITY 4: ADMIN & SERVICEWIDE ACT	8,957	8,957	8,957	8,957
23000 TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINT, AIR NATIONAL GUARD	2,657,233	2,695,233	2,686,299	2,632,298

ADJUSTMENTS TO BUDGET ACTIVITIES

Adjustments to the budget activities are shown below:

(In thousands of dollars)

Budget Activity 1	
22400 C-130	+10,000
Fuel repricing	-20,029
Fuel war reserves	-16,431
22400 Urban Youth/Youth	
CC	+2,000
22500 Purchase threshold	+625
Travel	-1,100

C-23B AIRCRAFT

The conferees provide \$2,800,000 for the pilot training, preparation and contractor logistics support of four C-23 commercial variants by the original manufacturer. These funds also may be used to operate these aircraft which are being procured with prior year funds and will be stationed with the Oklahoma National Guard during the first quarter of fiscal year 1994 prior to the completion of their retrofit into C-23B Sherpas.

COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS, DEFENSE

Amendment No. 36: Appropriates \$5,855,000 as proposed by the House instead of \$6,055,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conferees recommend a reduction from the budget request for administration, per diem, and travel as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 37: Deletes House language which made a portion of the appro-

priation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION, DEFENSE

Amendment No. 38: Appropriates \$1,962,300,000 instead of \$1,716,800,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,207,800,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 39: Deletes House language which provided funds for research and development.

SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL SPORTING COMPETITIONS, DEFENSE

Amendment No. 40: Deletes House language making funds available for Support for International Sporting Competitions, Defense, and inserts and amends Senate language appropriating \$2,000,000 for the Summer Olympics and \$6,000,000 for World Cup USA 1994.

In addition, the conferees agree to House report language directing the Department to include in the fiscal year 1995 budget request an exhibit showing obligations and expenditures for these games. The conferees also agree to insert Section 8116 which extends the availability of prior year funds.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

Amendment No. 41: Inserts Senate language providing that funds may be used for transportation of humanitarian relief supplies for the Kurdish population and other minorities of northern Iraq.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR NATIONAL GUARD

Amendment No. 33: Appropriates \$2,632,298,000 instead of \$2,695,233,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,686,299,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 34: Amends House language to provide additional funds for the 118th Airlift Wing.

Amendment No. 35: Deletes House language prohibiting obligation of \$30,000,000 until authorized.

The conference agreement is as follows:

Amendment No. 42: Inserts Senate language providing technical correction that funds may be used for transportation of humanitarian relief supplies for the people of sub-Saharan Africa.

Amendment No. 43: Appropriates \$48,000,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$15,000,000 as proposed by the House.

The conferees recommend \$48,000,000 for humanitarian assistance, to be used only for acquisition and transportation of excess non-lethal property and supplies to the Kurdish population and other minorities of northern Iraq, the people of sub-Saharan Africa, and the people of Afghanistan.

Amendment No. 44: Deletes House language which made a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

FORMER SOVIET UNION (FSU) THREAT REDUCTION

Both the House and the Senate provided \$400,000,000, as requested by the budget, for assistance to the states of the former Soviet Union. The conferees agree that, as matters of specific congressional interest, within this amount \$60,000,000 shall be reserved for establishing United States-Russian joint venture companies, as proposed by the Senate, and \$10,000,000 shall be reserved for technical and linguistic support by the National Academy of Sciences as proposed by the House. In addition, funds are also available for Multilateral Nuclear Safety as proposed by the

House and Economic Development as proposed by the Senate. The conferees also agree that funds from this account are available for expenses of FSU students attending the George Marshall Center.

Amendment No. 45: Inserts Senate provision: requiring that \$10,000,000 shall be available only for the continuing study, assessment, and identification of nuclear waste disposal by the FSU in the Arctic region; and extending the \$400,000,000 in transfer authority provided in the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1993, with any such transfers subject to the overall transfer limitation contained in this Act.

Amendment No. 46: Amends Senate provision to incorporate notification of the Congressional foreign affairs committees concerning a prohibition on use of these funds for any country which is currently engaged in the production of a new road mobile or fixed-site land based inter-continental ballistic missile armed with multiple nuclear re-entry vehicles.

TITLE III—PROCUREMENT

GENERAL CONFERENCE ISSUES

INSTALLATION OF MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree with the Senate report on policy and procedures for budgeting for the installation of modifications. Specifically, the conferees reluctantly agree to the budget proposal to incrementally fund these costs in procurement. The Department shall include in budget justification material the total cost of installing each kit to be procured and display, by program, the fiscal year in which the installation funds will be budgeted. In addition, the justification material shall show, by fiscal year and item, the installation costs for those kits which have already been procured. Finally, installation costs may not be reprogrammed to any other purpose.

REPROGRAMMING

The conferees agree with Senate report recommendations and directions concerning

omnibus reprogrammings and new start reprogrammings. In addition, the conferees restate the current policy that reprogramming thresholds for increases and decreases in procurement and research and development appropriation lines apply to the entire life of the appropriation and are not renewed each year. In other words, an item funded in this bill in Procurement of Ammunition, Army may not be increased or decreased by below threshold reprogramming more than a total of \$10 million between now and September 30, 1996. To the extent that it is not already the case, this policy shall be incorporated in Departmental reprogramming regulations.

BUDGETING FOR CLOSED ACCOUNTS

The Senate reduced Army budget authority in investment accounts by \$120,639,000 noting that Army managers have interpreted internal instructions in a manner which causes them to request and reserve between one and five percent of funds to cover unanticipated cost overruns on prior year programs. The conferees recognize the concern of Army officials that, with the closure of the M Account, current programs may have to be cut to pay for higher prior year costs. However, to budget specifically for such unknown cost increases defeats one of the key tenets of M Account reform. That legislation was designed to foster better accountability and cost control, and to encourage discipline by program officials. Cost overruns are not to be endorsed either implicitly or explicitly. Budgeting for such contingencies sends exactly the wrong message to program officials.

The conferees emphatically direct that no program manager or Defense Department official shall submit a request to Congress which contains a contingency amount to cover prior year cost overruns. Furthermore, the conferees warn headquarters activities that, if program managers are taxed in advance of cost overruns to cover any such costs, the Committees on Appropriations

may recommend legislation next year prohibiting such activity.

Funding reduced by the Senate has been restored because of the reluctance of the conferees to recommend reductions which are not levied against specific programs.

FY 1993 OMNIBUS REPROGRAMMING

In the Department of Defense Omnibus Reprogramming (FY 1993-3PA) a series of internal realignments within the Other Procurement, Navy Appropriation for FY 1992 and FY 1993 was delayed pending action on the FY 1994 Appropriation Bill. These realignments were required in order to implement a proposed funding policy change contained in the FY 1994 Budget Request wherein the Department would budget for equipment installation on an annualized basis in the year required vice on a full funding basis in the year the major equipment is procured. In view of the conferees' position approving the requested funding policy, the conferees interpose no further objection to the OPN internal realignments proposed in the DOD Omnibus Reprogramming.

9MM HANDGUNS

The conferees understand that Navy operational requirements documentation for standard M9 handguns is nearing final approval. The conferees have no objection to the application of measures to accommodate Navy needs for an improved all steel pistol in the next M9 standard handgun procurement and are encouraged at the progress made towards handgun standardization among the services that this step represents.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY

Amendment No. 47: Appropriates \$1,320,886,000 for Aircraft Procurement, Army, instead of \$1,726,164,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,125,303,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY				
GUARDRAIL COMMON SENSOR (TIARA)	4,885	29,885	4,885	1
C-21A AIRCRAFT		22,000		1
ARL (TIARA)		42,098		42,098
AH-64 ATTACK HELICOPTER (APACHE)	17,570	386,000	177,570	10
HELICOPTER NEW TRAINING	29,254	48,154		29,254
AH-64 MODS	46,392	45,292	37,392	37,392
FLIGHT DATA RECORDER	2,373		2,373	
UH-1 MODS	14,171	14,171	10,000	10,000
UH-1 HUEY SLEP		25,000		15,000
UH-60A (BLACK HAWK) MODS	46,886	16,086	22,300	22,300
KIOWA WARRIOR	145,548	129,018	104,348	104,348
AH-64		216,000		18
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	86,251	56,251	86,251	56,251
INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES	7,322	7,322	2,401	2,401
BUDGETING FOR CLOSED ACCOUNT			-11,104	

GUARDRAIL COMMON SENSOR

The conference agreement includes \$17,385,000 for Guardrail Common Sensor aircraft. The conferees direct that \$12,500,000 shall be used only for the procurement of one RC-12 training aircraft.

NEW TRAINING HELICOPTER

The conference agreement includes \$29,254,000 for the new training helicopter program, the budget estimate. The Army shall procure as many aircraft as possible within these available funds. If additional aircraft are needed, the Army may budget for them in future budget requests. Under no circumstances, however, shall the Army continue to operate the current training helicopters when all the new training helicopters are delivered.

AH-64 MODIFICATIONS

The conference agreement includes \$37,392,000 for AH-64 Apache modifications, the Senate amount and a reduction of \$9,000,000 below the budget estimate. The conferees agree that these funds are to be used exclusively for the GPS integration program. However, if safety modifications are required during the execution of this program, funds may be used for that purpose with prior notification.

UH-1 HUEY SLEP

The House recommended \$25,000,000 to initiate a service life extension program (SLEP) for the UH-1 Huey helicopter program. The Senate opposed creation of this unbudgeted program. The Senate recedes to the House position with an amendment. The conferees agree to provide \$15,000,000 to begin

a Huey SLEP program as a lower cost option than replacing the total Army inventory with UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters. The conferees direct that the Secretary of the Army work closely with the Chief of the Army National Guard to identify the specific components of the Huey SLEP program. The Army is to give highest priority to the replacement of all major dynamic components to maximize reduced time between overhaul, reduced operating cost and improved operation performance. Any component replacement or modification must eliminate shortfalls identified in the U.S. Army's January, 1993 Aviation Modernization Plan.

The conferees direct that the Army may not expend more than \$10,000,000 in federal

development funds related to the SLEP program initiated under this section. The conferees further direct that none of these federal development funds shall be drawn against the \$15,000,000 provided under this heading for the Huey SLEP program.

The Army and National Guard are directed to conduct a full and open competition to initiate the SLEP program. The conferees expect the Army and the Army National Guard to be prepared to implement such a competition no later than January 1, 1994. The conferees also expect the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate to receive periodic progress reports from the Army and the Army National Guard on the implementation of the Huey SLEP program.

UN-60 BLACK HAWK MODIFICATIONS

The conference agreement includes \$22,300,000 for UH-60 Black Hawk modifica-

tions, the Senate amount and \$24,586,000 below the budget. The conferees agree that these funds are to be used only for the refurbishment program and may not be obligated until the Army submits to the Defense committees complete budget documentation for this program. However, if safety modifications are required during the execution of this program, funds may be used for that purpose with prior notification.

Both the House and Senate denied the \$15,000,000 budgeted for UH-60Q procurement on the basis that procurement funding was premature in fiscal year 1994. The conferees agree that the Army may fund development, integration, and testing and related efforts in fiscal year 1994 using available research and development funds, with prior notification.

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
MISSILE PROCUREMENT, ARMY				
AVENGER SYSTEM SUMMARY	135,231	135,231		144
HELLFIRE SYS SUMMARY	92,535	64,835	78,635	1,485
TOW 2 SYSTEM SUMMARY	25,282	82,282	50,162	2,000
MLRS SYSTEM ROCKET	9,801	80,101	69,801	75,000
MLRS LAUNCHER	216,616	196,616	178,916	34
BUDGETING FOR CLOSE ACCOUNT			10,436	178,916

PATRIOT MISSILE—ITALIAN CASE

The conferees agree with the Senate provision regarding the Patriot Missile—Italian Case and have included a general provision which terminates the Italian Case enabling legislation upon notification by the Italian government of its desire to withdraw from the 1988 United States-Italy cooperative air defense memorandum of understanding or 180 days after the enactment of the fiscal year 1994 Defense Appropriations Act, whichever event occurs first. The conferees also direct that the authority provided to the Secretary of Defense to make Patriot assets from the Italian case available for foreign military sales under the general provision is subject to the standard notification requirements under the Arms Export Control Act.

HELLFIRE

The Department of the Army budgeted \$92,535,000 in fiscal year 1994 for the Hellfire missile system. The conferees agree to provide \$64,835,000 a reduction of \$27,700,000 to the budget request. The conferees specifically deny \$4,179,000 budgeted for the destruction and disposal of production tooling for the Hellfire I missile and \$9,673,000 for the establishment of an organic depot capability for the Hellfire II missile. The conferees do not agree with the House position of extending prior year production and delivery schedules for the Hellfire II.

TOW II

The Department of the Army budgeted \$25,282,000 for the TOW II missile in fiscal year 1994. The conferees agree to provide \$73,282,000 an addition of \$48,000,000 to the

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
PROCUREMENT OF W&TCV, ARMY				
BRADLEY FIGHTING VEHICLE FAMILY (MYP)	66,100	66,100	71,600	71,600
BRADLEY BASE SUSTAINMENT PROGRAM	192,437	192,437	142,437	192,437
ARMORED GUN SYSTEM (AGS)	8,218		8,218	8,218
CARRIER, MOD	5,465	17,465	5,465	9,465
HOWITZER, MED SP FT, 155MM M109A6 (MO)	171,526	159,526	171,526	159,526
M1 ABRAMS TANK (MOD)	53,898	53,898	48,998	48,998
ABRAMS UPGRADE PROGRAM	79,701	119,701	77,101	96,701
M88A1 RECOVERY VEHICLE		31,200		13
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	34,137	17,337	34,137	17,337
HOWITZER, LIGHT, TOWED, 105MM, M119	4,290		4,290	4,290
GRANADE LAUNCHER, AUTO, 40MM, MK19-3	20,677	20,677	35,677	1,800
BUDGETING FOR CLOSED ACCOUNT			-8,743	35,677

ABRAMS TANK UPGRADE PROGRAM

The conference agreement includes \$96,701,000 for the Abrams tank upgrade program, of which \$17,000,000 is provided only for the Congressionally mandated tank engine industrial base initiative.

The conferees agree with the Senate's direction to the Blue Ribbon panel to examine the entire gas turbine engine industrial base within their mandated review. The Office of the Secretary of Defense is directed to report to the defense committees on what action is recommended prior to January 31, 1994.

The conferees direct that the additional \$17,000,000 provided may be obligated only for tank engine long lead parts and material that can be used either by the original manufacturer or the Army's tank depot in response to solutions proposed to Congress. Such obligations may occur only after the Department certifies that a production gap would otherwise occur which would seriously impair production base options.

The conferees further direct that the Army shall negotiate and acquire the data rights for a tank engine remanufacture program prior to signing a production contract.

KIOWA WARRIOR MODIFICATIONS

The conference agreement includes \$104,348,000 for the Kiowa Warrior modification program, the Senate amount. The conferees agree that this amount includes funding for continuation of the CDS Upgrade program.

Amendment No. 48: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

MISSILE PROCUREMENT, ARMY

Amendment No. 49: Appropriates \$1,094,309,000 for Missile Procurement, Army instead of \$1,126,110,000 as proposed by the House and \$934,123,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

budget request. The conferees direct that \$15,120,000 budgeted originally for the destruction and disposal of TOW II production tooling be used only for the acquisition of additional TOW II missiles.

Amendment No. 50: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after the enactment of authorizing legislation.

PROCUREMENT OF WEAPONS AND TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES, ARMY

Amendment No. 51: Appropriates \$888,817,000 for Procurement of Weapons and Tracked Combat Vehicles, Army, instead of \$892,709,000 as proposed by the House and \$805,074,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

Amendment No. 52: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY

Amendment No. 53: Deletes House center-head "(Including Transfer of Funds)".

Amendment No. 54: Appropriates \$735,445,000 for Procurement of Ammunition, Army, instead of \$620,787,000 as proposed by the House and \$610,174,000 as proposed by the Senate. The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY				
CTG, 5.56MM, ALL TYPES	21,776	34,095	21,776	25,000
CTG, 7.62MM, ALL TYPES	20,523	20,523	11,223	13,500
CTG, .45 CAL, ALL TYPES	401		101	
CTG, 25MM, ALL TYPES	30,535	30,535	5,535	30,535
CTG MORTAR 60MM 1/10 PRAC M840	302	3,200	302	11
CTG TANK 105MM TP-T M490A1		20,000		20
CTG TANK 105MM TPDS-T M724A1		20,000		20
CTG TANK 120MM HEAT/MP, ALL TYPES M830 A1	50,046	33,246	50,046	18
PROJ ARTY 155MM M804		10,000		50
AT-4 UPGRADE		15,000		15,000
LAYAWAY OF INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES	51,532	41,532	48,008	48,008
MAINTENANCE OF INACTIVE FACILITIES	59,801	54,801	59,801	59,801
CONVENTIONAL AMMO DEMILITARIZATION	53,339	70,468	53,339	70,468
M483—M864 CONVERSION				25,000
FLEX. MFG. CTR.—LAAP				7,500
GENERAL REDUCTION—CAWCF		-100,000		
BUDGETING FOR CLOSED ACCOUNT (BY TRANSFER—CAWCF)		(100,000)	-7,344	

25MM AMMUNITION

The conference agreement provides \$30,535,000 for the procurement of 25mm ammunition in fiscal year 1994. The conferees direct that of the funds provided, \$25,000,000 shall be used only to buy M919 combat ammunition.

120MM MORTAR AMMUNITION

The conferees agree to the budget proposal to delete a general provision carried in previous Acts regarding the procurement of 120mm mortars and ammunition. This has been done with the understanding that the Army intends to procure mortars and ammunition, including components, from qualified domestic sources. The Army is directed to continue this policy in future procurements.

CONVENTIONAL AMMUNITION DEMILITARIZATION

The conferees agree that of the \$70,468,000 included in the bill for conventional ammunition demilitarization, \$1,000,000 shall be used only to continue the Iowa Army Ammunition Plant demilitarization upgrade program.

M864 PROJECTILE CONVERSION PROGRAM

The conference agreement includes \$25,000,000 for a demonstration program to determine the feasibility and desirability of converting elements of the M483 155mm ICM

projectile inventory to M864 155mm baseburner projectiles. This is done without making any commitment to additional funding for this program in the future. The conferees direct that thirty days before obligating these funds, the Army shall present to the Defense committees its proposal for implementing this demonstration program. The proposal shall include the procurement strategy, program quantity, and cost. It shall also set forth a funding profile (quantities and costs) for continuing the program if continuation is deemed to be desirable.

The conferees direct that the demonstration program include new projectile metal parts which shall be competitively procured from the existing government-owned production base, with some production assigned to each part of that base.

FLEXIBLE MANUFACTURING CENTER

The conference agreement provides \$7,500,000 for the establishment of a flexible manufacturing center for artillery projectile bodies at the Louisiana Army Ammunition Plant.

JOLIET ARMY AMMUNITION PLANT

The conferees agree that the Army should maintain contractor-owned equipment for production of M864 baseburner assemblies at

the Joliet Army Ammunition Plant for one year, pending the completion of the ammunition production base plan.

Amendment No. 55: Deletes House transfer of \$100,000,000 from the Conventional Ammunition Working Capital Fund.

CONVENTIONAL AMMUNITION WORKING CAPITAL FUND

The conference agreement deletes the House transfer of \$100,000,000 to the Procurement of Ammunition, Army appropriation from the Conventional Ammunition Working Capital Fund (CAWCF). However, the conferees agree with the discussion of CAWCF in the House report and with the actions directed by the House. Specifically, the Army is directed to report by March 15, 1994 on actions required for an orderly close-out of the Fund. The Army may also propose remedial actions as arguments for retaining the Fund.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY

Amendment No. 56: Appropriates \$2,892,766,000 for Other Procurement, Army, instead of \$2,904,933,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,784,474,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY				
TACTICAL TRAILERS/DOLLY SETS	4,138	4,138	14,138	14,138
FAMILY OF MEDIUM TACTICAL VEH (MYP)	25,815	13,499	25,815	19,500
FAMILY OF HEAVY TACTICAL VEHICLES (MYP)	464,258	458,258	350,958	402,958
MEDIUM TRUCK EXTENDED SVC PGM(ESP)	17,615	17,615		17,615
MODIFICATION OF IN SVC EQUIP	21,826	14,068	21,826	28,068
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	10,046	5,546	10,046	5,546
DEFENSE SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM	85,088	72,288	85,088	78,688
NAVSTAR GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEM	42,428	42,428		7,107
GROUP COMMAND POST	12,158		12,158	32,408
WWMCCS INFORMATION SYSTEM (WIS)	7,501	7,501		
ARMY DATA DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (ADDS)	21,978	66,978	21,978	36,978
MOBILE SUBSCRIBER EQUIP (MSE)	45,787	31,787	45,787	45,787
EAC COMMUNICATIONS	10,229	9,029	45,429	45,429
COMMON HARDWARE AND SOFTWARE			15,000	15,000
TERRESTRIAL TRANSMISSION	1,377		1,377	
C-E FACILITIES/PROJECTS	1,442	1,442		
DEFENSE DATA NETWORK (DDN)	5,930	5,930		4,661
DEFENSE MESSAGE SYSTEM (DMS)	8,293	8,293	4,661	4,150
PENTAGON TELECOM CTR (PTC)	3,499	3,499	1,709	3,499
GENERAL DEFENSE INTELL PROG (TIARA)	40,077	39,077	35,577	33,591
ALL SOURCE ANALYSIS SYS (ASAS)	29,578	16,078	29,578	29,578
DIGITAL TOPOGRAPHIC SPT SYS (DTSS)	14,179	9,179	14,179	12,800
LT SPEC DIV INTERIM SENSOR (LSDIS)	1,914	1,914		1,914
NIGHT VISION DEVICES	91,414	86,314	91,414	86,314
INTEGRATED MET SYS SENSORS (IMETS)	6,452	1,452	6,452	1,452
ADV FIELD ARTILLERY TACT DATA SYS (AFATDS)	24,892		24,892	12,000
FAAD—GBS		42,700		7,900
STAMIS TACTICAL COMPUTERS (STACOMP)	43,479	43,749	21,729	33,479
AUTOMATED DATA PROCESSING EQUIP	62,784	62,784	56,688	62,784
INTEGRATED FAMILY OF TEST EQUIP (IFTE)	47,956	47,956	47,956	57,956
INITIAL SPARES—PEO CCS	20,050	13,650	16,950	15,000
INITIAL SPARES—PEO COMM	44,577	39,577	44,577	42,000
PRODUCTION BASE SUPPORT (C-E)	765	765		
MASK, PROTECTIVE, NBC M40/M42	43,795	43,795	34,495	43,795
IMPROVED CHEMICAL AGENT MONITOR	1,926	1,926		
DETECTING SET, MINE, AN/PSS-12	5,555		5,555	4,104
STANDARD INTEGRATED CMD POST SYSTEM	34,475	27,000	34,475	27,000
SOLDIER ENHANCEMENT	11,529	11,000	11,529	11,000
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2.0M (CSS—EQ)	2,092		1,092	1,092
XM56 SMOKE GENERATOR SYSTEM		9,800		4,900

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
COMBAT SUPPORT MEDICAL	19,551	11,000	19,551	19,551
GENERATORS AND ASSOCIATED EQUIP	35,685	30,000	35,685	30,000
TRAINING DEVICES, NONSYSTEM	79,650	79,650	84,650	84,650
ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE	10,471	10,471	5,610	5,610
NATURAL GAS UTILIZATION		15,000		10,000
RAISE O & M PURCHASE THRESHOLD		-12,000	-3,000	-3,000
BUDGETING FOR CLOSED ACCOUNT			-30,513	

TACTICAL TRAILERS/DOLLY SETS

The conference agreement provides \$14,138,000 for tactical trailers and dolly sets, of which \$5,000,000 is available only for the procurement of M-149A2 400 gallon water trailers and an additional \$5,000,000 is available only to upgrade the mobility and stability characteristics of the M-149A2 family of water trailers.

The conferees are aware of an urgent Army requirement for M-1022 mobilizers to redress severe shortfalls in support of deployable medical systems (DEPMEDS) and aviation intermediate maintenance (AVIM) units. While procurement of the current M-1022 model would fulfill these requirements, the Army has contracted for a new design M-1022 which has yet to enter production or field test. In the event there is a delay in delivery of test vehicles, scheduled for February, 1994, the conferees direct the Army to procure sufficient quantities of the existing model M-1022 to fill critical shortages. However, prior to the obligation of any funds for current generation M-1022 mobilizers, the Army shall report to the Defense committees regarding the test and production schedule for the new M-1022 and, if necessary, the Army's plans to comply with the conferees' direction.

TACTICAL VEHICLE MODIFICATIONS

The conference agreement provides \$28,068,000 for tactical vehicle modifications. The HMMWV conversion program has been deferred as proposed by the House. However, the conference agreement includes \$14,000,000 to be used only for the heavy armor HMMWV program. The conferees agree that the Army shall provide an overall heavy armor HMMWV program to the Defense committees by March 1, 1994. The plan shall include procurement profile (quantities and costs by year) and a description and explanation of the procurement strategy.

COMBAT SUPPORT MEDICAL

The conferees are advised that a cost effective, NDI Liquid Oxygen System (LOX) which satisfies the mission requirement for field generated oxygen is readily available. In fact, such a system was successfully employed by the Army during Operation Desert

Shield and Desert Storm. The Army has assigned a high priority to acquiring field medical oxygen generation capability. The conferees understand that the Army's acquisition strategy for field oxygen generation systems includes a requirement for LOX as well as for the Army developed Field Medical Oxygen Generation and Distribution System (FMOGDS). However, the budget request included funds only for FMOGDS.

The conferees direct the Army to prepare a report addressing the overall requirements for field medical oxygen systems in light of its revised evacuation doctrine and projected force structure requirements and provide said report to the defense committees not later than August 1, 1994.

ALL SOURCE ANALYSIS SYSTEM (ASAS)

The conferees agree to provide \$29,578,000 for the All Source Analysis System (ASAS), the amount of the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The conferees also direct that of the funds provided for the ASAS program in fiscal year 1994, \$3,500,000 is only for the acquisition of communications and ADP equipment related to the upgrade program for the Single Source Processor—SIGINT workstations.

INTEGRATED FAMILY OF TEST EQUIPMENT (IFTE)

The Conferees agree to provide \$23,472,000 an increase of \$9,000,000 above the fiscal year 1994 budget request for Automatic Test Equipment development. The conferees direct that the additional funding provided for this program only be used to develop test program sets for the Apache Longbow and Kiowa Warrior. The conferees further provide \$500,000 for the Army to conduct a user test of DSESTS-TOW, making use of the prototype located at Fort Hood. If this study demonstrates that the incorporation of DSESTS-TOW will be cost effective, the conferees have provided \$5,000,000 for the purchase of this equipment in fiscal year 1994. The conferees have also provided an additional \$10,000,000 above the budget request for IFTE equipment for use only by the Army National Guard and Reserve.

Further, the conferees support the Army's decision to adopt a single standardized family of test equipment for all weapon systems.

Fielding a limited family of test equipment to service multiple weapons systems is economically and operationally desirable in this era of declining defense budgets. While it is recognized that the DSESTS system services all current tracked vehicles and that the DSESTS optical system is being considered for use as the IFTE EOA, the conferees are in agreement that Army policy concerning automatic test equipment must be maintained. The conferees therefore direct the Department of the Army to prepare an analysis to determine the remaining useful life of DSESTS. The analysis should also determine the appropriate date to transition from DSESTS to the IFTE Base Shop Test Facility as the primary automatic test equipment for armored systems and shall also investigate the feasibility of incorporating DSESTS into the IFTE family. The results of this analysis should be provided to the Committees on Appropriations no later than March 15, 1994. The conferees also direct that no future upgrades, unless proven cost effective, will be made to DSESTS.

AIRCRAFT PROTECTION INITIATIVE

The conferees concur with House position on the Aircraft Protection Initiative program.

TRAINING DEVICES

The Conferees agree to provide \$84,650,000 for this program activity in fiscal year 1994, an increase of \$5,000,000 above the budget request. The conferees further agree that the additional funds are only for the Improved Moving Target Simulator (IMTS) as explained within the Senate report.

Amendment No. 57: Deletes Senate language earmarking \$18,000,000 for procurement of heavy armor HMMWV's. This issue is discussed further above.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, NAVY

Amendment No. 58: Appropriates \$5,704,220,000 for Aircraft Procurement, Navy, instead of \$5,664,216,000 as proposed by the House and \$5,665,615,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, NAVY				
F/A-18C/D (FIGHTER) HORNET (MYP)	1,492,734	1,521,534	1,492,734	1,521,534
F/A-18C/D (FIGHTER) HORNET (MYP) (AP-CY)	252,569	127,669		127,669
CHMMH-53E (HELICOPTER) SUPER STALLION	281,884	276,484	281,884	276,484
CHMMH-53E (HELICOPTER) SUPER STALLION (AP-CY)	15,000	22,400	15,000	15,000
SH-60B (ASW HELICOPTER) SEAHAWK (AP-CY)	27,150	57,150	27,150	27,150
T-45TS (TRAINER) GOSHAWK	259,225	259,225	236,166	259,225
HH-60H (HELICOPTER) CSAR	144,146	144,146	130,492	130,492
A-6 SERIES	19,623	65,623		19,623
F-14 SERIES	116,213	9,213	291,213	116,213
H-46 SERIES	74,321	76,013	74,321	76,013
H-53 SERIES	37,202	39,464	37,202	39,464
H-1 SERIES	74,944	79,009	16,708	47,858
P-3 SERIES	214,304	11,266	118,304	118,304
S-3 SERIES	12,910	27,910	12,910	16,660
FEWSG	26,506	11,506	26,506	11,506
E-6 SERIES	118,461	118,461	58,282	58,282
COMMON ECM EQUIPMENT	65,774	73,774	65,774	71,774
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	903,187	865,587	903,187	893,187

EA-6B PROWLER

The Navy has been developing new electronics for the EA-6B PROWLER for the past few years with the expectation of increasing the capability of this important aviation asset. In the past the conferees have supported this program as a cost effective way to increase the survivability of other Navy assets.

The conferees continue to believe the Navy's program to increase the capability of sensors and avionics, as well as remanufacture of the airplane, is going to be cost-effective and timely. In particular, the conferees are encouraged by the progress made thus far as evidenced by the reports issued upon completion of development testing and operational evaluation. The technical test summary stated that the systems "*** demonstrated excellent potential for the tactical jamming mission due to the magnitude of improvement *** over the current EA-6B ICAP-II variants ***" And the operational test summary stated the systems were "*** assessed to be potentially operationally effective and operationally suitable."

The conferees agree to provide \$77,586,000 for the EA-6B program as requested and expect the program to transition to low rate initial production as soon as possible. The conferees request that the fiscal year 1995 budget request include production funding to support fleet introduction of EA-6B ADVCAP.

T-45 GOSHAWK

The conferees agree to provide the budget request of \$289,981,000 for 12 aircraft, simulators, and advance procurement.

The conferees understand that if Navy chooses to proceed with a T-45 engine competition, proper execution of the competition requires realigning fiscal year 1992 Aircraft Procurement, Navy funds to research and development. The conferees direct that the Navy use the existing 1992 APN engine competition funds (\$15 million) for on-going T-45 production purposes and reprogram \$15 million in 1993 or 1994 T-45 procurement funds to research and development for continuing the T-45 engine competition if necessary. This creates a total of \$35 million for engine competition.

F-14 MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$116,213,000 as requested instead of \$9,213,000 as recommended by the House and \$291,213,000 as recommended by the Senate.

The conferees are concerned with current Defense Department and Navy plans for the F-14 which accentuate air-to-ground modifications over re-engining. The Navy is directed not to obligate \$107,213,000 of the funds provided for F-14 modifications until it reconsiders its current plan for the F-14 upgrades and reports back to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate in conjunction with the fiscal year 1995 budget submission. In its report, the Navy should examine the relative merit of the planned upgrade program versus continuing to re-engine F-14 aircraft. The conferees understand that re-engining F-14 aircraft remains the highest priority of the Navy fleet and believe that re-engining should be of higher priority than the planned air-to-ground upgrades or other enhancements.

H-1 SERIES MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$47,858,000 for H-1 series helicopter modifications. The conferees direct the Department of the Navy to fund the programs within this account in accordance with fleet priorities.

P-3 SERIES MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$118,304,000 as proposed by the Senate. The amount provided is \$107,038,000 above the House recommendation and \$96,000,000 below the budget request.

The conferees agree that the maritime patrol force modernization plan of 2 September 1993 submitted to the Congress by the Secretary of the Navy is a substantial improvement over previous plans. Accordingly, the conferees agree to endorse the following: (1) the maritime patrol force structure for fiscal year 1994 shall be 16 active and 9 reserve squadrons of 8 aircraft each; (2) the Navy shall take appropriate action to ensure 29 P-3B heavy weight aircraft are reconfigured as TP-3C aircraft to satisfy training squadron requirements; (3) the P-3C sustained readiness program should be aggressively pursued and ramp up to at least 20 per year by fiscal year 1997; and (4) the ASUW improvement program may be initiated in fiscal year 1994, but funds for 12 of 13 proposed systems are deleted until program testing has commenced as proposed by the Senate.

If any of the foregoing issues cannot be fully accommodated, the Secretary of the

Navy is directed to notify the House and Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittees that a problem has emerged and identify what action is necessary to correct the problem.

E-6 SERIES MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$58,282,000 for E-6 modifications as proposed by the Senate. The amount provided is \$60,179,000 below the amount provided by the House and the budget request of \$118,461,000. The reduction is based upon documentation provided with the budget request which stated the airborne command post modification approval for production would occur in 1996. Subsequent material from the Department of the Navy indicates an acceleration of the production approval process is expected and a decision will occur in 1994.

The conferees acknowledge the importance of the modifications but have no assurances that production approval will occur two years ahead of the original schedule. Therefore, the conferees have agreed to the Senate reduction but will consider any proposed reprogrammings for this effort if the planned schedule changes and necessary approvals are achieved.

S-3 SERIES MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$16,660,000 for S-3 series modifications. The amount provided is \$3,750,000 above the budget request. The increased funding is to be used to initiate procurement of AN/USH-42 mission recorders as stated in House Report 103-254.

COMMON ECM EQUIPMENT

The conferees agree to provide \$71,774,000 for procurement of common ECM equipment. The amount provided is \$6,000,000 more than the budget request. The additional funds are to be used only for continued procurement of the LAU-138/A launcher raid chaff dispenser system.

WEAPONS PROCUREMENT, NAVY

Amendment No. 59: Appropriates \$2,986,720,000 for Weapons Procurement, Navy instead of \$2,808,986,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,972,906,000 as proposed by the Senate and inserts Senate provision concerning the Trident II D-5 missile.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
WEAPONS PROCUREMENT, NAVY				
RAM	58,476	43,876	58,476	240
DRONES AND DECOYS		15,000	17,500	17,500
SPARROW MODS	35,899	35,899	7,625	21,625
WEAPONS INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES	22,067	22,067	37,567	37,567
FLEET SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS (MYP)	159,784		159,784	159,784
MK-50 ALVT	21,419	38,419	29,269	46,269
TORPEDO INDUSTRIAL BASE			25,000	
ASW TARGETS	17,587	8,000	17,587	8,000
VERTICAL LAUNCHED ASROC (VLA)	22,682	32,682	22,682	40
MK-46 TORPEDO MODS	24,099	24,099	8,199	24,099
MACHINE GUN AMMUNITION	7,355	1,566	2,853	1,566
PRACTICE BOMBS	10,862	20,862	4,346	14,346
5 INCH/54 GUN AMMUNITION	55,161	40,161	55,161	51,961
SMALL ARMS & LANDING PARTY AMMUNITION	11,468	11,468	9,371	9,371
PYROTECHNIC AND DEMOLITION	13,400	13,400	9,287	9,287
DEMILITARIZATION	6,712		6,712	

(In thousands of dollars)

MK-50 ADVANCED LIGHTWEIGHT TORPEDO

The conferees agree to provide \$46,269,000 for the Mk-50 Torpedo program an addition of \$24,850,000 to the fiscal year 1994 budget request. Of the additional funding provided by the conferees, \$2,850,000 is for the safe disposal of 920 Mk-50 boilers, \$5,000,000 is for the settlement of requests for equitable adjustments that can be negotiated and paid in fiscal year 1994, and \$17,000,000 is for continued procurement of the Mk-50 torpedo.

VERTICAL LAUNCHED ASROC (VLA)

The conferees agree to provide \$32,682,000 for the Vertical Launched ASROC (VLA) program an addition of \$10,000,000 to the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The conferees direct the Department of the Navy to procure

as many VLAs as possible with the funding provided.

PRACTICE BOMBS

The conference agreement includes \$14,346,000 for practice bombs. Of this amount, \$10,000,000 is available only for procurement of laser guided practice bombs.

57/54 GUN AMMUNITION

The conference agreement provides \$51,961,000 for 57/54 gun ammunition. Of this amount, \$18,958,000 is available only for procurement of high explosive (HE-CVT) ammunition.

Amendment No. 60: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after the enactment of authorizing legislation.

SHIPBUILDING AND CONVERSION, NAVY

Amendment No. 61: Deletes the Senate proposed funding for the carrier replacement program.

Amendment No. 62: Appropriates \$2,642,772,000 for the DDG-51 destroyer pro-

gram as proposed by the House instead of \$2,610,972,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 63: Appropriates \$50,000,000 for advance procurement on the LHD-7 amphibious assault ship rather than earmarking from within available funds as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 64: Appropriates \$124,175,000 for the mine warfare command and control ship as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 65: Appropriates \$110,049,000 for the oceanographic ship program as proposed by the House instead of \$62,482,000 as proposed by the Senate. Also deletes House language on T-AGS 60 contract options and Comptroller General recommendations.

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
SHIPBUILDING & CONVERSION, NAVY				
CARRIER REPLACEMENT PROGRAM		1,000,000	3,403,600	
DDG-51	2,642,772	2,642,772	2,610,972	3 2,642,772
LHD-1 AMPHIBIOUS ASSAULT SHIP (MYP) (AP-CY)				50,000
MINE WARFARE C2 SHIP	124,175	124,175		1 124,175
OCEANOGRAPHIC SHIPS	110,049	110,049	62,482	2 110,049
SERVICE CRAFT	27,362	32,362	23,986	36,986
OUTFITTING	251,330	221,785	211,003	211,003
POST DELIVERY	169,732	169,732	89,322	89,322
PRODUCTION DESIGN SUPPORT	38,459	38,459		
COST GROWTH		127,000		

SCN ACCOUNT CLOSING

The conferees understand that the Department of Defense has drafted special guidance governing the application of the account closing law to the Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy (SCN) appropriation. The conferees are concerned that the guidance must recognize that the SCN appropriation must be considered an indefinite account. This guidance would be consistent with the proviso that the Congress has added to the SCN appropriation since 1984 to recognize the unique nature of ship construction and extend its availability.

The conferees direct the Secretary of Defense to issue procedures to ensure that the account remains available until all the purposes for which the appropriation was made available have been accomplished. The conferees expect the Department to adhere to all limitations in the appropriation throughout its life, and to close it expeditiously when the purposes have been accomplished.

DISPUTED CLAIMS

The conferees are aware of a long standing dispute between Southwest Marine of San Diego, California and Atlantic Dry Dock of Jacksonville, Florida and the Department of the Navy over facility investments made by these two shipyards. Although, the shipyard owners agree that there is no legal remedy for a claim to be paid by the Navy, they continue to believe that, in fairness, the Navy should pay costs which the yards incurred in making facility investments. The conferees direct the Navy to examine this issue again and inform the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate by May 31, 1994 on what course of action it recommends to resolve this matter.

STUDY OF NUCLEAR POWERED AIRCRAFT CARRIERS AND SUBMARINES

The conferees direct the Comptroller General of the United States to study the cost-effectiveness to the Navy of the utilization of nuclear powered aircraft carriers and nuclear powered submarines. The study should include the following:

1. A comparison of the life-cycle cost, including the cost of processing or otherwise disposing of nuclear fuel and other nuclear waste removed from nuclear-powered ships,

of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers and nuclear-powered submarines with the life-cycle cost of conventionally-powered aircraft carriers and conventionally-powered submarines;

2. A comparison of the cost of procuring nuclear-powered aircraft carriers with the cost of carrying out the service-life extension or complex overhaul of existing conventionally-powered aircraft carriers;

3. A comparison of the projected cost to the Navy of operating a fleet of twelve aircraft carriers utilizing one or more homeports located at foreign overseas installations with the projected cost of operating such a fleet utilizing only homeports located in the United States;

4. An assessment of the refueling costs and the cost of disposing of the waste generated by such refuelings for the nuclear-powered aircraft carriers of the fleet through the year 2020;

5. A detailed estimate of the costs associated with processing or otherwise disposing of nuclear fuel and other nuclear material from the existing nuclear-powered fleet of ships in the Navy; and

6. A detailed description of all programs of the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy relating to nuclear propulsion systems for naval ships that utilize such systems required for the nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

DDG-51 DESTROYER

The conferees agree to provide \$2,642,772,000 for procurement of three DDG-51 class destroyers. The funding provided is to be used for procurement of three destroyers as well as production design support. The conferees reject the Department's proposal to finance design support outside the production funding line.

The conferees further agree that the Department should more aggressively explore the use of existing equipment which can be removed from ships planned for retirement and used on new platforms.

Two issues were addressed in previous reports on this program. First, the conferees have adopted a general provision that prohibits using any funds for a sole source procurement of ring laser gyroscope configured inertial navigation systems. Second, the con-

Amendment No. 66: Deletes House language which included production design support along with other miscellaneous costs.

Amendment No. 67: Deletes House language which included cost growth along with other miscellaneous costs and appropriates \$343,104,000 for craft, outfitting, post delivery, and first destination transportation, instead of \$595,131,000 as proposed by the House and \$330,104,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 68: Appropriates a total of \$4,195,075,000 instead of \$5,397,102,000 as proposed by the House and \$7,332,133,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

conferees agree the Navy should conduct a competition in 1995 for switchgear for flight IIA DDG-51 class destroyers.

Further, the conferees agree to allow the Department of the Navy to go forward with the award of contract N00024-93-C-5203 for DDG-51 shipboard display equipment subject to the same restrictions that apply to Navy Tactical Data Systems equipment as discussed in the Other Procurement, Navy section of the statement of managers.

LHD-7 ADVANCE PROCUREMENT

The Senate earmarked \$50,000,000 in funds from the LHD-6 which could have been used for advance procurement on the LHD-7. The Senate action presupposed that, if an LHD-7 were to be purchased, the cost of the LHD-6 would be reduced as the shipyard would be receiving additional work. The conferees agree with the intent of the Senate in support of the LHD-7. However, there is a concern that the price of the LHD-6 will not decrease with the addition of the LHD-7. Therefore, the conferees have added \$50,000,000 which may be available for advance procurement on the LHD-7. The conferees expect that the Defense Department will fund the balance of the ship in fiscal year 1995 prior to obligating the advance procurement funds.

SERVICE CRAFT

The conferees agree to provide \$36,986,000 for procurement of service craft. The agreement includes a reduction of \$3,376,000 from the budget request to reflect the Department of the Navy's decision to delete the large covered lighter (YFNB) from its service craft requirements. Additionally, the conferees agree to provide \$5,000,000 above the budget request for six open lighters (YC) and two fuel oil storage barges (YOS).

Finally, the conferees have provided, in this account, \$8,000,000 for conversion of the USNS CHAUVENET to a training ship for the Texas Maritime Academy's Training Program.

OUTFITTING AND POST DELIVERY

The conferees agree to provide \$211,003,000 for outfitting and \$89,322,000 for post delivery expenses. In total, the funding provided for these two accounts is \$120,737,000 below the budget request.

SHIP COST ADJUSTMENT

The conferees have included a general provision (section 8120) which transfers \$761,101,000 in prior year funds to cover cost increases in various ship programs. The only source used for transfer which was not identified by Navy officials is \$55,500,000 from the Space Nuclear Thermal Propulsion Program within the RDT&E, Air Force appropriation. The following table lists the adjustments by appropriations.

Appropriations to which transfer is made:

	Amount
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1986/1990	\$3,459,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1987/1991	256,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1988/1992	141,704,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1989/1993	174,540,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1990/1994	144,071,000

	Amount
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1991/1995	297,071,000
Total	761,101,000
Appropriations from which transfer is made:	
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1990/1994	5,037,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1991/1995	3,806,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1992/1996	44,360,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1992/1995	27,000,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1993/1994	13,000,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1993/1996	43,500,000
Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy 1993/1997	69,829,000
Aircraft Procurement, Navy 1992/1994	65,600,000
Aircraft Procurement, Navy 1993/1995	45,700,000
Weapons Procurement, Navy 1992/1994	36,000,000
Weapons Procurement, Navy 1993/1995	105,800,000

[In thousands of dollars]

	Amount
Other Procurement, Navy 1993/1995	163,274,000
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Navy 1993/1994	46,395,000
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Air Force 1993/1994	55,500,000
National Guard and Reserve Equipment 1992/1994	3,400,000
National Guard and Reserve Equipment 1993/1995	32,900,000
Total	761,101,000

Amendment No. 69: Deletes a House provision making a portion of the appropriation subject to authorization.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY

Amendment No. 70: Appropriates \$2,994,231,000 for Other Procurement, Navy, instead of \$2,980,815,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,794,718,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conferees agree on items in conference as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY				
OTHER GENERATORS	17,180	12,780	17,180	12,780
OTHER PUMPS	5,089	189	5,089	189
SUBMARINE PUMP RETROFIT KITS		1,000		1,000
SUBMARINE BATTERIES	9,019	8,019	9,019	8,019
REACTOR COMPONENTS	186,425	175,425	186,425	180,500
STANDARD BOATS	9,350	14,350	9,350	10,600
NUCLEAR ALTERATIONS	108,590	108,590	81,990	108,590
AN/SPS-48	9,018	23,018		14,018
SURFACE ELECTRO-OPTICAL SYSTEM	3,663	3,663		
AN/SQQ-89 SURF ASW COMBAT SYSTEM	88,110	88,110	54,810	88,110
SSN ACOUSTICS	27,200	25,700	27,200	25,700
SONAR SWITCHES AND TRANSDUCERS	17,294	16,294	17,294	16,294
SSSD	14,907	14,907		14,907
TOWED ARRAY SONARS		10,000		6,000
AN/SQ-32	1,328	1,328		
C-3 COUNTERMEASURES	18,172	50,672		
OUTBOARD	11,266	9,266	11,266	9,266
AN/WLQ4	4,867	4,867	2,324	2,324
SUBMARINE SUPPORT EQUIPMENT PROG	9,785	7,485	9,785	7,485
NAVY TACTICAL DATA SYSTEM	42,863	24,000	42,863	66,863
TACTICAL FLAG COMMAND CENTER	33,787	42,787	25,687	42,787
LINK 16 HARDWARE	24,021	24,021		12,000
MINESWEEPING SYSTEM REPLACEMENT	51,728	50,000	51,728	50,000
SPACE SYSTEM PROCESSING	8,225		8,225	
WMMCCS COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT	2,296	2,296		
AN/SQ-77 (VLAD)		34,200		34,200
AIR EXPENDABLE COUNTERMEASURES	39,360	39,760	39,360	39,260
MARINE LOCATION MARKERS	3,204	704	3,204	704
WEAPONS RANGE SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	46,200	46,200	58,985	58,985
TARTAR SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	21,872	31,872	21,872	21,872
AEIS SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	29,589	34,589	24,589	29,589
NATURAL GAS UTILIZATION EQUIPMENT		16,000		10,000
INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	44,639	44,639	43,639	39,355
COMPUTER ACQUISITION PROGRAM	38,181	58,181	38,181	58,181
FLEET MODERNIZATION PROGRAM			50,000	50,000
BASE CLOSURE SAVINGS			-20,000	
RAISE O & M PURCHASE THRESHOLD		-25,000	-6,250	-6,250

BQG-5 WIDE APERTURE ARRAY

The AN/BQG-5 Wide Aperture Array (WAA) is a conformal hull sonar array developed for the Seawolf. It can be retrofitted on Los Angeles-class submarines, and is a likely candidate for Centurion. The WAA provides rapid range and bearing on a target, an essential advantage in shallow coastal waters where sonar clutter, shipping, and ocean conditions limit surveillance ranges and increase the likelihood of chance encounters. Therefore, the conferees provide \$33,000,000 for the acquisition of one complete BQG-5 shipset and the completion of a partially cannibalized BQG-5 already in the possession of the Navy for backfit on Los Angeles-class subs. The WAAs procured shall include the additional cards necessary to provide full search capability. The conferees direct the Navy to reprogram the funds necessary to

cover administrative and array installation costs.

AN/SPS-48E RADAR

The conferees agree to provide \$14,018,000 for the AN/SPS-48E radar of which \$5,000,000 is available to initiate the subproject as directed in the House report.

NAVY TACTICAL DATA SYSTEM (NTDS)

The conferees agree to provide \$66,863,000 for the Navy Tactical Data System an addition of \$24,000,000 to the budget request. The additional funding provided is available only for the acquisition of low cost commercial emulator systems. The use of commercial emulators in place of Mil-spec display equipment at shore-based facilities has proven to be cost effective and the conferees expect the Department of the Navy to continue to aggressively pursue further cost savings

through the use of commercial emulators in place of Mil-spec display equipment.

Accordingly, the conferees direct the Department of the Navy not to expend any OPN or SCN funds on the purchase of new Mil-spec display equipment if that equipment requirement can be fulfilled (1) by an existing emulation system, (2) from assets available at land-based sites, (3) from decommissioned ships, or (4) by expenditure of funds provided to develop new emulators. A certification of need to purchase new Mil-spec display equipment by other than these methods must be obtained from the Naval Audit Service and applies to the following types of equipment: LS-653, LS-654/A, OJ-452, OJ-451, OJ-535, OL-190, and OL-191. The conferees further direct

the Navy to expedite the use of funds provided in fiscal years 1993 and 1994 for the upgrade of existing emulators and the acquisition of new emulators so that additional funds can be saved in the future.

Amendment No. 71: Restores and amends House language and provides \$20,000,000 for Defense Department and Navy automated information system acquisitions and operations. The conferees strongly believe that the funding be used for missions and functions as directed in the bill and House Report 103-254, pages 154-155, except with regard to the management and coordination of active and reserve personnel central design activity and personnel accounting programs. The conferees direct that not less than \$17,000,000 (\$8,500,000 at each location) shall be spent for acquisitions, upgrades, and replacements at the Enlisted Personnel Management Center (EPMAC) and the Naval Computer and Telecommunications Station (NCTS), New Orleans. The conferees direct that not less than \$3,000,000 shall be spent for acquisitions, upgrades, and replacements at the Naval Reserve Force Information Systems Office, the Naval Reserve Personnel

Center (NRPC), and the Defense Accounting Office (DAO), New Orleans. In addition to the missions and functions described in the House report, the conferees recommend that the Department of the Navy have the EPMAC, the NRPC, and the Navy Reserve Force Information Systems Office and the Bureau of Personnel jointly design, develop, test and maintain a new automated enlisted detailing system and a new consolidated Naval manpower data base. The conferees believe that the Department of Defense should establish a central management and control site for local area networks, as described in House Report 103-254, and operate a central design activity software and development test center and classified systems site for megacenters at NCTS, New Orleans. The Department of Defense should also establish a coordinated central management, operations, and processing site for the Integrated Disbursing and Financial Management System at NCTS and DAO, New Orleans. The Department of Navy may proceed, with prior year funds, to design, procure, install, and deploy the NRPC subsystem of the Electronic Military Personnel Records System,

to include preparation of life cycle management documentation through milestone III. The work on the subsystem shall be contracted through and administered by the NRPC.

Amendment No. 72: Deletes House language since this subject is addressed under amendment number 71.

Amendment No. 73: Deletes House language since this subject is addressed under amendment number 71.

Amendment No. 74: Deletes House language since this subject is addressed under amendment number 71.

Amendment No. 75: Deletes House language which made a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS

Amendment No. 76: Appropriates \$441,216,000 for Procurement, Marine Corps, instead of \$527,754,000 as proposed by the House and \$441,056,000 as proposed by the State.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS				
AMMO DEMILITARIZATION	7,217		7,217	
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2 MIL	3,572	2,522	3,572	2,522
AAV7A1 PIP	15,139	2,539	15,139	2,539
LAV PIP	6,914	12,914	6,914	6,914
PEDESTAL MOUNTED STINGER (PMS) (MYP)	19,201	49,201	19,201	24
GPS	14,597	14,597	9,199	1,453
JOINT TACT INFOR DIST SYS (CL I)	1,743	5,743	1,743	1,743
SINGLE CHAN GRD & AIR RADIO	46,122	56,122	46,122	46,122
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2M (TEL)	3,079	3,079		1,535
INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	21,636	21,636	14,301	21,636
NIGHT VISION EQUIPMENT	12,392	34,892	12,392	12,392
ADP EQUIPMENT	14,504	14,504	7,004	10,100
TEST CALIB & MAINT SPT	931	931		931
MODIFICATION KITS (NONTEL)	2,447	2,447		1,280
AUTOMATIC BUILDING MACHINES		2,500		1,750
TRAINING DEVICES	11,018	11,018	5,918	11,018
RAISE O & M PURCHASE THRESHOLD			-775	-775

Amendment No. 77: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 78: Appropriates \$6,662,934,000 for Aircraft Procurement, Air Force instead of \$6,887,201,000 as proposed by

the House and \$4,017,475,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE				
B-18 (MYP)	162,547	162,547	126,547	162,547
B-2A (MYP)	604,339	604,339	572,239	572,239
F-16 C/D (MYP)	724,700	724,700		12
C-17 (MYP)	2,072,809	1,772,809		6
C-17 (MYP) (AP-CY)	245,500	245,500		245,500
C-130H	53,794	73,794	53,794	53,794
COMPLEMENTARY WIDEBOY AIRCRAFT				100,000
TANKER, TRANSPORT, TRAINER SYSTEM	147,356	140,756	147,356	35
CIVIL AIR PATROL A/C	2,543	3,643	2,743	27
E-8B	281,823	241,823	476,823	2
B-18	50,808	40,808	29,008	29,008
B-52	47,357	47,357	37,357	37,357
A-10	28,414	28,414	19,614	19,614
F-15	282,725	268,325	270,125	268,325
EF-111		15,000		3,750
C-17A	16,472	16,472	2,072	2,072
C-141	29,195	29,195	12,895	29,195
C-130	141,085	149,085	121,085	129,085
C-135	46,643	203,143	40,343	70,643
E-4	31,489	31,489	9,000	9,000
OTHER AIRCRAFT	83,984	83,984	66,784	66,784
CLASSIFIED PROJECTS	37,647	28,347	37,647	28,347
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	556,077	556,077	496,077	456,077
COMMON AGE	193,535	190,035	193,535	193,535
WAR CONSUMABLES	31,906	17,906	31,906	17,906
OTHER PRODUCTION CHARGES	670,242	597,970	656,842	638,442

B-2

The conferees recommend \$572,239,000 for the procurement of support equipment and other support for the B-2 bomber. The recommendation is \$32,100,000 below the budget request to reflect the need for a review by the Under Secretary of Defense, Acquisition,

on the long-term support and maintenance plan for the B-2 bomber. The Under Secretary shall report to the Congressional Defense Committees on the most efficient and cost-effective utilization of both public and private facilities to support the B-2 bomber. The conferees recognize that the government

has already invested significantly in the private sector to train a highly skilled work force and has constructed facilities which can support this need. In addition, it is recognized that the Air Force has constructed facilities to allow for organic maintenance of

the B-2 bomber. The \$32,100,000 reduction reflects no prejudice; it is deemed that such expenditure would be premature until the Department has completed its review.

C-17

The conferees agree to provide \$1,935,809,000 for the acquisition of six C-17 aircraft, a reduction of \$138,000,000 to the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The conferees also agree to provide \$245,500,000 for advance procurement of C-17 aircraft; this is the amount of the budget request. It is the sense of the conferees that the C-17 is a vitally important program which addresses severe shortfalls in the Defense Department's overall airlift capability. It is also the conferees' expectation that the C-17 will play a large role in any alternative mix of airfleets which will fulfill future Department airlift requirements. The conferees are not without concern for the future success of the program, however, and reiterate the obligation of fiscal year 1994 advance procurement funding under the following conditions:

1. The conferees direct that not more than \$100,000,000 of fiscal year 1994 advance procurement funding may be obligated until the Secretary of Defense provides a report to the Congressional Defense Committees which designates a production representative aircraft which incorporates fixes to the wing, flaps, slats and landing gear. In addition, the report will identify the cost of retrofitting the first ten production aircraft with these deficiency corrections.

2. The conferees also direct that the C-17 Lot VII engine advance procurement contract not be awarded until the Secretary of Defense provides the Congressional Defense Committee with a report on the consideration to be received by the government for any engines in Lots IV through VI which do not meet the specific fuel consumption re-

quirements in the engine specifications found in the original contracts.

Should present unit cost and performance trends continue for the C-17 engine, the conferees will be forced to consider other options to address the requirement. The conferees also agree to the House language which requires the submission of a quarterly report detailing the progress of the C-17 flight test program.

C-130J

It is the conferees' sense that in the future, acquisition of new tactical airlift aircraft should be the most capable and cost effective variant of the C-130. Toward that end, the conferees encourage the Air Force to consider including in the fiscal year 1995 budget request the C-130J which could be available for delivery in 1996.

E-8B JSTARS

The conferees recommend \$436,823,000 for the purchase of two E-8B JSTARS aircraft. The conferees agree with the House allocation which reduced engineering change orders by \$40,000,000 believing the budgeted amount to be excessively high. The conferees further agree that the Air Force should examine a multiyear purchase of JSTARS sub-components, including the purchase of airframes.

C-130 MODIFICATIONS

The conferees agree to provide \$129,085,000 for C-130 modifications, a reduction of \$12,000,000 to the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The conferees agree to the Senate proposed reduction of \$20,000,000 due to delays in modifications to electrical systems. The conferees also agree to the House proposal to include an additional \$8,000,000 solely for the compass call mission training system.

KC-135 RE-ENGINEING

The conferees recommend \$70,643,000 for C-135 modifications, \$24,000,000 above the fiscal

year 1994 budget request. The conferees understand that \$100,900,000 of prior year funds may be available in addition to the \$24,000,000 increase provided herein for C-135 re-engineing. The conferees agreed that these funds would be used to re-engine two KC-135E and two RC-135 aircraft. However, the conferees will not object if the Air Force uses the full amount to re-engine up to five KC-135E aircraft.

SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS

The conferees recommend \$456,077,000 for the purchase of spare and repair parts. This amount is \$100,000,000 below the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The recommendation reduces funds from B-2 spare parts noting that, because of a change in Air Force spare parts budgeting policy, these funds will not be needed until fiscal year 1996.

F-16 BOMB EJECTOR RACKS

The conferees recommend \$4,500,000 for F-16 ejector racks under Other Production Charges. This program was supported by both the House and Senate. Providing funds in this bill will allow the Air Force to proceed with the purchase of a replacement for the TER-9A ejector rack by the second quarter of fiscal year 1994.

Amendment No. 79: Deletes House language earmarking \$20,000,000 for the C-130J program.

Amendment No. 80: Deletes Senate language earmarking \$4,500,000 for the TER-9A ejector rack.

MISSILE PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 81: Appropriates \$3,899,170,000 for Missile Procurement, Air Force instead of \$3,845,354,000 as proposed by the House and \$4,127,514,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
MISSILE PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE				
HAVE NAP		10,000		5,000
TRI-SERVICE ATTACK MISSILE	195,860		195,860	160,860
ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILE	59,367	59,367	59,367	5,367
AMRAAM	501,629	489,929	496,329	489,929
AGM-130 POWERED GBU-15	73,881	73,881	70,381	70,381
SPARES AND REPAIR PARTS	54,177	54,177	51,477	51,477
GLOBAL POSITIONING (MYP) (AP-CY)	55,935	30,935	55,935	55,935
MEDIUM LAUNCH VEHICLE	134,407	84,407	132,307	2
DEFENSE SUPPORT PROGRAM (MYP)	265,734	265,734	256,269	1
DEFENSE SUPPORT PROGRAM (MYP) (AP-CY)	193,409	193,409	202,874	94,026
DEFENSE SATELLITE COMM SYSTEM (MYP)	32,440	32,440	27,640	27,640
JONDS (MYP)	31,727	21,727	31,727	6
SPECIAL PROGRAMS	1,613,932	1,472,332	1,490,332	1,456,432
ARMS CONTROL				-4,661

Amendment No. 82: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 83: Appropriates \$7,637,250,000 instead of \$7,336,918,000 as pro-

posed by the House and \$7,527,084,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE				
BOMB PRACTICE 25 POUND	7,405	7,405	5,584	715,704
CBU-87 (COMBINED EFFECTS MUNITIONS)			70,000	70,000
BSU INFLATABLE RETARDER		5,000		8
FLARE, IR MJU-78	6,288	5,274	6,288	306,572
AMMO DEMIL	200		200	
FMU-139 FUZE	20,563		20,563	10,250
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2,000,000	11,756	11,531	11,756	11,531
HEAVY RESCUE VEHICLE	2,162		2,162	
60K A/C LOADER	27,601	11,701	27,601	19
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2,000,000	344	344		
AIR TRAFFIC CTRL/LAND SYS (ATCALS)	13,455	14,955		14,955
TACTICAL AIR CONTROL SYS IMPROVE	55,931	50,931	55,931	50,931
WEATHER OBSERV/FORECAST	47,650	48,650	47,650	48,650
DEFENSE SUPPORT PROGRAM	38,563	28,463	12,117	28,463
NAVSTAR GPS	5,264	3,864	4,577	4,577
IMAGERY TRANS	4,971	4,971		
AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING EQUIP	64,178	64,178	52,411	64,178
WWWCCS/MS ADPE	21,954			
MOBILITY COMMAND AND CONTROL	42,768	36,000	42,768	36,000

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
AIR FORCE PHYSICAL SECURITY SYSTEM	32,395	30,395	32,395	30,395
RANGE IMPROVEMENTS	35,053	35,053	25,553	25,553
BASE LEVEL DATA AUTO PROGRAM	32,948	32,948	18,994	32,948
AUTOMATED TELECOMMUNICATIONS PRG	10,195	10,195	2,376	10,195
MILSATCOM	85,338	85,338	64,003	74,003
WIDEBAND SYSTEMS UPGRADE	2,032	2,032	1,000	1,000
CAP COM & ELECT	194	194	294	294
SPACE MODS	25,807	25,807	22,907	22,907
BREATHING APPARATUS TWO HOUR	5,074	5,074		
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2,000,000	3,545	3,545		
NATURAL GAS UTILIZATION EQUIPMENT		16,000		10,000
MOBILITY EQUIPMENT	4,581	4,581		
WARTIME HOST NATION SUPPORT	1,292	1,292		
INTELLIGENCE PRODUCTION ACTIVITY	51,367	51,367	50,367	45,297
SR YR GROUND STATIONS	55,654	40,552	50,654	40,552
SELECTED ACTIVITIES	5,741,033	5,394,534	5,592,533	5,650,698
RAISE O&M Purchase Threshold		-27,000	-6,750	-6,750

NATIONAL GUARD AND RESERVE EQUIPMENT
Amendment No. 84: Appropriates
\$1,200,000,000 for National Guard and Reserve

Equipment instead of \$1,178,100,000 as pro-
posed by the House and \$785,000,000 as pro-
posed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in con-
ference is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
NATIONAL GUARD & RESERVE EQUIPMENT				
ARMY RESERVE				
EXTERNAL FUEL TANKS		3,500		
PLS/HEMTT		47,000		
HET TRUCKS		6,000		
AUTOMATIC BUILDING MACHINES		5,000		
TUG BOATS		25,000		
D-9 BULLDOZER		15,000		
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT			70,000	100,000
NAVY RESERVE:				
P-3 UPGRADES		30,000		
MIUW VANS		21,000		
C-130T AIRCRAFT		124,000		
F/A-18 SUPPORT		1,500		
ALR-67(V)2		15,000		
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT			70,000	50,000
C-9 MODS		25,000		
AN/S11-T1 TRAINER		11,000		
MARINE CORPS RESERVE:				
KC-130T AIRCRAFT		70,000		
AH-1W COBRA AIRCRAFT		78,000		
FIREARMS TRAINING SYSTEM		5,000		
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT		11,500	40,000	50,000
AIR FORCE RESERVE:				
C-130 AIRCRAFT		189,000		
C-130 SIMULATOR		23,000		
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT			65,000	50,000
FIREARMS TRAINING SYSTEM		5,000		
ARMY NATIONAL GUARD:				
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT			90,000	100,000
HET TRUCKS		30,000		
MEDIUM TACTICAL TRUCKS SLEP (2.5 TON ESP)		50,000		
M-9 ACE		50,000		
EXTERNAL FUEL TANKS		4,000		
NIGHT VISION DEVICES		35,000		
FIREARMS TRNG EQPT		10,000		
UPGRADE CIVIL ENGINEERING EQUIP		2,000		
AUTOMATIC BUILDING MACHINES		5,000		
CH-47 SIMULATOR		15,000		
CH-47 FADAC UPGRADE		9,600		
MOVING TARGET SIMULATOR		5,000		
IFTE		10,000		
SINGARS RADIOS		75,000		
AN/PSG-7 DIGITAL DATA SET		9,700		
AIR NATIONAL GUARD:				
C-130 AIRCRAFT		63,000		
LOCASS		1,800		
APX-109		7,400		
MCE/TASCI P31		17,900		
KC-135 RADAR UPGRADE		15,000		
TACTICAL AIRLIFT AIRCRAFT			250,000	
TACS ARM DECOYS		42,200		
MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT			50,000	50,000
FIREARMS TRAINING EQUIPMENT		10,000		
OTHER GUARD/RESERVE EQUIPMENT				
NATIONAL GUARD AIRCRAFT			150,000	
GUARD/RESERVE AIRCRAFT				800,000

The conferees agree that this program shall be executed by the heads of the guard and reserve components with priority consideration for miscellaneous equipment appropriations given to the following items:

PLS/HEMTT trucks, HET trucks, Automatic building machines, Tugboats, D-9 tractor upgrade, APX-109 transponder system, OCASS submunition, KC-135 receiver, transmitter/antennae upgrade, Firearms training systems, C-130 simulator, MIUW vans, C-9 modifications, F/18 support, AN/SQ-T1 trainer, AH-1W Cobra aircraft, AN/AQS-14 "MATE", Night vision devices, Civil

engineering equipment upgrade, SINGARS radios, AN/PSG-7 digital data set, 2.5 ton truck SLEP, M-9 ACE/FAASV, CH-47 simulator, CH-47 FADAC upgrade, MCE/TASCI P31, Transition assistance program, Material handling equipment, AN/TLQ-32 ARM Decoys, Electronic document imaging system, MLRS launchers, M915/916 trucks, Forklifts, 20 ton dumptrucks, C-nite, UH-1 external fuel tanks, ALR-66 ESM upgrade.

NATIONAL GUARD AND RESERVE AIRCRAFT

The conferees agree to provide \$800,000,000 for the procurement of new transport air-

craft for the reserve components. Both the House and Senate passed bills recognized the urgent requirement to replace aging National Guard and Reserve transport aircraft. The Department has consistently failed to request funds to ensure the timely modernization of the reserve component aircraft fleet, for large tactical transport and smaller mission aircraft for cargo and personnel transportation, air ambulance and evacuation missions and short, unprepared runway operations.

The Chiefs of the National Guard and the Reserves shall allocate these funds to accommodate the most critical reserve component aircraft replacement needs. The Chiefs will report the proposed allocation of funds, by component and by specific system, to the Defense committees not later than January 15, 1994. The conferees expect these funds to be released for obligation by the Office of the Comptroller of the Department of Defense upon submission of the report to the Congress. The conferees identify this initiative as a special priority of the Congress and will not consider any reprogramming or transfer

of these funds under authority provided by Sec. 8006.

AIR FORCE RESERVE C-130 MODERNIZATION

The conferees agree with the House position requiring the Department to provide 8 C-130G aircraft for the 910th Tactical Airlift Group in Youngstown, Ohio as directed in the fiscal year 1992 and 1993 Defense Appropriation Conference Reports.

COLORADO AIR FORCE RESERVE MODERNIZATION

It is the sense of the conferees that as the Air Force Reserve continues its tactical airlift modernization plan, high priority will

continue to be given to the Colorado Air Force Reserve in Colorado Springs.

Amendment No. 85: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation.

PROCUREMENT, DEFENSE-WIDE

Amendment No. 86: Appropriates \$1,810,039,000 for Procurement, Defense-Wide, instead of \$1,557,344,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,602,726,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items in conference is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
PROCUREMENT, DEFENSE-WIDE:				
MAJOR EQUIPMENT, OSD/WH:	62,420	62,420	62,420	21,120
REMOTELY PILOTTED VEHICLES	69,300	88,300	89,300	88,300
SUPERCOMPUTERS		122,800		100,000
AIRBORNE RECON		13,443		
WMCCS ADP SYSTEMS	8,725	8,725		7,000
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2 MILLION	44,162		44,162	44,162
DBOF TRANS		2,800		2,800
DEVELOPMENT TEST FACILITY	17,500	17,500		17,500
ITEMS LESS THAN \$2 MILLION		4,300		4,300
MAJOR EQUIPMENT	186,233	21,493	186,233	161,233
VEHICLES	106	106	106	
OTHER CAPITAL EQUIPMENT	935	935	935	
AC-130U GUNSHIP ACQUISITION	27,489	20,489	27,489	24,789
C-130 MODIFICATIONS	63,819	65,919	63,819	65,919
PC, CYCLONE CLASS	13,369	13,369	13,369	28,369
SOF PLATFORM GUN AMMUNITION	19,032	26,532	19,032	23,032
COMM EQUIPMENT & ELECTRONICS	40,075	20,075	55,075	55,075
SOF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS	26,665	6,389	26,665	26,665
SPECIAL WARFARE EQUIPMENT	17,743	6,643	17,743	17,743
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	459,385	407,988	369,385	444,239
MENTOR-PROTEGE PROGRAM				45,000
RAISE O&M PURCHASE THRESHOLD			-12,325	-12,325
DEFENSE CONVERSION		8,000		6,000

SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

The conferees agree to provide for Special Operations Forces an additional \$2,100,000 for Quiet Knight; \$4,000,000 to purchase LI-465 Fuzes; and \$15,000,000 to cover costs growth in the Patrol Craft program.

PATROL BOATS

The conferees agree to provide an increase of \$15,000,000 for special operations patrol boats. These funds may be required to pay for cost overruns on special operations patrol boats which are currently under construction. The conferees direct that these funds will only be used to cover contractor claims on that program if the Navy determines the claims are the responsibility of the government. The Secretary shall inform the Committees on Appropriations prior to the allocation of these funds to cover contractor claims.

Amendment No. 87: deletes House language on the High Performance Computer Modernization plan since this issue is addressed under amendment number 190.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT PURCHASES

Amendment No. 88: Restores House language which includes an appropriation paragraph for the Defense Production Act Purchases and appropriates \$200,000,000. The conferees direct the Department to submit all projects/programs in accordance with the Defense Production Act, as amended.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION

OVERSIGHT, CONSULTATION, AND NOTIFICATION

The conferees agree with the Senate report language with respect to oversight, consultation, and notification about proposed changes to acquisition programs. The con-

ferees note that compliance with this direction may be accomplished without use of the established formal DD Form 1415 reprogramming procedures.

ITEMS OF SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST

Funds for projects noted to be of special interest in either the House or the Senate reports remain so, even if the dollar value of these items has changed in conference or even if not specifically mentioned in this report, unless indicated to the contrary in this report.

ELECTRO-OPTICAL DEVICE MAINTENANCE AT DOD TEST RANGES

As a cost saving measure during the downsizing of Defense Department operations, the conferees direct the Defense Director of Test and Evaluation, in consultation with the directors of test and evaluation of each armed service, to submit a report and plan by June 1, 1994 on establishing government-owned/contractor-operated centralized maintenance service centers for electro-optical tracking systems at Department of Defense test ranges. The report should include a feasibility analysis evaluating the need to develop two such centers, one each to support Eastern and Western test ranges, with depot maintenance of this equipment accomplished at contractor facilities. The conferees encourage the Department to include Service training ranges, which may use these electro-optical tracking systems, in the overall plan for these centralized maintenance service centers. The evaluation also should include a special assessment of the impacts of such maintenance arrangements on maintaining the effective operations of any test and operational training ranges located outside the continental United States.

The Department should consider centralized maintenance in the future for data collection and reduction capabilities and range command and control systems used at DOD test ranges.

SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH

The Small Business Act requires Federal agencies which perform research to conduct a certain percentage of their extramural research funding with small businesses. The goal of this legislation is to foster the development and growth of small businesses. The fiscal year 1994 Department of Defense budget proposes a system in which Defense small business funds in the RDT&E appropriations are budgeted in separate line items. While this may be well-intended and offers some advantages, such as increased program visibility, the conferees believe that this also has the undesirable effect of decoupling such efforts from major research programs. The conferees believe the goals of the small business legislation are thwarted when each defense program manager is exempted from the responsibility for cultivating small businesses within major research or development programs. The conferees have therefore denied funding for separate small business program elements and have not agreed to a general provision proposed by the Senate. This action in no way changes the Defense Department's responsibility for full compliance with all provisions of the Small Business Act.

SPACE SURVEILLANCE PROGRAMS

The fiscal year 1994 budget requested a total of \$1,128,877,000 for space-based, early warning, infrared satellites. The disposition of items in conference is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Request	House	Senate	Conference
DSP				
MsProc, AF	459,143	459,143	459,143	359,760
OthProc, AF	38,563	28,463	12,177	28,463
RDTE, AF	66,777	66,777	51,577	51,577
MilPers, AF	36,000	36,000	36,000	36,000
O&M, AF	61,000	61,000	61,000	61,000
Subtotal	661,483	651,383	619,897	536,800
FEWS				
RDTE, AF	214,794	214,794	214,794	110,000
Brilliant Eyes				
RDTE, DW	252,600	252,600	0	0
RDTE, AF	0	0	0	140,000
General Reduction RDTE, DW	0	-200,000	0	0
Total	1,128,877	918,777	834,691	786,800

Defense Support Program (DSP). The conferees believe that there is no requirement for DSP 25 and have therefore provided no funds. The \$536,800,000 being provided is sufficient to continue funding in fiscal year 1994 for the multi-year contract for DSP satellites 23 and 24.

FEWS. The conferees agree that there is a requirement to replace the DSP system. In addition, the conferees believe that to terminate FEWS, competitively select new contractors, and start a new development effort would introduce unacceptable financial and schedule risk. Consequently, the conferees agree to continue the FEWS program, but at a reduced funding level.

Brilliant Eyes. The conferees agree to continue funding this program, but at a reduced level. The conferees also agree that the program management and funding responsibility should be transferred to the Air Force.

Reprogramming Authority. The conferees agree that the Secretary of Defense may realign funding into or out of the above programs only with the prior approval of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations.

SPACE AND RELATED PROGRAMS

The House and Senate each included specific direction for many of the various DOD

and intelligence space and related programs. The conferees agree with the language contained in the two different reports except as addressed elsewhere in this joint statement or as modified in this section.

The conferees believe it is premature in fiscal year 1994 to begin the aggressive development of a new medium launch vehicle.

The conferees are unwilling at this time to endorse the evolution of improvements to Pegasus and Taurus class small lift vehicles and the suggestion that the Defense Department should spur development of alternative competitive vehicles.

The conferees agree that the Defense Department and intelligence community should provide, not later than June 1, 1994, a technologically achievable and affordable plan for how current and planned large payloads may be downsized on a reasonable schedule to permit launch on a medium lift vehicle. The conferees believe it is premature to decide now as to when such downsizing can be achieved.

SPACE LAUNCH VEHICLES

The conferees agree to provide a total of \$60,000,000 to ARPA for research and development activities for space launch vehicles. The conferees agree not to provide \$53,906,000 to the Air Force for a new National Launch

System vehicle as proposed by the House, but rather agree to provide \$10,000,000 to ARPA to begin program concept definition for a new, affordable, near-term medium launch vehicle. The conferees also agree to provide \$40,000,000 for a competitive Single Stage to Orbit (SSTO) vehicle as proposed by the House; however, the conferees agree to modify the House language to permit reimbursement to the Air Force for projects approved by the Director of ARPA. Finally, the conferees also agree to provide \$10,000,000 as proposed by the House for launch technology development projects such as hybrid propellants and parafoils.

UNIVERSITY AFFILIATED RESEARCH CENTERS

The conferees agree with the Senate requirement to provide a report and direct the Department of Defense to provide the requested report by June 15, 1994.

MEDICAL RESEARCH

The conferees recommend the following levels highlighted in the table below for the military services' medical research programs. DD Form 1414 for fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires prior approval.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST & EVALUATION

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
Army				
0601101A In-House Lab Ind Reser	4,378	4,378	4,378	4,378
0601102A Def Res Sciences	48,989	49,239	49,664	49,664
Serum Cholesterol	0	0	(425)	*(425)
Nutrition	0	(250)	(250)	*(250)
0602787A Med Technology	86,711	87,461	90,461	94,761
Dengue Fever	0	0	(1,000)	*(1,000)
Laser Burn	0	0	(2,000)	*(2,000)
Nutrition	0	(750)	(750)	*(750)
Environ. Med. Unit	0	0	0	*(300)
Post Polio Syndrome	0	0	0	*(1,000)
Hypoglycemia	0	0	0	*(1,000)
Madigan ENT Project	0	0	0	*(2,000)
0603002A Medical Adv Tech	40,346	112,996	41,096	115,000
Def. Wmn's Hlth Pg	0	(40,000)	0	*(40,000)
Environ. Med. Unit	0	(1,200)	0	0
Nutrition	0	(750)	(750)	(750)
Breast Cancer	0	(25,000)	0	*(25,000)
Breast Cancer Center	0	0	0	*(5,000)
Prostate Cancer	0	(2,000)	0	*(2,000)
Depleted Uranium Study	0	(1,700)	0	*(425)
LMF/Touro Infirmary Study	0	0	0	*(1,200)
Telemedicine Testbed	0	0	0	*(1,000)
Post Polio Syndrome	0	(1,000)	0	0
Hypoglycemia	0	(1,000)	0	0
0603105A AIDS	3,410	33,410	35,000	*(33,410)
0603807A Med Sys—Adv Dev	27,628	27,628	21,628	21,628
SASC Reduction	0	0	(-6,000)	(-6,000)
0604807A Med Mat/Med Bio Df Eq	21,128	21,128	19,569	19,569
SASC Reduction	0	0	(-1,559)	(-1,559)
0605801A Med Cmd Spt	5,197	5,197	5,197	5,197
0605898A Mgmt HQs	3,873	3,873	15,873	15,873
Akamai	0	0	(12,000)	*(12,000)
Subtotal	241,660	345,310	282,866	359,480
0601152N In-House Lab Ind Res	1,290	1,290	1,290	1,290
0601153N Def Res Sciences	2,914	2,914	2,914	2,914
0603216N Aviation Surviv	1,770	3,770	1,770	3,770
Naval Biodynam Lab	0	(2,000)	0	*(2,000)
0602233N Miss Spt Technology	4,550	4,550	4,550	4,550
0603706N Medical Development	16,956	60,148	16,956	55,004

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST & EVALUATION—Continued

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
Naval Biodynam Lab	0	(1,000)	0	*(1,000)
Bone Marrow	0	(37,000)	0	*(37,000)
POW Medical Update	0	(192)	0	*(48)
Breast Cancer Center	0	(5,000)	0	0
0603713N Ocean Engin, Develop	5,877	5,877	5,877	5,877
0603792N Adv Tech Transition	2,344	844	2,344	2,344
Freeze Dried Blood	(2,344)	(844)	0	(2,344)
0604771N Medical Development	4,030	4,030	4,030	4,030
0605152N Studies & Analysis	110	110	110	110
0605856N Strategic Tech Spt	1,154	1,154	1,154	1,154
0605861N RDT&E Sci & Tech Mgmt	7,913	7,913	7,913	7,913
0605862N RDT&E Inst Mod	3,946	3,946	3,946	3,946
Subtotal	52,854	96,546	52,854	92,902
0604703F Aeromedical Sys Dev	2,651	2,651	2,651	2,651
0605306F RANCH HAND II	3,707	3,707	3,707	3,707
Subtotal	6,358	6,358	6,358	6,358
0601101D In-House Lab Ind Res	3,368	3,368	0	2,323
0601102D Def Medical Science	2,021	2,021	0	0
0602227D Medical Free Electr	19,248	19,248	19,248	19,248
0602787D Def Medical Tech	6,737	6,737	6,737	6,737
0603002D Medical Adv Techn	4,701	11,001	4,701	11,001
Sandia Lab Res	0	(4,000)	0	*(4,000)
Cell Adhes Molecule	0	(2,300)	0	*(2,300)
060378D Cooperative DOD/DVA Res	0	30,000	20,000	*20,000
Subtotal	36,075	72,375	50,686	59,309
Total	336,947	520,589	392,764	518,049

Some funds have been realigned from either the House or Senate recommendations to a different appropriation or program element to more correctly budget for a project in the account in which funds will be obligated and expended.

CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

BREAST CANCER

The conferees recommend \$25,000,000 for breast cancer research. This funding should be used to continue the fiscal year 1992 and 1993 breast cancer research program in accordance with the standards outlined by the Institute of Medicine recommendations. The conferees agree that the Department should continue this important program in future budget requests.

DOD/DVA SHARING

The conferees recommend \$20,000,000 to continue cooperative sharing arrangements between the Departments of Defense and Veterans' Affairs, instead of \$30,000,000 as proposed by the House. In addition, the conferees encourage the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs to continue to work jointly with the Department of Veterans' Affairs to pursue any sharing arrangements which may be advantageous to both Departments.

WALTER REED ARMY INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH (WRAIR)

The conferees strongly support the House position and direct the Department to make

the new WRAIR a top priority and to proceed with the obligation and expenditure of funds appropriated for this project immediately.

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL TELEMEDICINE TESTBED FACILITY

The conferees recommend \$1,000,000 for a facility to make use of advanced technology to provide high quality, on-site medical care for injured and ill military and civilian patients at remote locations.

LOUISIANA MEDICAL FOUNDATION/TOURO INFIRMARY STUDY

The conferees recommend \$11,200,000 and direct that this funding be used for a research grant to the Louisiana Medical Foundation and Touro Infirmary in New Orleans only to evaluate an anti-bacterial treatment method of the Desert Storm syndrome already begun and found to be successful for some veterans using established methods for treating diseases associated with bacteriuria.

TRANSURETHRAL HYPERTHERMIA (TUHT)

A recent advance in medical technology offers the opportunity to develop a less invasive alternative to corrective surgery for benign prostatic hyperplasia. The conferees believe that the Department should move forward with a randomized multi-year trial comparing TUHT patients with those who receive surgical therapy using veterans as the target population. The conferees request the

Department to report back on joint DOD/DVA efforts to move forward with such an effort not later than March 31, 1994. The report should include, but not be limited to: estimated total cost of such an effort, projected number of participants to be included, and the location of VA hospitals to be included in this multiyear trial.

MADIGAN ENT MINIMALLY INVASIVE SURGICAL SIMULATION

The conferees recommend \$2,000,000 to develop and evaluate a minimally invasive prototype surgical simulator to establish real time requirements for tactile feedback and computer image synthesis for training surgical and trauma care procedures. This project, which shall involve Madigan Army Medical Center, is an important step in the technological evolution of surgical simulation into the virtual reality training environment.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION, ARMY

Amendment No. 89: Appropriates \$5,427,546,000 instead of \$5,560,082,000 as proposed by the House and \$5,275,385,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT TEST & EVAL ARMY, DEFENSE RESEARCH SCIENCES	203,695	188,945	177,588	190,774
ELECTROMECHANICS AND HYPERVELOCITY PHYSICS	3,712	8,712	3,712	5,712
MATERIALS TECHNOLOGY	11,288	11,288	15,288	17,288
ELECTRONIC SURVIVABILITY AND FUZING TECHNOLOGY	28,793	36,793	28,793	34,793
TRACTOR HIP	11,921	11,921	11,921	13,921
AVIATION TECHNOLOGY	34,150	36,650	34,150	35,150
LASER WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY	510	5,510	510	4,510
MODELING AND SIMULATION		10,000	20,000	10,000
COMBAT VEHICLE AND AUTOMOTIVE TECHNOLOGY	38,994	54,494	38,994	39,494
CHEMICAL, SMOKE AND EQUIPMENT DEFEATING TECHNOLOGY	37,766	51,985	37,766	39,585
WEAPONS AND MUNITIONS TECHNOLOGY	34,794	38,794	34,794	35,794
ELECTRONICS AND ELECTRONIC DEVICES	19,400	27,400	19,400	24,900
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY TECHNOLOGY	21,229	68,729	26,629	54,129
AIRBORNE RECONNAISSANCE LOW (ARL)		7,760		7,760
MILITARY ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGY	41,183	41,933	41,183	41,383
LOGISTICS TECHNOLOGY	28,453	32,953	28,453	31,453
MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY	86,711	87,461	90,461	94,761
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	63,044	66,514	63,044	
LOGISTICS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	12,913	14,913	12,913	12,913
MEDICAL ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	40,346	112,996	41,096	115,000
AVIATION ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	53,073	53,073	29,873	41,473
WEAPONS AND MUNITIONS AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	17,291	30,791	17,291	27,291

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
COMMAND, CONTROL, COMMUNICATIONS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	16,049	16,049	8,049	8,049
TRACTOR HIRE	7,355	7,355	4,355	4,355
TRACTOR RED	7,629	7,629	15,629	15,629
ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME (AIDS) RESEARCH	3,410	33,410	35,000	33,410
GLOBAL SURVEILLANCE/AIR DEFENSE/PRECISION STRIKE TECHN	29,484	29,484	10,113	21,113
EW TECHNOLOGY	28,533	32,833	28,533	32,833
MISSILE AND ROCKET ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	46,497	35,997	61,497	46,497
JOINT SERVICE SMALL ARMS PROGRAM	5,529	5,529	5,529	5,529
LINE-OF-SIGHT, ANTITANK (LOSAT)		25,000		5,000
NIGHT VISION ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	38,661	38,661	30,961	34,811
ADVANCED TACTICAL COMPUTER SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	30,946	33,746	25,208	26,677
ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON (ASAT)			10,000	
TRACTOR TREAD			12,000	12,000
NON-LINE OF SIGHT (N-LOS)	34,702			25,000
ARTILLERY PROPELLANT DEVELOPMENT	12,033	12,033	30,533	30,533
52 CALIBER, M109 HOWITZER SYSTEM		18,700		
ADVANCED TANK ARMAMENT SYSTEM (ATAS)	5,435		5,435	
ARMY DATA DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM	11,757	19,757	11,757	19,757
TACTICAL SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM—ADV DEV	15,422	12,422	15,422	15,422
SINGLE CHANNEL GROUND AND AIRBORNE RADIO SYSTEM (SINCG)		10,000		2,500
TACTICAL ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS—ADV DEV	15,373	10,373	15,373	15,373
AVIATION—ADV DEV	10,759	16,259	10,759	16,259
LOGISTICS AND ENGINEER EQUIPMENT—ADV DEV	14,695	19,695	14,695	15,945
COMBAT SERVICE SUPPORT COMPUTER SYSTEM EVALUATING AND	20,502	20,502	24,502	24,502
NBC DEFENSE SYSTEM—ADV DEV	32,163	40,944	32,163	40,944
MEDICAL SYSTEM—ADV DEV	27,628	27,628	21,628	21,628
AIRCRAFT AVIONICS	5,061	15,061	5,061	5,061
EW DEVELOPMENT	60,453	84,953	62,453	84,453
TRI-SERVICE STANDOFF ATTACK MISSILE	89,682		84,782	43,382
ALL SOURCE ANALYSIS SYSTEM	971	15,971	971	4,471
JAVELIN	44,937	44,937	47,437	47,437
HEAVY TACTICAL VEHICLES	476	2,476	476	2,476
ADVANCED COMMAND AND CONTROL VEHICLE (AC2V)	8,654	28,654	8,654	10,654
LIGHT TACTICAL WHEELED VEHICLES	2,064			
ENGINEER MOBILITY EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT	13,304	16,404	13,304	16,404
NON-SYSTEM TRAINING DEVICES—ENG DEV	62,669	52,669	62,669	57,669
AUTOMATIC TEST EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT	14,472	23,472	14,472	23,472
TACTICAL ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM—ENG DEV	52,547	37,547	52,547	52,547
TRACTOR BAT	117,008	78,008	110,008	120,008
AVIATION—ENG DEV	5,733	11,033	5,733	9,033
WEAPONS AND MUNITIONS—ENG DEV	15,365	30,365	15,365	20,365
LOGISTICS AND ENGINEER EQUIPMENT—ENG DEV	29,372	25,552	29,372	25,552
MEDICAL MATERIEL/MEDICAL BIOLOGICAL DEFENSE EQUIPMENT	21,128	21,128	19,569	19,569
SENSE AND DESTROY ARMAMENT MISSILE—ENG DEV	41,011	98,672	5,000	28,500
NON-COOPERATIVE TARGET RECOGNITION—ENG DEV	34,547	46,547	34,547	34,547
ARMY TACTICAL COMMAND & CONTROL SYSTEMS (ATCCS) ENG DE	37,227	37,227	22,227	22,227
RADAR DEVELOPMENT	25,834		25,834	17,934
COMBAT VEHICLE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS	69,972	137,572	89,972	114,972
HORIZONTAL BATTLEFIELD INTEGRATION		25,000		20,000
AIRCRAFT MODIFICATIONS/PRODUCT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS	19,410	19,410	19,410	13,910
MISSILE/AIR DEFENSE PRODUCT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM	59,782	68,782	59,782	65,782
OTHER MISSILE PRODUCT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS	66,438	72,438	66,438	68,438
TRACTOR CARD	7,615	7,615	10,615	11,115
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	41,294	62,694	41,294	56,294
SATCOM GROUND ENVIRONMENT	153,931	122,633	153,931	137,633
DOD HIGH ENERGY LASER TEST FACILITY	4,808	26,608	24,808	24,808
LAMP/LANSC				15,000
SUPPORT OF OPERATIONAL TESTING	58,433	58,433	53,433	53,433
PROGRAMWIDE ACTIVITIES	96,011	103,011	86,011	93,011
MUNITIONS STANDARDIZATION, EFFECTIVENESS AND SAFETY	13,763	23,991	19,763	23,991
ENVIRONMENTAL COMPLIANCE	44,014	48,014	44,014	46,764
BASE OPERATIONS—ROD&E	274,409	274,409	269,409	269,409
MANAGEMENT HEADQUARTERS (RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT)	11,951	11,951	23,951	23,951
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT		75,000	24,400	43,200
GENERAL REDUCTION, OVERHEAD		-70,000		
TEST AND SIMULATION TECHNOLOGY			69,810	
UNDERGROUND TEST			38,579	
WEAPONS SYSTEMS LETHALITY			10,350	
WEAPONS SYSTEMS OPERABILITY			17,257	
CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL TECHNOLOGY			11,423	
CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVERSION TECHNOLOGY			21,465	
CLOSED ACCOUNT BUDGETING			-52,499	

EXPLANATION OF PROJECT LEVEL ADJUSTMENTS

The conferees agree to the following specific program adjustments. DD Form 1414 for

fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires

prior approval. Amounts shown are in thousands of dollars.

Army

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conf
ARMY				
Defense Research Sciences	203,695	188,945	177,588	190,774
Medical—Nutrition		250		* 250
Automatic Target Recognition		0	-1,700	0
Vehicle Propulsion		0	-2,482	0
Air Mobility		0	-1,456	0
Environmental—AMC		0	-7,548	0
Excess growth		0	-13,596	-13,596
Medical—Serum cholesterol		0	425	* 425
General reduction		-15,000	0	0
Materials Technology	11,288	11,288	15,288	17,288
Hardened materials		0	4,000	* 4,000
Ductile iron		0	0	* 2,000
Electronic Survivability and Fuzing Technology	28,793	36,793	28,793	34,793
Passive microwave camera		6,000	0	* 4,000
Ultra Wide Band Radar		2,000	0	2,000
[NOTE: UWB Radar earmarked at \$3,862,000]*				
Aviation Technology	34,150	36,650	34,150	35,150
ARVTCAD		2,500	0	* 1,000
[NOTE: Army is directed to follow House report language concerning ARVTCAD.]				
Laser Weapons Technology	510	5,510	510	4,510
Solid-state dye laser		2,400	0	* 2,000
Hi—power diode laser		2,500	0	* 2,000
Combat Vehicle and Automotive Technology	38,994	54,494	38,994	39,494
Land Vehicle—Composites		15,000	0	0

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conf
Air Brake Test		500	0	* 500
Chemical, Smoke and Equipment Defeating Tech	37,766	51,985	37,766	39,585
Transfer from Air Force		1,819	0	1,819
International R&D		10,000	0	0
General		2,400	0	0
Weapons and Munitions Technology	34,794	38,794	34,794	35,794
Longhorn AAP		4,000	0	* 1,000
Electronics and Electronic Devices	19,400	27,400	19,400	24,900
SIPE		5,000	0	* 2,500
Battery Technology		3,000	0	* 3,000
Environmental Quality Technology	21,229	68,729	26,629	54,129
National Defense Center for Environmental Excellence (NDCEE)	[5,000]	5,000	0	5,000
[NOTE: NDCEE earmarked at \$10,000,000.] *				
Jefferson Proving Ground—Unexploded Ordnance		10,000	0	* 10,000
Joint Agriculture/DOD Project		20,000	0	* 5,000
National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL)		2,000	0	1,000
Bioremediation Technology		2,000	0	0
Bioremediation Education, Science and Technology Centers (BEST)		4,000	0	2,000
Facility Environmental Management and Monitoring System (FEMMS)		4,500	0	* 4,500
Hawaii Small Business Development Center		0	5,400	* 5,400
Military Engineering Technology	41,183	41,933	41,183	41,383
Natural Gas Desiccant Cooling		750	0	* 200
Logistics Technology	28,453	32,953	28,453	31,453
Cold Pasteurization/Sterilization Techniques		2,000	0	* 2,000
Quality Quantification and Enhancement of Combat Rations		2,000	0	* 500
XM1098 Water Tank Semitrailer		500	0	* 500
Weapons and Munitions Advanced Technology	17,291	30,791	17,291	27,291
Lethality Technology Programs		7,500	0	* 4,000
MX-982 155mm ER Projectile		5,000	0	* 5,000
Cannon Caliber Electro-Magnetic Launcher		1,000	0	1,000
[NOTE: Cannon Caliber EM Launcher earmarked at \$2,500,000.] *				
Global Surveillance/Air Defense/Precision Strike	29,484	29,484	10,113	21,113
Precision Strike		0	18,894	7,894
Tractor Strike		0	477	477
Electronic Warfare Technology	28,533	32,833	28,533	32,833
Stingray		4,300	0	* 4,300
Missile and Rocket Advanced Technology	46,497	35,997	61,497	46,497
Enhanced FOG-M	[10,500]	0	[25,500]	* [10,500]
Line-of-Sight, Antitank (LOSAT)		25,000	0	* 5,000
Non-Line of Sight (NLOS)	34,702	0	0	* 25,000
Artillery Propellant Development	12,033	12,033	30,523	30,533
Unicharge Propellant/S2 Caliber Howitzer		0	18,500	* 18,500
Army Data Distribution System	11,757	19,757	11,757	19,757
Enhanced Position Location Reporting System		8,000	0	* 8,000
Aviation Advanced Development	10,759	16,259	10,759	16,259
Aircrew Integrated Ensemble		3,700	0	* 3,700
Integrated Common Helmet		1,800	0	* 1,800
Logistics and Engineer Equipment Adv Dev	14,695	19,695	14,695	15,945
Laser Vibration Sensing System		5,000	0	* 1,250
Electronic Warfare Development	60,453	84,953	62,453	84,453
TACJAM—A		22,500	0	* 22,500
Advanced Tactical Radar Jammer (ATRJ)		2,000	0	* 500
Study on Jamming Requirements		0	2,000	1,000
[NOTE: Jamming Requirements Study earmarked at \$2,000,000.] *				
Javelin	44,937	44,937	47,437	47,437
Classified		0	2,500	* 2,500
Heavy Tactical Vehicles	476	2,476	476	2,476
Palletized Load System (PLS)		2,000	0	* 2,000
Advanced Command and Control Vehicle	8,654	28,654	8,654	10,654
Accelerate		18,000	0	0
Intercom System/Mission Module		2,000	0	* 2,000
Automatic Test Equipment Development	14,472	23,472	14,472	23,472
Test Program Sets—Apache Longbow and Kiowa Warrior		9,000	0	* 9,000
Aviation Engineering Development	5,733	11,033	5,733	9,033
Aviation Life Support System		3,300	0	3,300
[NOTE: Aviation Life Support System earmarked at \$5,733,000.] *				
Aircraft Concurrent Engineering T&E Center		2,000	0	0
Weapons and Munitions Engineering Development	15,365	30,365	15,365	20,365
Joint Advanced Rocket System		10,000	0	0
120mm Mortar Training Round		5,000	0	* 5,000
Bunker Defeat Munition	[6,303]	[6,303]	[6,303]	* [6,303]
Aircraft Mod/Product Improvement Program	19,410	19,410	19,410	19,910
Classified				5,500
Missile/Air Defense Product Improvement Program	59,872	68,782	59,782	65,782
Complementary Missile w/Avenger System		9,000	0	* 6,000
Other Missile Product Improvement Program	66,438	72,438	66,438	68,438
Insensitive Rocket Motors		4,000	0	0
Hellfire Training Round		2,000	0	* 2,000
Classified	41,294	62,694	41,294	56,294
X-ROD		21,400	0	* 15,000
High Energy Laser Test Facility (HELSTF)	4,808	26,808	24,808	* 24,808
LAMP/LANSIC				* 15,000
[NOTE: Army is directed to transfer funds without delay to the Defense Nuclear Agency for execution of this project upon the determination by the Secretaries of Defense and Energy that the project will make a significant contribution to enhancing national security.]				
Programwide Activities	96,011	103,011	86,011	93,011
Medical Diagnostic Imaging Support (MDIS)		7,000	0	* 7,000
General reduction		0	10,000	10,000
Munitions Standardization, Effectiveness and Safety	13,763	23,991	19,763	23,991
Ammunition Demilitarization		4,228	0	4,228
Plasma Centrifugal Furnace		6,000	6,000	* 6,000
Environmental Compliance	44,014	48,014	44,014	46,764
Ft Ord		4,000	0	2,750
Management Headquarters	11,951	11,951	23,951	23,951
Akamai (MDIS)		0	12,000	* 12,000
Manufacturing Technology	0	75,000	24,400	43,200
National Defense Center for Environmental Excellence (NDCEE)		20,000	0	* 20,000
Composites		10,000	0	* 2,500
Instrumented Factory for Gears (INFAC)		8,500	0	* 4,700
Advanced Powder Metallurgy Disks		2,000	0	* 1,000
National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST)		2,000	0	0
Army requirements		32,500	24,400	15,000

MATERIALS TECHNOLOGY

The conferees agree to provide \$17,288,000 for this program element. The conferees agree to provide \$4,000,000 only for the hardened materials development program as proposed by the Senate.

In addition, the conferees agree to provide \$2,000,000 over the request, as authorized, for cast ductile iron evaluation efforts. Funds for development and evaluation of cast ductile iron munitions are specifically denied. The conferees note ongoing efforts to develop cast ductile iron tracked vehicle components, including track shoes, and believe the Army should consider directing a portion of these funds to the Tank and Automotive Command for field testing of these items.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY TECHNOLOGY

The conferees agree to provide \$54,129,000 for this program element.

National Defense Center for Environmental Excellence (NDCEE). The conferees agree to provide \$10,000,000 for the NDCEE. In addition, the conferees agree that the NDCEE shall perform the projects listed in the House report and evaluate applications of the Adams process.

Unexploded Ordnance Program. The conferees agree to provide \$10,000,000 for research and testing of remediation technology at the Jefferson Proving Ground. In addition, the conferees direct the Secretary of the Army to report on plans to obligate funds available for this initiative and to comply with priorities identified by Congress not later than January 15, 1994.

LOGISTICS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

The conferees agree to provide \$12,913,000, the budget request, for this program element.

Munitions Packaging. The conference agree that \$300,000 of the fiscal year 1993 funds provided for this effort shall be used to pursue the Army's munitions packaging effort with industry to pursue injection-molded plastic technology development.

LINE-OF-SIGHT, ANTITANK (LOSAT)

The conferees agree to provide \$5,000,000 for this program element. The conferees also agree that the Army should continue to pursue the LOSAT technology effort in order to reach Engineering, Manufacturing, and Development of LOSAT in fiscal year 1996. In addition, the conferees agree that the Army should evaluate whether the LOSAT technology can be used on the early concept vehicle.

NON-LINE OF SIGHT (NLOS) SYSTEM

The conferees agree to provide \$25,000,000 only to develop and field an accelerated, resource constrained Non-Line of Sight missile system such that the first unit equipped will occur not later than the third quarter of 1999.

The conferees expect that, prior to the award of a development contract for this accelerated NLOS program, the Department of the Army will provide program, schedule, and cost data to the defense committees.

Further, because of the critical requirement to deploy the NLOS system to the light, early entry forces, the conferees acknowledge the need and support a non-classical contracting approach to the development and procurement of the NLOS missile system

ARTILLERY PROPELLANT DEVELOPMENT

The conferees agree to provide \$30,533,000 for artillery propellant development, of

which \$18,500,000 is provided only for the joint development of the XM230 unicharge propellant and the XM297 52 caliber cannon.

The conferees expect the Department of the Army to complete type classification of the XM230 unicharge propellant for 39 caliber howitzers not later than the third quarter of fiscal year 1994 with a follow-on type classification for 52 caliber howitzers on a time scale consistent with the AFAS program to provide a backup armament suite should the preferred liquid propellant not succeed. The conferees further direct the Army to develop a mount that will allow a "bolt in/bolt out" integration of the XM297 cannon with the Paladin turret.

Finally, in view of the Paladin interface considerations, the conferees expect the Program Executive Office, Armaments to manage these activities.

LOGISTICS AND ENGINEER EQUIPMENT—
ADVANCE DEVELOPMENT

The conferees agree to provide \$15,945,000 for this program element, of which \$1,250,000 is only for laser vibration sensing technology research on bridge, overpass and highway structural integrity assessment and shall be conducted by the Constructed Facilities Center under the aegis of the U.S. Army Belvoir RD&E Center, Bridge Division.

ALL SOURCE ANALYSIS SYSTEM (ASAS)

The conferees agree to provide \$4,471,000 for the All Source Analysis System, an addition of \$3,500,000 to the fiscal year 1994 budget request. The conferees also direct that the additional funding provided shall only be used for continuing the upgrade of the communications and intelligence capabilities of the Army's existing Single Source Processor—SIGINT and continuing the development of a lightweight portable equivalent for support of contingency operations.

ADVANCED COMMAND AND CONTROL VEHICLE

The conferees agree to provide \$10,654,000 for the Advanced Command and Control Vehicle, of which \$2,000,000 is only for integration of the vehicle intercom system and mission module.

The conferees agree to delete the additional funding proposed by the House for acceleration of this program. This action is taken because of fiscal constraints and should not indicate any lessening of the conferees' desires to accelerate this program along with the MIA2 tank upgrade program.

BRILLIANT ANTI-ARMOR TECHNOLOGY (BAT)

The conferees agree to provide \$120,008,000 for the continued development of the Brilliant Anti-Armor Technology system.

Based upon the decision by the conferees to take the Army out of the TSSAM program, the conferees agree to provide an additional \$10,000,000 above the Senate allowance for the initiation of the studies and design work for the possible integration of the BAT on the Multiple Launch Rocket.

SENSE AND DESTROY ARMAMENT MISSILE
(SADARM)

The conferees agree to terminate the SADARM program as proposed by the Senate. The conference agreement provides \$28,500,000, the amount identified by the Army as required for the orderly termination of the SADARM program in fiscal year 1994.

COMBAT VEHICLE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

The conferees agree to provide \$114,972,000 for this program element, of which \$45,000,000

is for the MIA2 tank upgrade program; the MIA2 electronic data processing, storage and retrieval system; and the Bradley Fighting Vehicle upgrade program.

In addition, the conferees agree to provide \$11,403,000, the budget request, for the Improved Recovery Vehicle.

HORIZONTAL BATTLEFIELD INTEGRATION

Both the House and Senate Committees addressed the importance of the Army's program to digitize the battlefield. Therefore, the conferees agree to provide \$20,000,000 for these efforts. Prior to obligating these funds, the Army should report to the defense committees on how these funds will be utilized and how they fit into the Army's overall plan on digitizing the battlefield.

As a related issue, the conferees agree to delete the additional funding recommended by the House for avionics upgrades due to fiscal constraints. However, the conferees agree that any plan of the Army's to digitize the battlefield should include aviation assets as well.

MISSILE/AIR DEFENSE PRODUCT IMPROVEMENT
PROGRAM

The conferees agree to provide \$65,782,000 for this program element, of which \$6,000,000 is only for the ground-to-air complementary missile live-fire tests from the Avenger. The Secretary of the Army shall report the results of the test to the congressional defense committees not later than June 15, 1994.

HIGH ENERGY LASER SYSTEM TEST FACILITY
(HELSTF)

The conferees agree to provide \$24,808,000 for the DOD High Energy Laser System Test Facility (HELSTF). The conferees agree with the restrictions placed in the House report, but stress that they apply only to the high energy laser capabilities at HELSTF. The conferees agree that the Department may use the funds provided for HELSTF to study the future status of HELSTF. In addition, the conferees direct that the report requested in last year's conference and Senate reports on the long-term plan for HELSTF be submitted not later than January 15, 1994.

Amendment No. 90: Restores House language concerning development and testing of a new insulin derivative for the treatment of diabetes and hypoglycemia in the dependents of active duty military members; restores and amends House language earmarking funds for a Lyme disease program; deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation subject to authorization; and deletes Senate language earmarking funds for an upgrade of the Los Alamos Meson Physics Facility/Los Alamos Neutron Scattering Center.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND
EVALUATION, NAVY

Amendment No. 91: Appropriates \$8,365,786,000 for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Navy instead of \$8,604,777,000 as proposed by the House and \$7,925,369,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT TEST & EVAL NAVY				
DEFENSE RESEARCH SCIENCES	416,922	428,422	396,922	400,422
SURFACE/AEROSPACE SURVEILLANCE AND WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY	67,305	92,305	63,605	68,605
SURFACE SHIP TECHNOLOGY	17,495	38,795	17,495	19,320
MISSION SUPPORT TECHNOLOGY	34,424	48,224	34,424	41,849
MATERIALS, ELECTRONICS AND COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY	71,063	72,563	71,063	73,063
UNDERSEA SURVEILLANCE WEAPON TECHNOLOGY	107,960	108,960	107,960	108,210
MINE COUNTERMEASURES, MINING AND SPECIAL WARFARE TECHN	21,944	23,944	21,944	23,944
OCEANOGRAPHIC AND ATMOSPHERIC TECHNOLOGY	37,711	47,511	37,711	47,511
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	86,113	70,000	73,309	
GENERAL REDUCTION, 92 LEVEL		-84,000		
AIR SYSTEMS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT	30,005	80,005	24,460	36,960
GLOBAL SURVEILLANCE/AIR DEFENSE/PRECISION STRIKE TECHN	50,999	30,000	36,999	30,000
UNDERSEA SUPERIORITY TECHNOLOGY DEMONSTRATION	95,438	70,000	57,038	62,038
SHIP CONCEPT ADVANCED DESIGN	18,820	8,700	18,320	14,010
MARINE CORPS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY DEMONSTRATION (ATD)	35,815	27,587	35,815	25,787
MEDICAL DEVELOPMENT	16,956	60,148	16,956	55,004
MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND TRAINING ADV TECH DEV	18,652	22,452	13,652	17,452
GENERIC LOGISTICS R&D TECHNOLOGY DEMONSTRATIONS	13,720	38,520	13,720	15,720
ADVANCED ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE TECHNOLOGY	49,172	68,172	49,172	64,172
SHALLOW WATER MCM DEMOS	5,148	5,148	11,148	11,148
ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TRANSITION	63,394	40,000	85,894	85,894
C3 ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	10,747	10,747	2,747	2,747
TACTICAL SPACE OPERATIONS	2,018		2,018	
STRATEGIC SUB & WEAPONS SYSTEM SUPPORT	54,295	54,295	15,869	30,869
SSBN SECURITY/SURVIVABILITY PROGRAM	27,835	27,835	30,835	36,835
NAVY STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS	36,184	26,184	36,184	31,184
TRAINING SYSTEM AIRCRAFT	32,565	32,565	30,939	32,565
AVIATION SURVIVABILITY	13,672	23,072	13,672	23,072
TACTICAL AIRBORNE RECONNAISSANCE	30,358	3,141	6,241	33,141
ADVANCED COMBAT SYSTEMS TECHNOLOGY	3,750	3,750		
UNDERSEA WARFARE & MCM DEVELOPMENT	65,660	50,000	45,658	45,658
ADVANCED SUBMARINE COMBAT SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	20,341	20,341	20,341	23,341
SHIP COMBAT SURVIVABILITY	17,315	14,588	17,315	17,315
RETRACT JUNIPER	32,560	22,560	32,560	32,560
SURFACE ASW	21,150	21,150		
SUBMARINE TACTICAL WARFARE SYSTEMS	9,518	9,518	6,577	6,577
ADVANCED SURFACE MACHINERY SYSTEMS	92,328	92,328	69,579	83,000
CONVENTIONAL MUNITIONS	42,632	42,632	28,814	35,000
ADVANCED WARHEAD DEVELOPMENT (MK-50)			1,500	16,000
MARINE CORPS ASSAULT VEHICLES	20,554	28,554	20,554	20,554
MARINE CORPS GROUND COMBAT/SUPPORT SYSTEM	27,624	21,570	27,624	21,570
RETRACT MAPLE	124,408	124,408	101,823	106,520
RETRACT ELM	62,997	62,997	57,797	57,797
SHIP SELF DEFENSE	237,204	341,904	248,204	289,754
WARFARE SYSTEMS ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING	7,033	7,033	3,517	3,517
GUN WEAPON SYSTEM TECHNOLOGY	17,247	38,247	17,247	38,247
AV-8B AIRCRAFT—ENG DEV	18,284	19,784	18,284	18,684
AIR/OCEAN EQUIPMENT ENGINEERING	6,028	6,028	3,643	5,000
P-3 MODERNIZATION PROGRAM	15,134	21,634	5,235	5,235
V-22A	82,295	82,295	10,000	10,000
AIR CREW SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	11,126	14,976	11,126	14,976
EW DEVELOPMENT	128,850	100,000	128,850	115,000
TRI-SERVICE STANDOFF ATTACK MISSILE	75,430		75,430	75,430
ADVANCED MEDIUM RANGE AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE (AMRAAM)	15,159	15,159		
AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE SYSTEMS ENGINEERING	7,098	7,098	22,026	
STANDARD MISSILE IMPROVEMENTS	63,022	63,022	33,934	63,022
AIRBORNE MCM	33,155	43,155	33,155	33,155
SSN-688 AND TRIDENT MODERNIZATION	56,549	56,549	51,833	54,749
SUBMARINE TACTICAL WARFARE SYSTEM	25,427	34,427	25,427	34,427
SHIP CONTRACT DESIGN/LIVE FIRE T&E	47,137	37,137	47,137	42,137
NAVY TACTICAL COMPUTER RESOURCES	17,572	22,572	17,572	17,572
LIGHTWEIGHT TORPEDO DEVELOPMENT				9,000
PACE AND ELECTRONIC WARFARE (SEW) ARCHITECTURE/ENGINEE	11,916	6,916	2,167	2,167
SHIP SELF DEFENSE	116,760	118,860	123,823	123,823
NAVIGATION/ID SYSTEM	80,047	83,047	79,097	79,097
DISTRIBUTED SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM	135,879	135,879	126,596	126,596
SEW SURVEILLANCE/RECONNAISSANCE SUPPORT	17,863	11,683	17,863	11,683
F/A-18 SQUADRONS	485,496	1,485,496	1,458,496	1,471,996
E-2 SQUADRONS	48,930	48,930		18,930
INTEGRATED SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM	71,781	74,781	71,781	74,781
CONSOLIDATED TRAINING SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	37,200	46,200	37,200	40,200
SURFACE ASW COMBAT SYSTEM INTEGRATION	24,905	24,905	19,905	24,905
F-14 UPGRADE	71,995	149,995	35,997	71,995
JAST				30,000
MARINE CORPS GROUND COMBAT/SUPPORTING ARMS SYSTEMS	24,259	17,615	24,259	19,115
MARINE CORPS COMBAT SERVICES SUPPORT	9,656	595	9,656	595
MARINE CORPS INTELLIGENCE/ELECTRONICS WARFARE SYSTEMS	22,772	22,772	19,772	22,772
MARINE CORPS COMMAND/CONTROL/COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS	36,735	46,735	36,735	39,235
MK (MARK) 46 TORPEDO			5,000	
NAVY SPACE AND ELECTRONIC WARFARE (SEW) SUPPORT	5,819	4,319	4,258	4,258
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	628,026	415,425	561,826	452,826
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	44,461	44,461	47,286	53,461
TARGET SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	37,474	37,474	25,311	30,402
TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICES	10,273	14,773	10,273	14,273
MANAGEMENT, TECHNICAL & INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT	12,787	12,787	8,456	8,456
RD&E INSTRUMENTATION MODERNIZATION	39,419	39,419	13,593	39,419
RD&E SHIP AND AIRCRAFT SUPPORT	80,587	80,587	75,587	75,587
TEST AND EVALUATION SUPPORT	293,422	293,422	283,422	283,422
MARINE CORPS TACTICAL EXPLOITATION OF NATIONAL CAPABIL	1,314	4,314	1,314	4,314
LONG RANGE PLANNING SUPPORT	14,374	3,000	6,055	9,374
DEFENSE METEOROLOGICAL SATELLITE PROGRAM (DMSP)	11,550	666	11,550	11,550
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT		205,000	24,600	142,225
GENERAL REDUCTION, OVERHEAD		-120,000		
WEAPONS SYSTEMS LETHALITY			10,350	
WEAPONS SYSTEMS OPERABILITY			17,257	
GRANTS, SUBSIDIES, AND CONTRIBUTIONS—RD&E			-150,000	

EXPLANATION OF PROJECT LEVEL ADJUSTMENTS

The conferees agree to the following specific program adjustments. DD Form 1414 for

fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires

prior approval. Amounts shown are in thousands of dollars.

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conf.
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION, NAVY				
Defense Research Sciences	416,922	428,422	396,922	400,422
General Increase for Authorized Projects		11,500		2,000
HELSTF			-20,000	-20,000
Diffusion Tomography				*1,500
Wave Research			(10,000)	*(10,000)
Molecular Design Institute				*(10,000)
Surface/Aerospace Surveillance and Weapons Technology	67,305	92,305	63,305	68,605
Wide Area Surveillance		-5,000		-5,000
Free Electron Laser		25,000		*5,000
Polar Ozone Aerosol Monitor		5,000		*5,000
Laser Technology			-3,700	-3,700
[Note: Conferees direct Navy to MIPR funds to the Army to augment the existing free electron laser contract rather than to initiate a new contract.]				
Surface Ship Technology	17,495	38,795	17,495	19,320
Air Circuit Breakers		3,300		*825
Composites Technology		15,000		0
Electronic Technical Manual		3,000		*1,000
Mission Support Technology	34,424	48,224	34,424	41,849
Aircrew Protection		3,600		3,600
Phase Change Materials		1,000		*1,000
General Increase for Authorized Projects		8,500		2,125
Ergonomic Seats		700		*700
Aircrew Protection		(5,600)		*(5,600)
Materials, Electronics, and Computer Technology	71,063	72,563	71,063	73,063
Distributed Manufacturing Demo		1,500		2,000
Air Systems Advanced Technology Development	30,005	80,005	24,460	36,960
AARGM		12,500		*12,500
SA/CRFMS		15,500		0
Open Architecture		13,000		0
Avionics Racks		9,000		0
Advanced Avionics		0	-5,545	-5,545
Global Surveillance/Air Defense Precision Strike	50,999	30,000	36,999	30,000
General Reduction		-20,999		-6,999
Apollo AWPOM			5,000	-5,000
Advanced Missile Propulsion			-3,000	-3,000
Classified			-3,000	-3,000
Advanced Strike Planning			-3,000	-3,000
Undersea Superiority Technology	95,438	70,000	57,038	62,038
Demonstration				0
General Reduction		-25,438		0
Airborne Minefield Reconnaissance			-10,000	-10,000
UUV Surveillance			-5,000	-5,000
Semi-autonomous UUV			-4,000	-4,000
Submarine Machinery Cradle			-11,400	-11,400
An/SQS-53C Improvement			-8,000	-8,000
Near Term UUV For Mine Warfare				5,000
Classified Earmark		(8,000)		*(1,000)
Ship Concept Advanced Design	18,820	8,700	18,320	14,010
DD-21		-10,120	-500	500
General Reduction				4,310
Marine Corps ATD	35,815	27,587	35,815	25,787
Expeditionary Vehicle		-6,799		-6,799
Engines/propulsion		-3,229		-3,229
SRAW		1,800		0
Manpower, Personnel, Training	18,652	22,452	13,652	17,452
IMAT		3,800		*3,800
General Reduction			-5,000	-5,000
Advanced ASW Technology	49,172	68,172	49,172	64,172
Extended Echo Ranging		4,000		0
LLFA		15,000		*15,000
Acoustic projectors (within LLPA)		(5,000)		*(5,000)
Advanced Technology Transition	63,394	40,000	85,894	85,894
General Reduction		-23,000		
Fuselage Structure			-3,000	-3,000
Gun-launched Airframe			-4,000	-4,000
Infrared Sensor			-3,500	-3,500
Advanced Missile Multitemission Propulsion Technologies			3,000	*3,000
Mountain Top Demo			36,000	*30,000
Terminal Placement of Weapons		(4,500)		*(3,800)
MHD Open Ocean Demo		(5,000)		*(1,000)
Advanced ASW Receiver			(4,200)	*(4,200)
LM-2500R Engine				*(1,250)
Advanced Missile Multitemission Propulsion Technologies				*(16,400)
Strategic Sub/Weapon Support System	54,295	54,295	15,869	30,869
CSS-MK-2			-2,126	-2,126
Trident II Propellant			-15,000	0
Alternative Warhead			-4,500	-4,500
Trident II Support			-5,400	-5,400
Computer Study			-3,800	-3,800
Trident Study			-4,100	-4,100
Missile Study			-3,500	-3,500
Training System Aircraft	32,565	32,565	30,939	32,565
JPATS			-1,230	-1,230
In-House Support			-396	-396
Anthropomorphic Cockpits				*1,626
Advanced Submarine System Development	142,068	142,068	142,068	142,068
Dry Deck Shelters		(17,000)		(0)
Superlite Propulsor			(1,500)	*(1,500)
Advanced Surface Machinery Systems	92,328	92,328	69,579	83,000
Permanent Magnet Motor		(7,500)		*(7,500)
[Note: Conferees agree to a general reduction rather than specific reductions proposed by the Senate.]				
Ship Self Defense	237,204	341,904	248,204	289,754
Airship		20,000		*10,000
E-2/E-3 CEC Integration		25,000		*10,000
CEC		20,000		*10,000
CEC/MSAG		6,000		*1,500
CIWS Ammo		3,000		*3,000
B-52 ECM		3,000		*750
QRCC		11,000	11,000	*11,000
NESEA Data Fusion		3,800		*3,800
Sealift/Tanker Protection		8,900		0
Surface Target Gun		5,000		*2,500
Classified		-31,000		*-16,000
Classified		10,000		0
Classified (Risk Reduction)		20,000		*16,000
AV-8B	18,284	19,784	18,284	18,684
LAU 138/A Integration		1,500		*400
Electronic Warfare Development	128,850	100,000	128,850	115,000

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conf.
General Reduction		-28,850		-13,850
Post ASPI ECM		(3,000)		(0)
Aegis Combat System Engineering	103,995	103,995	103,995	103,995
LM-2500R Turbine Engine		(5,000)		(0)
Aeroderivative Gas Turbine Engine		(18,000)		(0)
SSN-688 Trident Modernization	56,549	56,549	51,833	54,749
AN/SQQ-5E			-2,916	-0
ASTECs			-1,800	-1,800
Ship Contract Design/Live Fire T&E	47,137	37,137	47,137	42,137
General Reduction		-10,000		-5,000
[Note: Conferees agree that no reduction should be applied to the LX ship.]				
Consolidated Training Systems Development	37,200	46,200	37,200	40,200
Outboard Trainer		9,000		*3,000
Marine Corps Ground Combat/Supporting Arms Systems	24,259	17,615	24,259	19,115
LAV		-2,706		-1,206
Ground Weaponry Product Improvement		-2,799		-2,799
Soldier/Marine Enhancement		-1,139		-1,139
Environmental Protection	44,461	44,461	47,286	53,461
Solid Waste Disposal			9,000	*9,000
Pollution Abatement			-6,175	0
Target Systems Development	37,474	37,474	25,311	30,402
SSST			-6,103	-4,103
SAT			-3,969	-2,969
Threat Simulators			-1,046	0
Surface Target Simulators			-1,045	0
Technical Information Systems	10,273	14,773	10,273	14,273
ATIS		4,500		*4,000
T&E Support	293,422	293,422	283,422	283,422
FOUR			-500	-500
General Reduction			-9,500	-9,500
HIDDENSEE Project		(1,000)		(1,000)
Manufacturing Technology	0	205,000	24,600	142,225
MSAG		7,000		*7,000
Shipbuilding Initiative		10,000		0
NCEMT		40,000		*40,000
LINC		8,000		*3,500
NCAGMT		11,000		*8,000
Laser Assisted Manufacturing		2,000		*1,000
Spray Forming Research		2,500		*2,500
Surface Engineering		13,500		*13,500
Center/Ship Hull Design		8,000		*4,000
EA-6B Upgrades		8,200		*6,000
Cast Ductile Iron		18,000		*12,000
Navy-NIST Link		5,000		0
Great Lakes Composites Consortium		27,900		*6,975
Taconite Process Technology		500		*500
Fiber-optic Acoustic Sensors		3,000		*3,000
EMPF		12,000		*11,000
JLSC Ramp		9,500	3,300	*3,300
Navy Fleet of the Future		2,000		0
NSWC, Crane Louisville Site		5,000		*5,000
Center, Best Manufacturing Practices		4,000		*1,000
Joining Center		3,000		0
Electro-optics Manufacturing		750		*750
NSWC, Indian Head Energetic Materials		3,000	5,000	*1,500
General Increase		1,150		2,000
Electroslag			1,500	*1,500
Advanced Communications Institute				*2,200
Advanced Manufacturing Research Facility				*6,000

[Note: The conferees do not agree to the House language concerning 5 inch 54 projectiles within the cast ductile iron manufacturing technology program.]

ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE

The conferees are concerned about the emerging threat of very quiet diesel-electric and air independent propulsion submarines in the hands of potentially hostile third world countries, and about the state of technology which will allow our Navy to deal effectively with these threats operating in littoral environments. ARPA and the Navy should review the state of the technology programs required to effectively counter this emerging threat.

ADVANCED MARINE BIOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

The conferees agree that the Navy should have some flexibility in transitioning the marine mammals no longer required for this program. In this regard, regulatory agencies should act in consultation with the Marine Mammal Commission when dealing with the Navy on transfers to other protected captive environments or facilities. The Congressional defense committees should be notified in advance of such proposed transfers.

ADVANCED SURFACE MACHINERY SYSTEMS

The conferees agree to provide \$83,000,000. The conferees note the importance of the Intercooled Recuperative Engine (ICR) for future requirements in the Navy's surface combatant fleet. The conferees direct the Secretary of the Navy to proceed on schedule with the establishment of the ICR land-based engineering site at Philadelphia.

ADVANCED WARHEAD DEVELOPMENT (MK-50)

The conferees agree to provide \$16,000,000 for advanced warhead development for the Mk-50 torpedo program. The conferees also direct that none of the funds provided may be obligated until the Department of the Navy reports to the Committee on Appropriations the programmatic objectives, schedule, technical risks, and annual and total costs of the warhead development program.

LIGHTWEIGHT TORPEDO DEVELOPMENT

The conferees agree to provide \$9,000,000 for the development of a lightweight hybrid torpedo. The additional funding provided shall be used to ascertain the feasibility of producing hybrid torpedoes. The conferees also direct that none of the funds provided may be obligated until the Department of the Navy reports to the Committee on Appropriations the programmatic objectives, schedule, technical risks, and annual and total costs of the hybrid torpedo development program.

STRATEGIC SUBMARINE AND WEAPON SYSTEM SUPPORT

The conferees understand that the Navy earlier this year informed Congress that activities had been terminated to explore development of conventional variants of the Trident I and II missiles. No funds were requested in the budget for this purpose, and accordingly the conferees have provided no funds for such efforts in fiscal year 1994. The

conferees would regard initiation of any such activities in fiscal year 1994 as a new start requiring prior approval by the Congressional defense committees.

V-22

The conferees encourage the Defense Department to budget sufficient procurement funds to achieve the Marine Corps' V-22 initial operating capability in 1999, to the extent the Secretary of Defense believes the initial operating capability can be attained in light of the technological maturity and affordability of the program.

F-14

The conferees do not agree to provide an additional \$78,000,000 as proposed by the House for the F/A-14 development program. The conferees do believe that the Secretary of Defense should closely examine the benefits in terms of military warfighting capability that such a program could provide. The conferees would consider a reprogramming request in fiscal year 1994 to initial such a program if warranted.

JOINT ADVANCED STRIKE TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM

The conferees direct that none of the funds provided for the Joint Advanced Strike Technology program may be obligated to support any specific project or sub-project which was denied by other conference agreements in this report. The conferees direct

the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Development, and Acquisition to submit a report to the Congressional defense committees by May 5, 1994 on the JAST organization, program goals, acquisition strategy, funding, and milestones.

TACTICAL AIRBORNE RECONNAISSANCE

The conferees provided \$33,141,000 to develop a capability to meet the Navy and Marine Corps' tactical airborne reconnaissance requirements as a follow-on to the cancelled Advanced Tactical Airborne Reconnaissance System (ATARS) program. The conferees direct that \$3,141,000 is available for the development of the Navy's JSIPS. Of the remaining appropriated funds, no more than \$4,069,000 is available to continue flight tests using the ATARS hardware and software transferred from the Air Force to better define the requirements for the follow-on program. The conferees direct that \$25,931,000 may not be obligated until the Secretary of the Navy submits a report to the Congressional defense committees detailing a program plan, schedule, annual and total funding requirements, and the technical risks associated with developing a F/A-18D tactical reconnaissance capability to satisfy current requirements. Furthermore, the conferees direct that the report include a description and analysis of two program options: an accelerated program and a prudent risk, minimum concurrency program. The conferees further direct that the Navy and Marine Corps take no action in the follow-on program which would preclude the Air Force from eventually acquiring the system to be developed.

C4I FOR THE WARRIOR

The conferees agree that within the appropriated funds for the C4I for the Warrior program, the Navy is to provide \$1,000,000 for the Joint Universal Data Interpreter System effort at St. Ingoes, Maryland.

UNMANNED UNDERSEA VEHICLES

The conferees agree with the Senate direction that the Office of the Secretary of Defense should establish affordable, cost effective priorities among the many projects proposed by the Navy and ARPA related to unmanned undersea vehicles (UUV's) and should present an overall, coordinated program in the fiscal year 1995 budget request. The conferees recognize the requirement for a near-term UUV that can detect mines and minefields and relay such information back to commanders as part of the Navy's clandestine mine reconnaissance concept primarily for amphibious operations.

The conferees believe that meeting this requirement is a high priority and are concerned that the submarine offboard mine

search system (SOMSS) proposed in the budget will not provide such a near-term, affordable capability. In addition, the conferees are concerned that there is no central focus of effort in the Navy regarding the development of UUV's, especially with respect to addressing the near term requirement. The conferees direct that the Director of the Navy's Expeditionary Warfare Division (N85) be assigned the responsibility for establishing the Navy's UUV program priorities.

In order to begin addressing this near-term requirement, the conferees have added \$5,000,000 to the Undersea Superiority Technology Demonstration program element. Of this amount, \$1,000,000 is available only for the classified clandestine mine warfare project proposed by the House. The conferees further direct that funds provided to ARPA for its autonomous mine countermeasures project may not be obligated until the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Development, and Acquisition certify that the ARPA effort is part of the overall plan and meets the priorities established for UUV's.

MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY OFFICE

The conferees do not agree to the House bill language which prohibits use of funds at the Navy Research Laboratory after a certain date unless the Navy's manufacturing technology office is afforded a headquarters level status. The conferees do agree that the Navy's manufacturing technology office should have sufficient organizational visibility and responsibility to obtain maximum benefit from the \$142,255,000 provided in this bill for manufacturing technology. The conferees are particularly concerned that this office be able to influence the adoption of advanced manufacturing technologies and processes in Navy weapon systems as part of the normal acquisition process. The conferees direct that the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Development, and Acquisition submit a plan to the Appropriations Committees by May 5, 1994 to achieve these objectives.

NAVY NUCLEAR FUEL REQUIREMENTS

The conferees are concerned that the United States maintain its technological capabilities for producing naval nuclear fuel. The conferees urge the Secretary of the Navy to submit, no later than May 5, 1994, a report outlining the Navy's current and future requirements and capabilities for producing nuclear fuel. This report should include, if required and appropriate, results of an engineering reconfiguration program study so the Navy may efficiently prepare for future requirements. The conferees direct that no

funds may be obligated to conduct this study without prior approval by the Congressional defense committees.

SHIP SELF DEFENSE

The conferees agree to modify the Senate language restricting the obligation of funds for the Enhanced Sea Sparrow Missile to permit a total of \$4,800,000 to be obligated before the required report is submitted to Congress.

RDT&E INSTRUMENTATION MODERNIZATION

The conferees agree to provide funds for the Navy to buy out the lease of the large cavitation channel to avoid the payment of unnecessary lease costs in fiscal year 1994. However, funds for such acquisitions normally are budgeted in the Military Construction appropriation. The conferees believe the Navy should have complied with normal budgeting practices in this instance and direct that the Office of the Secretary of Defense ensure that Defense Department components do so in the future. The conferees do not regard this action as a precedent.

Amendment No. 92: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides \$1,000,000 as a grant for the National Center for Physical Acoustics.

Amendment No. 93: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides limitations on the Aegis destroyer variant.

Amendment No. 94: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides limitations on Aegis tactical display simplification funds.

Amendment No. 95: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides limitations on Aegis tactical display simplification contracts.

Amendment No. 96: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides limitations on E-2 aircraft upgrades.

Amendment No. 97: Restores language proposed by the House and stricken by the Senate which provides limitations on development of L-X ship.

Amendment No. 98: Deletes language proposed by the House which provides limitations on the funds for the Naval Research Laboratory.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION, AIR FORCE

Amendment No. 99: Appropriates \$12,314,362,000 instead of \$12,608,995,000 as proposed by the House and \$11,847,970,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or the Senate is as follows:

(In thousands of dollars)

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT TEST & EVAL AF				
DEFENSE RESEARCH SCIENCES	241,317	255,317	215,321	236,321
GEOPHYSICS	30,252	37,252	32,530	34,280
MATERIALS	70,805	71,305	70,580	71,305
AEROSPACE FLIGHT DYNAMICS	64,238	64,238	59,738	59,738
HUMAN SYSTEMS TECHNOLOGY	51,392	49,573	50,392	48,573
AEROSPACE PROPULSION	78,100	81,100	66,912	75,506
AEROSPACE AVIONICS	74,835	74,835	66,540	66,540
PERSONNEL TRAINING AND SIMULATION	28,942	28,942	27,579	27,579
CIVIL ENGINEERING AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY	7,187	7,187	3,610	5,187
ROCKET PROPULSION AND ASTRONAUTICS TECHNOLOGY	40,031	51,137	37,931	51,137
ADVANCED WEAPONS	32,961	32,461	47,961	47,461
CONVENTIONAL MUNITIONS	46,653	46,653	35,053	35,053
COMMAND CONTROL AND COMMUNICATIONS	95,957	85,957	95,957	90,957
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	140,976	123,777	121,356	
GENERAL REDUCTION, FY92 LEVEL		-200,000		
ADVANCED MATERIALS FOR WEAPON SYSTEMS	15,825	25,825	15,825	22,825
ADVANCED AVIONICS FOR AEROSPACE VEHICLES	49,226	49,226	14,975	25,725
CREW SYSTEMS AND PERSONNEL PROTECTION TECHNOLOGY	10,460	12,960	10,460	12,960
GLOBAL SURVEILLANCE/AIR DEFENSE/PRECISION STRIKE TECHN	14,999	14,999		
ADVANCED FIGHTER TECHNOLOGY INTEGRATION	15,613	15,613	1,303	1,303
ADVANCED AVIONICS INTEGRATION	30,384	30,384	3,493	3,493
NATIONAL AERO SPACE PLANE TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM	43,259	80,000		40,000

[In thousands of dollars]

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
EW TECHNOLOGY	25,689	25,689	21,678	23,689
SPACE AND MISSILE ROCKET PROPULSION	10,027	11,430	10,627	12,030
BALLISTIC MISSILE TECHNOLOGY	58,980	58,980	900	20,900
AIRBORNE LASER TECHNOLOGY	3,845	3,845		1,945
ADVANCED SPACECRAFT TECHNOLOGY	24,275	24,275	21,091	21,091
SPACE SYSTEMS ENVIRONMENTAL INTERACTIONS TECHNOLOGY	3,500	3,500	3,640	3,640
SPACE SUBSYSTEMS TECHNOLOGY		8,000		8,000
CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY	25,964	25,964	16,964	17,464
ADVANCED RADIATION TECHNOLOGY	55,415	78,315	79,815	94,715
C3I SUBSYSTEM INTEGRATION	15,882	8,882	8,182	8,882
ADVANCED COMPUTING TECHNOLOGY	19,619	19,619	8,119	8,119
C3 ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT	17,066	7,066	2,372	8,900
B-1B (H)	93,543	126,543		49,000
B-2 ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY BOMBER	790,497	838,497	838,497	790,497
MINUTEMAN SQUADRONS	184,335	118,059	137,126	131,090
MINIMUM ESSENTIAL EMERGENCY COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK (ME)	35,634	634	4,034	4,034
MILSTAR SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM (AF TERMINALS)	973,162	873,162	951,062	932,000
ARMS CONTROL IMPLEMENTATION	7,107	4,107	7,107	7,107
WESTERN SPACE LAUNCH FACILITY (WSLF)	9,546	9,546	4,773	9,546
EASTERN SPACE LAUNCH FACILITY (ESLF)	41,242	41,242	30,621	51,242
IMPROVED SPACE BASED TW/AA	214,794	214,794	214,794	110,000
BRIGHT EYES				140,000
NCMC—TW/AA SYSTEM	141,841	141,841	138,341	138,341
SPACETRACK	45,246	45,246	57,021	60,521
DEFENSE SUPPORT PROGRAM	66,777	66,777	51,577	51,577
NUDET DETECTION SYSTEM	9,359	9,359	9,359	9,359
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	297,280	297,280	252,080	278,880
NC-135S	20,811	3,441	20,511	11,826
COMMAND, CONTROL, AND COMMUNICATION APPLICATIONS	9,395	3,395	9,395	9,395
DOD PHYSICAL SECURITY EQUIPMENT—EXTERIOR	2,971	2,971	500	500
C-17 PROGRAM	179,799	154,799	179,799	179,799
SPECIALIZED UNDERGRADUATE PILOT TRAINING	36,835	5,596	2,000	5,596
F-22 EMD	2,250,997	2,250,997	1,925,199	2,088,000
EW DEVELOPMENT	143,433	143,433	118,666	118,666
JOINT TACTICAL FUSION PROGRAM	4,221	2,221	4,221	2,221
JOINT DIRECT ATTACK MUNITION	87,822	87,822	75,422	75,422
COMPUTER RESOURCE TECHNOLOGY TRANSITION (CRTT)	7,137	16,137	7,137	14,137
JOINT TACTICAL INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (JTIDS)	16,113	16,113	11,513	11,513
JOINT SURVEILLANCE/TARGET ATTACK RADAR SYSTEM (JSTARS)	295,228	295,228	264,628	288,728
F-16 SQUADRONS	116,947	76,947	61,524	61,524
F-15E SQUADRONS	91,497	66,497	61,997	66,497
MANNED DESTRUCTIVE SUPPRESSION	20,496	15,496	4,396	4,396
ADVANCED MEDIUM RANGE AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE (AMRAAM)	69,785	54,785	67,785	67,785
FOLLOW-ON TACTICAL RECONNAISSANCE SYSTEM	65,338	17,649	6,638	9,000
AF TENCAP	14,722	4,722	4,722	14,722
OVERSEAS AIR WEAPON CONTROL SYSTEM	19,570	19,570	14,270	14,270
ADVANCED PROGRAM TECHNOLOGY	148,114	162,914	114,214	128,414
ADVANCED SYSTEMS IMPROVEMENTS	129,164	129,164	123,820	123,820
NATIONAL AIRSPACE SYSTEM (NAS) PLAN	18,773	12,773	18,773	15,773
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	295,395	27,320	290,695	290,695
DEFENSE SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM	25,522	20,522	25,522	20,522
INFORMATION SYSTEMS SECURITY PROGRAM	15,418	16,918	15,418	16,918
AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL, APPROACH, AND LANDING SYSTEM (ATC)	9,304	9,304		9,304
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	2,175,965	2,203,524	2,026,665	2,109,563
SPACE TEST PROGRAM	50,465	45,465	43,918	43,918
SATELLITE SYSTEMS SURVIVABILITY	10,732	3,732	4,432	4,432
TRAINING SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	30,015	20,015	26,015	20,015
THREAT SIMULATOR DEVELOPMENT	34,362	46,962	38,202	41,864
NATIONAL LAUNCH SYSTEM	53,906	53,906		
R&M MATURATION/TECHNOLOGY INSERTION	20,593	20,593	18,648	18,648
MAJOR I&E INVESTMENT	55,798	55,798	45,798	50,798
NAVIGATION/RADAR/SLED TRACK TEST SUPPORT	28,313	31,813	26,313	29,813
INITIAL OPERATIONAL TEST & EVALUATION	32,811	32,811	27,811	27,811
TEST AND EVALUATION SUPPORT	399,930	399,930	374,930	387,430
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING	9,796	9,796	6,946	6,946
RD&E AIRCRAFT SUPPORT	42,157	42,157	37,157	39,657
MINOR CONSTRUCTION (RPM)—RD&E	7,739	7,739	2,739	7,739
MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR (RPM)—RD&E	46,020	46,020	41,020	41,020
BASE OPERATIONS—RD&E	121,974	121,974	111,974	111,974
USAF WARGAMING AND SIMULATION	11,573	11,573	6,000	11,573
SATELLITE CONTROL NETWORK	110,164	110,164	93,561	100,000
MEDIUM LAUNCH VEHICLES	58,502	99,838	53,922	72,458
TITAN SPACE LAUNCH VEHICLES	330,740	336,740	235,540	272,740
DEFENSE METEOROLOGICAL SATELLITE PROGRAM (DMSP)	31,953	21,953	31,153	26,553
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT		130,000	36,600	73,800
INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES	3,820	3,820	1,910	1,910
OVERHEAD		-180,000		
WEAPONS SYSTEMS LETHALITY			10,351	
WEAPONS SYSTEMS OPERABILITY			17,258	
WEAPON SAFETY AND OPERATIONAL SUPPORT			24,039	
STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL TECHNOLOGY			13,462	

EXPLANATION OF PROJECT LEVEL ADJUSTMENTS

The conferees agree to the following specific program adjustments. DD Form 1414 for

fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires

prior approval. Amounts shown are in thousands of dollars.

	Air Force	Budget	HAC	SAC	CONF
Defense Research Sciences		241,317	255,317	215,321	236,321
Seismic Research			14,000	[6,500]	14,000
[Note: Seismic Research earmarked at \$21,000,000]*					
National Solar Observatory			0	[800]	* 800
University Data Research—Seismic	[4,000]	[4,000]	[4,000]	[4,000]	* [4,000]
Software Reliability Research				[4,000]	* 4,000
General reduction			0	—24,996	—23,796
Geophysics		30,252	37,252	32,530	34,280
Seismic Research			2,000	0	* 500
Computational Resources—Nuclear Devices			5,000	0	* 1,250
Laser Radar (SERDP)			0	—222	—222
High Altitude Auroral Research Project (HAARP)			0	2,500	* 2,500
Materials		70,805	71,305	70,580	71,305
Remote Aircraft Fatigue Sensing			500	0	* 500
Aircraft Paints, Primers, Coatings (SERDP)			0	—225	0
Human Systems Technology		51,392	49,573	50,392	48,573

	Air Force	Budget	HAC	SAC	CONF
Transfer to Army			1,819	0	-1,819
Obligations—Unmanned Vehicles			0	-100	-100
Execution			0	-900	-900
Aerospace Propulsion		78,100	81,100	66,912	75,506
Coal-based fuels			3,000	0	*3,000
Turbine Engine/Aerospace Power Projects			0	-11,188	-5,594
Aerospace Avionics		74,835	74,835	66,540	66,540
General				-7,145	-8,145
Processor Design Tools				-150	-150
GPS—related efforts				-1,000	0
Civil Engineering and Environmental Quality		7,187	7,187	3,610	6,187
SETA Support			0	-1,700	-1,000
Environmental Quality Projects (SERDP)			0	-1,877	0
Rocket Propulsion and Astronautics Technology		40,031	51,137	37,931	51,137
Space System Propulsion Technology		[11,039]	[11,039]	[11,039]	*[11,893]
Missile System Propulsion Technology		[9,419]	[9,419]	[9,419]	*[9,671]
Thermionics Space Power		0	10,000	0	*10,000
FY 93 Transfer			0	-2,100	0
Advanced Weapons		32,961	32,461	47,961	47,461
Nuclear Effects Radiation Studies			-500	0	-500
Maui High Performance Computing Center			0	15,000	*15,000
Advanced Materials for Weapon Systems		15,825	25,825	15,825	22,825
National Center for Industrial Competitiveness			10,000	0	*7,000
Crew Systems and Personnel Protection Technology		10,460	12,960	10,460	12,960
Advanced Life Support			2,500	0	2,500
[Note: Advanced Life Support earmarked at \$3,538,000]*					
Space and Missile Rocket Propulsion		10,027	11,430	10,627	12,030
Space Systems Propulsion Technology		[6,693]	[7,630]	0	*[7,630]
Missile Systems Propulsion Technology		[3,334]	[3,800]	0	*[3,800]
Propellants and Components for Space Boosters		0	0	600	*600
Ballistic Missile Technology		58,980	58,980	900	20,900
Missile Electronics (AIMS/GPS)		[58,080]	[58,080]	0	*[20,000]
Reentry Vehicle Technology		[900]	[900]	[900]	[900]
Conventional Weapons Technology		25,964	25,964	16,964	17,464
Multimode Missile Seeker/AMRAAM			0	-5,400	-5,400
Low—drag/low—observable airframes			0	-100	-100
INS/GPS Terminal Guidance Demonstration			0	-3,000	-3,000
Boosted Penetrator Warhead			0	-500	0
[Note: Obligation/expenditure of Boosted Penetrator funds prohibited until FY 93 conference report statement of managers requirements are satisfied.]					
Advanced Radiation Technology		55,415	78,315	79,815	94,715
Adv Tech Excimer Laser Technology			22,000	6,000	*20,000
High Power Microwave Technology			900	0	*900
Laser Radar Field Demonstration (LIDAR)			0	18,400	*18,400
C31 Subsystem Integration		15,882	8,882	8,182	8,882
[Note: No funds may be used for any Tenet activities.]					
Civil and Environmental Engineering Technology		8,435	13,435	13,435	13,435
Production Scale Spray Casting Equipment			5,000	5,000	*5,000
C3 Advanced Development		17,066		2,372	*8,900
General			-10,000	0	0
Surveillance Radar Technology project			0	-4,056	-4,056
TBM C31 (Tenet)			0	-9,000	-9,000
Laser Communications Project			0	-1,638	-1,638
General add			0	0	6,528
[Note: No reductions shall be assessed against Speakeasy sub-project. No general increase may be used for the denied projects and sub-projects.]					
B-52 Squadrons		0	6,300	6,300	6,300
Have Lite			6,300	6,300	*6,300
[Note: \$6,300,000 is to complete Have Lite Technology efforts.]					
Minuteman Squadrons		184,335	118,059	137,126	131,090
Reentry Systems Launch Program Transfer		[16,336]	0	[16,336]	0
Propulsion Replacement Program		[49,940]	0	[4,700]	[15,000]
Guidance Replacement Program		[87,425]	[87,425]	[87,425]	*[87,425]
Long Range Planning Studies		[4,487]	0	[2,158]	[2,518]
MILSTAR Satellite Communications		973,162	873,162	951,062	932,000
Excess funding			-100,000	0	-19,062
Polar adjunct studies			0	-15,000	*-15,000
FY 93 funds replacement			0	-4,700	-4,700
Fighter Receive Terminal			0	-2,400	-2,400
[Note: The conferees agree with the Senate report language about reallocations of MILSTAR funds and about pre-planned product improvement activities.]					
Eastern Space Launch Facility (ESLF)		41,242	41,242	30,621	51,242
Half funding			0	-20,621	0
Dual Use Launch Facility Grants			0	10,000	*10,000
[Note: No funds provided for the Eastern and Western Launch Facilities may be used for any Autonomous On-Board Control System efforts.]					
Spacetrack		45,246	45,246	57,021	60,521
Advanced Electro—Optical System (AEOS)			0	14,100	*14,100
AEOS Instrumentation			0	0	*2,500
AEOS Atmospheric Measurements			0	0	*1,000
Space Surveillance System Development			0	-2,325	-2,325
General Reduction			-5,000	0	0
HAVE STARE			5,000	0	0
KC-135S		20,811	3,441	20,511	11,826
Avionics Improvements		0	0	-300	-300
Improved Air Refuel System		[3,441]	[3,441]	[3,441]	*[3,441]
Receptacle Modifications		[6,214]	0	[6,214]	[3,107]
Multipoint Modifications		[11,156]	0	[11,156]	[5,578]
Specialized Undergraduate Pilot Training		36,835	5,596	2,000	5,596
T-1A Tanker—Transport Training System (TTTS)		[2,205]	[2,205]	0	[2,205]
T-3A Enhanced Flight Screen (EFS) Program		[191]	[191]	0	[191]
Joint Primary Aircraft Training System (JPATS)		[34,439]	[3,200]	[2,000]	[3,200]
[Note: The \$3,200,000 for JPATS is only for program support costs.]					
Computer Resource Technology Transition (CRTT)		7,137	16,137	7,137	14,137
Computer Resource Development Program (CARDS)		0	9,000	0	*7,000
Joint Surveillance/Target Attack Radar System		295,228	295,228	264,628	288,728
Self-defense Suite			0	-24,100	0
Site activation			0	-500	-500
Excess			0	-6,000	-6,000
F-15E Squadrons		91,497	66,497	61,997	66,497
General			-25,000	0	-10,000
APG-63 Radar Upgrade for A-Dd Platforms			0	-29,500	-15,000
Training Systems Development		30,015	20,015	26,015	20,015
JPATS Ground Based Station			-7,136	0	-7,136
GENERAL			-2,864	-4,000	-2,864
[Note: Earmark Advanced Training System (ATS) at \$1,909,000, the Budget Request.]*					
Threat Simulator Development		34,362	46,962	38,202	41,864
REDCAP			12,600	10,164	*10,164
Advanced Airborne Interceptor Simulator			0	-6,024	-3,012
SA-15 SAM System			0	-1,300	-650
Have Note			0	1,000	*1,000
Navigation/Radar/Sled Track Test Support		28,313	31,813	26,313	29,813
High Velocity Sled Track			3,500	0	*3,500
Unobligated FY 93			0	-500	-500

	Air Force	Budget	HAC	SAC	CONF
Growth			0	-1,500	-1,500
Satellite Control Network		110,164	110,164	93,561	100,000
Integrated Satellite Control System			0	-5,294	-5,294
Growth			0	-11,309	-4,870
Medium Launch Vehicles		58,502	99,838	53,922	72,458
Infrastructure Improvements—WSLF			15,000	0	0
Infrastructure Improvements—ESLF			22,000	0	0
Reentry System Launch Program Transfer			16,336	0	*16,336
GPS Slippage			-12,000	0	0
Atlas Vehicle Improvement			0	-1,000	-1,000
Delta Facility Modifications			0	-780	-780
Delta Integration			0	-2,200	0
Medium Launch Vehicle Studies			0	-600	-600
Titan Space Launch Vehicles		330,740	336,740	235,540	272,740
Centaur Processing Facility			6,000	0	0
Infrastructure Range Safety Upgrades			0	-37,200	0
Centaur Processing Facility			0	-10,000	-10,000
Centaur Upper Stage Design Reassessment			0	-11,000	-11,000
Excess			0	-14,000	-14,000
Solid Rocket Motor Propellant			0	-23,000	-23,000
Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP)		31,953	21,953	31,153	26,553
Study Resolution			-10,000	0	-5,000
Block 6 Studies			0	-800	-400
Manufacturing Technology		0	130,000	36,600	73,800
Air Force Requirements			59,600	36,600	29,000
National Center for Manufacturing Sciences (NCMS)			60,000	0	40,000
Computer-Aided ACQ and LOG Support—AFMC			7,200	0	1,800
Ductile Cast Iron			2,000	0	2,000
Mid-West Manufacturing Corporation			0	0	0
Platform for Automated Const of Intelligent Sys			1,200	0	1,000
(Note: Earmark Manufacturing 2005 pilot programs at \$10,000,000. The Budget Request.)*					

ADVANCED FIGHTER TECHNOLOGY INTEGRATION ADVANCED AVIONICS INTEGRATION

The conferees agree with the Senate reductions in these program elements. However, the conferees agree to modify the Senate report language with respect to the Advanced Avionics Integration program element to permit the use of \$1,000,000 to complete the stellar sensor/inertial system project in fiscal year 1994.

The conferees also agree that the Air Force, after reevaluating its priorities and submitting better justification, may request approval from the Congress through the established procedures for funds for reduced activities.

NATIONAL AERO SPACE PLANE (NASP) TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM

The conferees agree to provide \$40,000,000 for this program element. The conferees agree to provide this amount due to fiscal constraints and pursuant to section 242 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993.

The conferees are aware that the National Aero Space Plane Technology Program has technological benefits, both for military and domestic uses. Therefore, the conferees agree that the Air Force should re-evaluate its need to continue this program or to move some of the components into other technology base programs.

BALLISTIC MISSILE TECHNOLOGY

The conferees agree to provide \$20,900,000 for the Ballistic Missile Technology program, of which \$20,000,000 is available for the Advanced Inertial Measurement System (AIMS) project. The conferees direct that none of the funds for AIMS may be obligated or expended until the Secretary of Defense certifies that the project is fully funded in the Future Years Defense Program and that a specific, validated military requirement exists for the project. None of the funds provided for this program element may be used for the GPS-aided guidance package (re-entry vehicle) project.

AIRBORNE LASER TECHNOLOGY

The conferees agree to provide \$1,945,000 for the Airborne Laser Technology effort. The conferees direct that these funds may not be obligated or expended until the Secretary of the Air Force provides the rationale for pursuing this technology and certifies that the program is fully funded in the Future Years Defense Program.

B-1B

The House allowance recommended \$126,543,000 for development of B-1B bomber enhancements. The Senate denied all funds and proposed rescinding \$31,000,000 of fiscal year 1993 funds.

The conferees agree to provide \$49,000,000 in new budget authority, and not to rescind the prior year funds, to provide a total of \$80,000,000. The conferees direct that these funds may only be used to develop conventional war-fighting enhancements to the B-1B, including the Relative Targeting System/GPS-Aided Munition (RTS/GAM) demonstration. The conferees also agree that none of these funds may be used for any activities related to addressing deficiencies in the aircraft's electronic countermeasures systems.

In addition, the conferees are concerned with the Department of Defense's inability to comply with the B-1B upgrade program reporting requirements in the Joint Explanatory Statement of the Committee of Conference on the fiscal year 1993 Act. The conferees direct that this comprehensive information be provided to the congressional defense committees no later than March 1, 1994, along with a certification by the Secretary of Defense that any proposed upgrades are militarily-required, affordable, and fully-funded in the Future Years Defense Program.

B-2 ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY BOMBER

The conferees agree to provide \$790,497,000 for the B-2 Advanced Technology Bomber program. In addition, the conferees fully support the Air Force's decision to integrate a GPS-Aided Targeting System (GATS) and the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) into the B-2 conventional development effort at the earliest practical time to provide the B-2 with an effective, affordable, all weather, near-precision guided conventional munition. The conferees agree the JDAM weapon is the best long term solution, but also recognize that a GPS-Aided Munition (GAM) may offer a sufficient capability for an interim period of time, albeit at a higher cost. The conferees, therefore, approve the Air Force's request to proceed with JDAM testing and integration on the B-2 and to procure 28 test GAMS to validate the GATS capability. The conferees direct the Air Force to protect the option to produce GAMS to ensure an interim capability in the event the JDAM program does not meet its schedule.

MINUTEMAN SQUADRONS

The conferees agree to provide \$15,000,000 for the Minuteman III Propulsion Replacement Program. However, the conferees direct that no funds for this project may be obligated or expended until the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition complies with the certification requirement in the Senate report and also certifies that the entire propulsion upgrade project is needed to avoid costly disruption in the intercontinental ballistic missile industrial base. The funds also may not be obligated or expended until after the Secretary of the Air Force submits a full report on the results of the independent cost estimate and provides a risk assessment, final acquisition strategy, and emerging results from the cost-and-operational effectiveness analysis for the project.

KC-135

The conferees recognize the military utility of the receptacles and multipoint aerial refueling enhancements and have provided half of the budget request for each for fiscal year 1994. The conferees direct that none of these funds may be obligated until the Secretary of the Air Force complies with the reporting requirements imposed by Congress in fiscal year 1993 and in the fiscal year 1994 House report. The conferees further direct that the House reporting requirement be expanded to include the receptacles project.

The conferees also direct that none of the funds provided for either project may be obligated until the Secretary certifies to the congressional defense committees that the relevant project is fully funded in the Future Years Defense Program.

The conferees direct that the required reports and certification be submitted to the committees no later than February 15, 1994.

FOLLOW-ON TACTICAL RECONNAISSANCE SYSTEM

The conferees agree to provide \$9,000,000 for the continued development of the Air Force's Joint Services Imagery Processing System (JSIPS). The conferees direct that of the unobligated fiscal year 1993 funds, \$7,000,000 is available for the development and testing of an electro-optical sensor with framing and on chip forward motion compensation capabilities, \$1,500,000 is available to pay Air Force costs to transition the canceled Advanced Tactical Reconnaissance Systems program to the Navy, and \$1,500,000 is available for JSIPS. The conferees agree with the Senate's report language about the reallocation of other ATARS prior year funds.

ROME LABORATORY

The conferees are concerned about reports of possible realignment actions being considered which might affect Rome Laboratory, Griffiss Air Force Base, New York. Therefore, the conferees prohibit the use of any Defense Department funds to implement the realignment, closure, or consolidation of any mission or activity at Rome Laboratory except as part of the base realignment and closure process.

SPACE NUCLEAR THERMAL PROPULSION (SNTF) PROGRAM

The conferees disagree with the provision directing obligation of \$55,500,000 provided in fiscal year 1993 solely for the SNTF program.

The conferees agree to amend this proposal by deleting the fiscal year 1993 statutory requirement reserving the funds solely for this program. The conferees agree to transfer the fiscal year 1993 SNTF funds to the Navy to help meet ship cost adjustment funding needs.

Amendment No. 100: Restores House language earmarking funds for the Joint Seismic Program and Global Seismic Network administered by the Incorporated Research Institutions for Seismology; restores and amends House language earmarking funds for the National Center for Manufacturing Sciences; deletes Senate language earmarking funds for the development of a GATS/GAM capability for the B-2 Advanced Tech-

nology Bomber; inserts Senate language earmarking funds for the Air Force Maui Space Surveillance Site (MSSS); and deletes Senate language earmarking funds for development and testing of down-sized test equipment for the F-15.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION, DEFENSE-WIDE

Amendment No. 101: Appropriates \$8,838,690,000 for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Defense-Wide instead of \$9,376,918,000 as proposed by the House and \$8,296,588,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or Senate is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT TEST & EVAL DEFWIDE				
IN-HOUSE LABORATORY INDEPENDENT RESEARCH	3,368	3,368	—	2,323
DEFENSE RESEARCH SCIENCES	79,657	76,657	76,657	84,657
DEFENSE RESEARCH SCIENCES	2,021	2,021	—	—
UNIVERSITY RESEARCH INITIATIVES	242,611	274,611	242,611	251,611
FOCUSED RESEARCH INITIATIVES	29,472	20,000	—	12,000
HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCU) SC	—	15,000	—	—
COMPUTING SYSTEMS AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY	368,589	272,789	326,318	325,918
TACTICAL TECHNOLOGY	143,891	156,541	72,733	89,477
INTEGRATED COMMAND AND CONTROL TECHNOLOGY	57,214	125,014	57,214	85,000
MATERIALS AND ELECTRONICS TECHNOLOGY	198,502	303,202	212,547	259,902
DEFENSE NUCLEAR AGENCY	288,388	238,388	—	235,000
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	24,703	22,060	24,703	—
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	3,851	3,439	—	—
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRANS	2,281	2,037	2,281	—
GENERAL REDUCTION, 92 LEVEL	—	35,000	—	—
BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE (BMD)	—	2,720,040	—	2,638,900
OTHER FOLLOW-ON SYSTEMS	354,187	—	265,709	—
THEATER MISSILE DEFENSES	1,636,304	—	1,364,047	—
THEATER MISSILE DEFENSES	50,410	—	50,410	—
LIMITED DEFENSE SYSTEM	1,195,459	—	683,851	—
RESEARCH AND SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	358,223	—	290,989	—
SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATIVE RESEARCH/SMALL BUS TECH TRAN	42,552	—	29,529	—
MEDICAL ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY	4,701	11,001	4,701	11,001
JOINT DOD-DOE MUNITIONS TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT	16,446	16,446	18,976	18,976
EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION OF MAJOR INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGI	512,198	617,098	453,429	562,114
ADVANCED SUBMARINE TECHNOLOGY	32,556	—	32,556	40,556
MARITIME TECHNOLOGY OFFICE	—	190,556	—	38,750
DUAL-USE PARTNERSHIPS	324,000	—	474,000	474,000
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY	147,733	—	114,433	—
STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH PROGRAM	97,958	67,958	200,000	160,000
COMPUTER/COMM APPLICATION	—	—	—	3,000
FOCUS HOPE	—	20,000	—	—
COMPUTER AIDED LOGISTICS SUPPORT	10,424	23,224	10,424	10,424
COOPERATIVE DOD/VA MEDICAL RESEARCH	—	30,000	20,000	20,000
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY	299,597	342,340	306,224	338,924
SEMA TECH	—	90,000	—	—
ADVANCED SIMULATION	9,207	9,207	9,207	27,107
SEMICONDUCTOR MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY	100,000	10,000	90,000	90,000
HIGH PERFORMANCE COMPUTING MODERNIZATION PROGRAM	122,819	—	122,819	46,100
CONSOLIDATED DOD SOFTWARE INITIATIVE	9,151	31,651	9,151	23,026
JOINT WARGAMING SIMULATION MANAGEMENT OFFICE	67,152	67,152	79,152	79,152
ROCKET MOTOR DEMILITARIZATION PROGRAM	12,267	27,267	13,167	17,417
SPECIAL OPERATIONS TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT	17,794	17,794	6,744	6,744
SPECIAL OPERATIONS ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT	9,655	31,165	9,655	27,165
DOD/CTC JOINT CALLS INITIATIVE	—	52,000	—	43,000
VERIFICATION TECHNOLOGY DEMONSTRATION	46,350	41,350	—	41,350
NATIONAL MILITARY COMMAND SYSTEM-WIDE SUPPORT	3,500	3,112	3,500	3,500
WWMCCS SYSTEMS ENGINEER	9,253	8,653	9,253	8,653
WWMCCS ADP MODERNIZATION	7,000	—	7,000	3,500
PHYSICAL SECURITY EQUIPMENT	20,676	30,676	20,676	20,676
JOINT ROBOTICS PROGRAM	22,125	32,125	22,125	27,125
ADVANCED SENSOR APPLICATIONS PROGRAM	25,920	39,919	25,920	39,919
AIM-9 CONSOLIDATED PROGRAM	9,593	43,480	—	25,000
BIOLOGICAL DEFENSE—ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT	26,355	26,355	—	10,000
MOBILE OFFSHORE BASING	—	24,000	—	17,000
JOINT TACTICAL INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (JTIDS)	67,053	67,053	37,053	49,553
JOINT REMOTELY PILOTTED VEHICLES PROGRAM	180,112	151,237	130,342	85,217
SPECIAL OPERATIONS TACTICAL SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT	221,305	247,305	191,305	218,555
SOF OPERATIONAL ENHANCEMENTS	72,167	72,167	21,567	21,567
LONG-HAUL COMMUNICATIONS (DCS)	20,720	16,720	20,720	20,720
DMA MAPPING, CHARTING, AND GEODESY (MC&G) PRODUCTION S	66,334	56,334	66,334	56,334
AIRBORNE RECONNAISSANCE SUPPORT PROGRAM	356,303	356,303	209,303	334,519
AIRBORNE RECONN. INITIATIVE	—	75,906	—	—
DEFENSE RECONNAISSANCE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	81,872	51,032	81,872	81,872
C3I INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS	6,754	16,754	6,754	16,754
CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS	1,280,732	1,265,926	1,214,532	1,116,363
NATO RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT	57,641	—	42,800	42,800
TECHNICAL STUDIES, SUPPORT AND ANALYSIS	37,434	31,000	27,434	27,434
FOREIGN MATERIAL ACQUISITION AND EXPLOITATION	336,176	12,000	236,176	160,000
DEFENSE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	12,561	45,561	12,561	15,311
MANAGEMENT HEADQUARTERS (RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT)	24,005	25,505	24,005	25,505
MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT	—	45,300	—	21,850
ELECTRIC VEHICLE TECHNOLOGY	—	50,000	—	46,250
NATURAL GAS VEHICLES	—	25,000	—	15,000
GENERAL REDUCTION, OVERHEAD	—	130,000	—	—
COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS	—	20,000	—	20,000
ARPA SPACE PROGRAMS	—	130,000	—	60,000
SPACE SURVEILLANCE	—	200,000	—	—
EARTH CONSERVANCY	—	40,000	—	10,000

EXPLANATION OF PROJECT LEVEL ADJUSTMENTS

The conferees agree to the following specific program adjustments. DD Form 1414 for

fiscal year 1994 shall show the items marked with an asterisk ("*") as Congressional interest items, a change to which requires

prior approval. Amounts shown are in thousands of dollars.

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST AND EVALUATION, DEFENSE-WIDE				
Defense Research Sciences	79,657	79,657	76,657	84,657
Process Synthesis			-3,000	-3,000
Hazardous Substance Research Centers			(8,000)	*8,000
University Research Initiatives	242,611	274,611	242,611	251,611
EPSCOR		20,000		*6,000
General Increase for Authorization Projects		12,000		3,000
AASERT		(55,000)		(55,000)
HBCU			(15,000)	*(15,000)
Magnetic Materials Microscope (NCEM)				*(7,000)
Focused Research Initiative	29,472	20,000	0	12,000
General Reduction		-9,472		-17,472
National Medical Technology Testbed		(10,000)		*(7,000)
Computing Systems and Communications Technology	368,589	272,789	326,318	325,918
High Performance Computing		-100,000	-52,867	-42,271
ASSET		7,000		1,750
Seismic Research		-7,500		*-3,750
Non-Seismic Technology		4,700		*4,700
STARS			-6,200	-3,100
Software Plan			-700	0
DNA Functions			17,496	0
VHPSM-MIMD		(6,500)		*(6,500)
ASSET	(2,000)		(2,000)	*(3,750)
[Note: Conferees agree to a general reduction to High Performance Computing funds rather than specific reductions proposed by the Senate. The conferees direct that none of the HPC reduction be applied to the funds budgeted for activities at the Maui HPC center.]				
Tactical Technology	143,891	156,541	72,733	89,477
Advanced Landing System		1,750	1,750	*1,750
Microspheres		5,500		*1,375
Speakeasy		5,400	2,200	2,200
SLID			-6,000	*-3,000
LCV			-6,800	-6,800
Rotor Engine			-3,600	-3,600
Ship Software Tools			-10,356	-5,178
Ship System Monitoring			-14,382	-7,191
Warbreaker			-38,970	-38,970
CEROS			5,000	*5,000
Speakeasy	(4,523)			*(6,723)
Integrated Command and Control Technology	57,214	124,014	57,214	85,000
AMLCD Technology		(25,000)		*(25,000)
Materials/Electronic Technology	198,502	303,202	212,547	259,902
General Increase for Authorization Projects		77,700		17,500
Coal Utilization Center		5,000		*5,000
Cross-Discipline Materials Research		2,700		*2,700
Infrared Sensitive Materials		9,500		*9,500
Joint Casting Emission Reduction		13,500		*13,500
Multi-Chip Modules		4,000		0
Process synthesis			13,200	13,200
Free Form Manufacturing			4,155	0
Fiber Metal Matrix Composites			21,400	*21,400
Diamond/superconducting Materials/System Optimization			10,000	*5,000
Diamond/Superconducting Materials/System Optimization	(78,300)			(118,300)
[Note: The Conferees agree to provide \$9.5 million only for a project utilizing Group III-V materials for opto-electronics and infrared applications.]				
Defense Nuclear Agency	288,388	238,388	0	235,000
General Reduction				-53,000
Nuclear Testing		57,000		0
Bioenvironmental Hazards Research		4,000		*(4,000)
NTS Technology Transfer		3,000		*(750)
Jupiter Simulator				*(6,000)
[Note: Conferees agree to a general reduction rather than specific reductions proposed by either House or Senate.]				
EEMIT	512,198	617,098	453,429	562,114
Fuel Cells		50,000		*11,375
BMDO Programs		28,900		0
Gamma Gamma Resonance Imaging		5,000		*5,000
Fire Detection Technology		1,000		*250
Nuclear Waste Monitoring		1,000		*250
MSAG		16,000		*4,000
ASTOVL		6,000		*6,000
Large Millimeter Telescope		3,000		*3,000
SELENE		5,000		0
UUV Fuel Cells		4,000		0
CAMEO		-15,000	-15,000	-15,000
Warbreaker Transfer			38,970	+38,970
Warbreaker Reduction			-44,850	-30,200
ATSSB			-9,000	-9,000
Impact			-3,000	0
Periscope Detection			-1,000	-1,000
STOW			-19,270	-9,635
Mine Counter Measures			9,594	-5,094
Virtual Brigade			15,000	*15,000
DSI			32,100	32,100
Air Defense Initiative			43,725	-12,450
Hyperspectral Sensor			600	*600
Dry Deck Shelters				*4,250
Aeroderivative Engine				*4,500
Tactical SIGINT Satellite				*10,000
General Reduction				-3,000
[Note: 1. Conferees do not agree to a reduction to foliage penetration radar funds within WARBREAKER. Conferees agree to other WARBREAKER reductions and direction in the Senate report. 2. Conferees agree to provide \$4.0 million only for a generic multi-function self-aligned gate gallium arsenide wideband module-propagated active array antenna for shipboard/airborne radar and electronic warfare use. 3. Within the amount provided for fuel cells, \$1,250,000 is only for further development of 200 kW phosphoric acid fuel cells to be conducted under the auspices of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratory. 4. Additional ASTOVL funds are only for a critical technical evaluation of the direct lift concept. 5. Within the amount provided for WARBREAKER, \$7.0 million is only for Interferometric Synthetic Aperture Radar.]				
Dual Use Partnerships	324,000	624,000	474,000	474,000
Dual-Use Critical Technology Partnership			(150,000)	*(150,000)
Commercial-Military Integration Partnership			(100,000)	*(100,000)
Regional Technology Alliance			(100,000)	*(100,000)
Advanced Manufacturing Technology Partnership			(30,000)	*(30,000)
Agile Manufacturing/Enterprise Integration			(35,000)	*(35,000)
Advanced Material Partnership			(30,000)	*(30,000)
Defense Manufacturing Engineering Education Program			(24,000)	*(24,000)
United States-Japan Management Training Program			(5,000)	*(5,000)
Advanced Submarine Technology	32,556	0	32,556	40,556
Active Structural Control				8,000
Active Structural Control				*(10,000)
Maritime Technology Office	0	190,556	0	38,750

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
Submarine Technology		32,556		0
Shipbuilding Initiative		100,000		30,000
ORCA		20,000		0
Ship Self Defense		15,000		5,000
Advanced Ship Propulsion		15,000		3,750
Active Structural Control		(8,000)		0
Active Structural Control		(10,000)		(0)
Strategic Environmental Research	97,958	67,958	200,000	160,000
General Reduction/Increase		30,000		62,042
CIESIN		(5,000)		*(1,250)
GAMOT		(2,200)		*(550)
Plasma-Disposal Ft. Belvoir		(7,500)		*(1,875)
NETC		(3,500)		*(3,500)
Air Quality Monitor		(1,400)		*(350)
Solid Waste Encapsulation		(100)		*(100)
Phase I Projects		(37,800)		*(37,800)
Northeast Institute				*(4,000)
[Note: The conferees agree to provide \$4.0 million only for the Northeast Institute for Environmental Restoration, of which \$2.0 million is to develop an automated regional environmental system and \$2.0 million is for a pilot project to demonstrate technologies for metal removal in liquid waste treatment systems.]				
Manufacturing Technology	299,597	342,340	306,224	338,924
Advanced Lithography		27,543		12,700
Environmentally Conscious Manufacturing		20,000		20,000
FOCUS HOPE		-4,800	15,000	*(15,000)
Advanced Flexible Manufacturing			4,000	4,000
AESA			-6,573	-5,873
FDAMMS			-5,800	
Coronary Angiography		(2,200)		*(2,200)
Digital Subtraction Angiography		(3,000)		*(3,000)
FOCUS HOPE	(4,800)			*(19,800)
[Note: Conferees direct advanced flexible manufacturing funds to be managed only by the NCMS.]				
Advanced Simulation	9,207	9,207	9,207	*27,107
[Note: \$17,900,000 is provided only for the Army National Guard Advanced Research Projects Agency advanced simulation project to develop new training strategies for National Guard Units. The conferees expect the Department to note the direction of the Senate that priority should be given to states with already established fiber optic infrastructure which can reach all Guard armories for the least cost.]				
Consolidated DOD Software Initiative	9,151	31,651	9,151	23,026
NASEC		10,000		*10,000
Software Managers Network		5,000		*2,000
RTAP		7,500		*1,875
Joint Wargaming Simulation	67,152	67,152	79,152	79,152
Technical Center			2,000	2,000
DMSO			10,000	10,000
Joint Simulation Center			(2,500)	(2,500)
Peace Enforcement Doctrine Dev Ctr			(1,000)	(1,000)
Rocket Motor Demilitarization Program	12,267	27,267	13,167	17,417
Energetic Materials Disposal		6,000		*1,500
Strategic Missile Disposal		7,000		*1,750
Longhorn AAP		2,000		*500
NTS Site Analysis			900	*900
Sunflower AAP				*500
Joint Robotics Program	22,125	32,125	22,125	27,125
MDARS-E		10,000		*5,000
Special Operations Tactical Systems Development	221,305	247,305	191,305	218,555
Quiet Knight			6,000	6,000
CV-22			15,000	15,000
JASORS			-30,000	-26,250
Advanced Seal Delivery System				2,500
JTIDS	67,053	67,053	37,053	49,553
MIDS-LVT			-7,800	-7,800
			-22,200	-9,700
[Note: The conferees understand that the MIDS-LVT reduction should not have a negative impact on ongoing contractor activities and personnel.]				
Joint RPV Program	180,112	151,237	130,342	85,217
Close Range UAV		-28,875	-18,275	-18,275
Medium Range UAV			-32,275	-77,400
Project Management			-1,620	-1,620
Classified			2,400	2,400
[Note: The conferees direct that the Close Range funds are available to develop the down-sized Ground Control Station. The remaining Medium Range UAV funds are provided only to implement DOD's decision to terminate the program.]				
Defense Support Activities	12,561	45,561	12,561	15,311
Shipbreaking		3,000		*750
CALS		30,000		*2,000
Manufacturing Technology	0	45,300	114,433	21,850
Machine Tools		10,000		*2,500
CRAMTD		2,800		*700
GEM		7,500	3,000	*3,000
Military Sewn Products		10,000		*7,500
Metal Casting		15,000		*3,750
General Increase				*4,400
Electric Vehicle Technology	0	50,000	27,000	46,250
McClellan AFB Program		5,000		*4,000
Los Angeles Agile Manufacturing		5,000		*4,000
CA Environmental Vehicle Consortium (CEVCO)		5,000		*3,250
MARCAU Consortium		10,000		*10,000
General Increase		25,000		0
Hawaii Project			10,000	*10,000
Other On-going Projects			17,000	15,000
Superconducting Magnetic Energy Storage (SMES)				
[Note: The Conferees agree to the House report language amended to read "National Energy Research Council" instead of "Nuclear Energy Regulatory Commission."]				
Special Operations Advanced Technology Development	9,655	31,165	9,655	27,155
Intraformation Positioning System				15,000
CA & Psyps Enhancements				1,000
EOD/LIC				1,000

SUPERCONDUCTING MAGNETIC ENERGY STORAGE

The conferees agree with the Senate recommendation to transfer management and funding responsibility for the superconducting magnetic energy storage (SMES) program to the Department of Energy. The conferees direct the Defense Nuclear Agency to undertake and complete such a transfer by the end of fiscal year 1994. In order to minimize ultimate costs and maximize

progress, every effort should be made to keep the existing program intact.

ADVANCED LITHOGRAPHY

The conferees are aware of ARPA's use of consortia composed of industry, federal laboratories, and universities to pursue new technologies. The conferees recognize that consortia can foster U.S. leadership in advanced lithography. The conferees encourage ARPA to investigate the development of x-

ray and advanced optical lithography technologies through the use of consortia.

SEMATECH

The conferees agree to provide \$90,000,000 for SEMATECH. The conferees do not agree with the Senate's direction that ARPA prepare a plan to reduce the obligatory Federal investment over the next five years. However, given the great financial pressures on a declining defense budget, it is likely that the

Defense Department and the Congress will not be able to sustain the level of investment in SEMATECH that has been made in the past. In addition, the conferees again note that ARPA previously proposed that funds be provided to SEMATECH only for those projects selected on the basis of merit by ARPA. The conferees agree that it would be useful for the new Administration to present to Congress its plans for future activities with SEMATECH. The conferees direct the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition to submit a plan to the Defense Committees of Congress by March 1, 1994 on planned activities for SEMATECH during the next five years. The plan should provide ARPA the opportunity to ensure its requirements are sufficiently addressed in the annual plan developed by the SEMATECH members.

TACTICAL TECHNOLOGY

Small, Low Cost Interceptor Device (SLID). The conferees agree to provide \$3,000,000, and allow the transfer of \$6,500,000 of prior year funds from program element 0602618A, Ballistic Technology, task AH-81, for the Small, Low Cost Interceptor Device (SLID) program. While the conferees agree with the Senate's concerns about SLID, the conferees recognize the need to investigate an alternative to continually adding more armor to our combat vehicles. The conferees direct ARPA to devise a program which develops and demonstrates this technology at a substantially lower cost. The conferees expect such a plan to continue to include actual live fire tests while possibly reducing the number of participants in each phase of development.

Light Contingency Vehicle (LCV). The conferees agree to deny all funds requested to develop a Light Contingency Vehicle (LCV). The conferees agree with the Senate's concerns and urge the Defense Department to fully assess all alternative approaches to performing the scout mission.

DEFENSE NUCLEAR AGENCY

The conferees do not agree to the Senate's proposal to fund the functions of the Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA) in the individual armed services and ARPA and to require the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition

to submit a plan and schedule to transition DNA's functions to them. The conferees agree to provide \$235,000,000 for the Defense Nuclear Agency program element. The conferees also agree with the House recommendation to provide another \$41,350,000 for the Verification Technology Demonstration program which is executed by DNA.

The conferees have modified the Senate's proposed bill language so as to require the Under Secretary of Defense to submit to the Congressional defense committees the complete results of an independent study of options for accomplishing the functions now performed by DNA. The conferees direct that this study be accomplished by the RAND Corporation's National Defense Research Institute, a federally-funded research and development center. The conferees direct that the options to be studied shall, at a minimum, include: (1) transferring DNA's functions to the individual armed services and ARPA under an arrangement whereby a service or ARPA becomes the executive agent for the entire Department of Defense for the function or functions transferred; (2) maintaining DNA as a separate agency under the plan proposed by the Department of Defense in a letter to the Congressional defense committees on June 25, 1993, to adapt the agency to the conditions of the new international security environment; (3) transferring DNA's functions to the Department of Energy nuclear weapons laboratories; (4) combining any of the previously-listed options; and, (5) reorganizing DNA to significantly reduce the agency's operating, management, administrative, and other overhead costs.

For any option evaluated, the conferees direct that the study shall provide, at a minimum, detailed information and conclusions as to: (1) any impact on the federal government's ability to maintain critical expertise in nuclear and conventional defense areas and to effectively perform functions now performed by DNA; (2) annual cost savings, if any; and, (3) a reasonable implementation schedule. The study also shall provide recommendations as to which option is in the best national security and fiscal interests of the federal government. The Under Sec-

retary of Defense is directed to take all administrative and other actions necessary to ensure that the research and investigative work of the study shall begin within 30 days after the enactment of the defense appropriations Act.

The conferees further direct that the results of this study shall be submitted in unclassified, and, if necessary, classified format and shall be submitted by the Under Secretary to the Congressional defense committees without any delay upon the completion of the internal review process by the independent organization accomplishing the study. The conferees direct that the results submitted to the committees shall contain all the information, conclusions, and recommendations validated by this internal review process. The conferees have mandated in statutory language that \$1,000,000 be allocated to accomplish this study, which must be submitted to the committees no later than May 1, 1994. The conferees also direct that none of the funds provided to the Defense Nuclear Agency in fiscal year 1994 may be used for the Mighty Uncle underground nuclear test and associated activities, which have been cancelled by the Department of Defense.

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

The conferees agree to provide \$2,638,900,000 for the Ballistic Missile Defense Program. This amount does not include funds for the Brilliant Eyes project, which is funded in the Air Force RDT&E appropriation. The conferees do not agree to the specific reductions proposed and approved by the Senate. The conferees agree to recommend the illustrative reductions contained in the following table which is expressed in thousands of dollars. The conferees believe these reductions could be necessary to implement this lower aggregate level of funding for fiscal year 1994. The bulk of these reductions were approved by the full Senate or reflect recent decisions by BMDO to reduce or terminate specific projects. The conferees agree to the Senate direction concerning the Ground Based Interceptor and theater missile defense simulation efforts.

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE ORGANIZATION (BMDO)				
Limited Defense System	1,195,459		683,851	650,000
Integrated Logistics Support	3,906		-3,906	-3,906
Producibility and Manufacturing	3,476		-3,476	-3,476
Independent T&E Oversight and Assessment	5,860		-5,860	-5,860
System Simulations	5,458		-2,658	-2,658
System Engineering	49,580		-49,580	-49,580
Test & Evaluation Facilities	19,534		-8,000	-8,000
System Planning and Execution	35,069		-15,000	-15,000
Operational Test and Evaluation	4,000		-4,000	-4,000
Command Center	76,318		-38,000	-33,000
NMD-Ground Based Radar	100,124		-80,124	-80,124
Ground-Based Exo Interceptor Dev	238,176		-191,256	-186,256
Lethality and Target Hardening	4,884		-2,000	-2,000
Survivability Eng & Demo Project	19,533		-19,533	-19,533
Communications Engineering	10,037		-10,037	-10,037
Space-Based Sensor (Brilliant Eyes)	140,074		-140,074	-140,074
Red Tigris III	14,651		20,000	20,000
Sys Test Env—TMD Simulations	53,718		25,000	9,900
HAVE YAK	0	(6,500)		(6,500)
Airborne Surv Testbed (AST)	24,418		16,896	-2,418
System security engineering	12,776			-12,776
Survivability engineering	600			-600
Ground Common	965			-965
System Test Environmental Support	4,884			-4,884
Small Business				9,788
Theater Missile Defense				
Naval & Marine Corps TMD	1,636,304		1,364,047	1,400,582
LEAP Tech Demo Program	159,203		10,000	-37,629
Space-Based Sensor (Brilliant Eyes)	93,835		-43,835	-13,835
THAAD	112,518		-112,518	-112,518
CORPS Surface-to-Air Missile	484,270		-50,000	-50,000
Tact Missile Def Attack Ops/Counterforce	31,998		-31,998	-21,998
Advanced TMD Weapons	3,906		-3,906	-3,906
Contingency	5,958			-5,958
Small Business				-11,823
Theater EMD				21,945
Follow-On Technologies	50,410		50,410	50,410
Power and Power Conditioning	354,187		265,709	242,554
Brilliant Pebbles	9,767		-2,707	-2,707
General Reduction	72,671		-62,671	-37,671
			-23,100	-74,960

	Budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
Small Business				3,705
Research and Support Activities	358,223		290,989	295,354
Operational Support Costs	356,709		-67,234	-67,234
Small Business				4,365
Small Business Innovative Research	42,552		29,529	0
SBIR/STTR	42,552	-42,552	-13,023	-42,552
Total BMDO RDT&E	3,637,135	2,720,040	2,684,535	2,638,900

The conferees do not agree to the House bill language which prohibits use of BMD funds to operate more than one public affairs office in the Washington DC area. However, the conferees do believe that more than one such office is unnecessary and an unaffordable luxury. The conferees direct the Secretary of Defense to eliminate one of the two current BMD public/external affairs offices in the Washington DC area by the end of the fiscal year, unless he certifies to the Defense committees of Congress that each is essential. Should the Secretary choose to close one of these offices, the conferees do not expect that the organization chosen for elimination will simply be funded from another appropriation but will actually be abolished.

STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The conferees note recent actions taken by the Defense Department to develop a process for evaluating and approving service environmental research and development projects. DoD is in the process of developing a multi-year Strategic Environmental Research and Development Program (SERDP) plan and has asked participants to propose projects addressing priority concerns. These actions respond to concerns raised by the Senate and should allow the services to plan on the availability of funds for high priority environmental projects. Given these actions, the conferees do not agree to the Senate proposal to transfer service research and exploratory development projects to the SERDP program element in fiscal year 1995.

The conferees agree that global environment change research should be a priority within the SERDP program. The conferees agree to the House proposal to provide \$37,800,000 only for continued funding of Phase 1 projects approved by the SERDP Science Advisory Board which include global environmental change efforts. The conferees direct that these funds be allocated expeditiously.

DOD/CTC JOINT CALS INITIATIVE

The conferees agree to provide \$43,000,000 only for the CALS Shared Resource Center program, \$9,000,000 less than recommended by the House. This program and funding shall be managed only by ARPA with the nonprofit Concurrent Technologies Corporation serving as the Department's technical advisor. The conferees support the funding initiatives addressed in the House report, except that additional Regional CSRCs shall be established only in Oakland, California; Atlanta, Georgia; and Bremerton, Washington.

JOINT WARGAMING SIMULATION MANAGEMENT OFFICE

The conferees agree to provide \$79,152,000. Within this amount, \$2,500,000 is available only for establishment and operation of a Joint Simulation Center for Warfighting Concepts and Doctrine Development, and \$1,000,000 is available only for the establishment of a Peace Enforcement Doctrine Development Center.

POLLUTION ABATEMENT TESTING

The Energy Policy Act of 1992 calls on the Secretary of Energy in conjunction with industry and federal agencies to conduct a study on diesel engine combustion and fuels and lubricants to reduce emissions of oxides of nitrogen and particulates. To assist in the conduct of this study, the conferees urge the Secretary of Defense to consider developing a program involving DOD fleet vehicles, in particular trucks and buses, to test diesel fuel additives as a means to reduce emissions and particulates.

ELECTRIC VEHICLES

The conferees agree to the requirements stated in the Senate report, except that the prohibition on purchasing vehicles developed or manufactured outside the United States should only apply to new projects. The conferees further agree to modify this prohibition to only apply to vehicles developed and manufactured outside the United States.

CSI INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (0305190D)

As proposed by the House, the conferees agree to provide an increase of \$10,000,000 solely for the National Drug Intelligence Center (NDIC). The conferees also agree that DOD may reimburse the Department of Justice for such costs as are incurred. In addition, the conferees expect that the NDIC will submit a single consolidated budget justification for fiscal year 1995 which will show such data as the total funding being requested by agency, the number of personnel by agency, hardware acquisition, and operating costs.

TACTICAL SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE SATELLITE

The House provided \$80,000,000 for ARPA to begin development of a low cost, deployable, rapid-prototype signals intelligence satellite. The conferees agree to provide a total of \$10,000,000 in the EEMIT program. Additional details are contained in the accompanying classified report by the conferees.

WORLDWIDE MILITARY COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEM (WWMCCS)

The conferees are satisfied that possible management problems within the WWMCCS program highlighted in the Senate report

have been fully addressed in the Department of Defense Inspector General (DOD IG) Report No. 94-006, dated October 19, 1993. Further, because the DOD IG report clears the WWMCCS program of any improprieties, the conferees require no further action by the Department on this subject.

Amendment No. 102: Restores and amends language proposed by the House concerning tactical missile defense programs; restores and amends language proposed by the House concerning coordination of certain energy research programs between the Departments of Defense and Energy; inserts language proposed by the Senate on the Maui High Performance Computing Center; restores language proposed by the House concerning cell adhesion molecule research; and restores and amends language proposed by the House concerning the Computer-aided Acquisition and Logistics Support (CALS) Shared Resource Center program.

Amendment No. 103: Deletes language proposed by the House concerning a grant to historically black colleges and universities; deletes language proposed by the House concerning the High Performance Computing initiative; deletes language proposed by the House concerning the Experimental Program to Stimulate Competitive Research; deletes language proposed by the House concerning coordination of certain energy research programs between the Departments of Defense and Energy; deletes language proposed by the House concerning cell adhesion molecule research; deletes language proposed by the House concerning the Computer-aided Acquisition and Logistics Support (CALS) Shared Resource Center program; and deletes language proposed by the Senate concerning the Maui High Performance Computing Center.

Amendment No. 104: Deletes language proposed by the Senate concerning the ARPA Nuclear Nonproliferation Technology initiative.

Amendment No. 105: Deletes language proposed by the Senate concerning establishment of a simulation center and a peace enforcement doctrine development center.

Amendment No. 106: Deletes language proposed by the Senate concerning a methanol plantship.

DEVELOPMENTAL TEST AND EVALUATION, DEFENSE

Amendment No. 107: Appropriates \$232,457,000 instead of \$232,592,000 as proposed by the House and \$228,047,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on items addressed by either the House or Senate is as follows:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
DIRECTOR OF TEST & EVAL DEFENSE				
FOREIGN COMPARATIVE TESTING	34,913	24,913	34,913	32,913
DEVELOPMENT TEST AND EVALUATION	114,135	99,134	84,590	91,000

(In thousands of dollars)

DEVELOPMENT TEST AND EVALUATION

The conferees agree to a reduction of \$23,135,000 for the Development Test and Evaluation program. The Senate has receded on its reductions to specific activities within this program element. The recommended reduction should be taken against the total program.

DEFENSE CONVERSION

The Conferees strongly support the objectives of the Defense Conversion, Reinvestment, and Transition Act of 1992. To help accomplish the goals of that legislation the conferees have included at least \$2,491,000,000 in the fiscal year 1994 Defense Appropriations Act as follows:

Title I:

Temporary Early Retirement	\$319,000,000
Temporary Health Transition Assistance	12,000,000
Subtotal, Title I	331,000,000

Title II:

Separation Pay and Civilian Health Benefits	100,000,000
Occupation Conversion and Training	6,250,000
Transition Assistance/Relocation Assistance	67,000,000
Office of Economic Adjustment	39,000,000
Junior ROTC Expansion	73,000,000
Law Enforcement and Health Care Provider Training	15,000,000
Other Defense Conversion Projects	76,750,000
Subtotal, Title II	377,000,000

Title III:

Neutron Generators, Components, and Associated Equipment	6,000,000
Shipbuilding Initiative	50,000,000
Subtotal, Title III	56,000,000

Title IV:

Shipbuilding Initiative	30,000,000
Dual-Use Partnerships	474,000,000
Subtotal, Title IV	504,000,000

In addition several programs in the Research, Development, Test and Evaluation and Procurement budget constitute defense conversion initiatives. The following amounts (including increases above the budget) are also contained in Title IV of the bill:

Intelligence Systems/Software	\$68,800,000
High Performance Computing	195,600,000
Software Engineering	39,100,000
SEMATECH	90,000,000
Advanced Simulation	74,300,000
High Definition Systems	85,000,000
Materials and Electronics Technology	259,000,000
Advanced Lithography	60,200,000
Other Electronics Manufacturing	264,500,000
Defense Research Sciences	84,700,000
Subtotal	1,222,100,000

The conferees have agreed to provide the authorized level of \$377,000,000 for Defense Conversion in the Operation and Maintenance,

Defense-Wide appropriation. This amount is \$65,000,000 above the budget request.

The conferees also recommend that the following conversion projects be funded in the Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide appropriation. DD Form 1414 shall show them as items of special Congressional interest, a funding decrease to which requires prior Congressional approval:

Southeastern Pennsylvania Consortium for Information Technology and Training	\$875,000
Western Michigan University School of Aviation Sciences/Fort Custer Industrial Park	6,000,000
Illinois Vietnam Veterans Leadership Program	125,000
Monterey Institute of International Studies	5,000,000
California State University System	15,000,000
New London State Pier	3,725,000
Conversion of Homestead Air Force Base	5,000,000
Miami Dade Community College	10,500,000
California Statewide Economic Development Network	3,125,000
San Diego State University Center on Defense Conversion	7,000,000
San Francisco State University California Economic Recovery and Environmental Restoration Project	750,000
Hampton University/Hughes Aircraft Aeroscience Institute	3,750,000
Rand Study on Force Downsizing and Immigration	1,000,000
Personnel Training in Law Enforcement and Health Care Professions	15,000,000
Mare Island & Charleston Shipyard Conversion/Reuse Studies	500,000
Mare Island Worker Retraining for Environmental Restoration	2,500,000
Section 1333 Worker Retraining	5,000,000
Personnel Transition Assistance	3,750,000
Century Brass Products' Environmental Cleanup	5,000,000
Aviation Technology and Training Center	4,500,000
System International Job Training Education Program	8,000,000
World Language and Cultural Studies Center, Pfeiffer College	250,000
Urban-Rural Health Care Network—Carolinias	3,000,000
Health Care Network—New York	2,500,000
Servicemen Occupational Conversion and Training Act	6,250,000

The conferees recommend that the following conversion project be funded in the Procurement, Defense-wide appropriation. DD form 1414 shall show this project as an item of special Congressional interest, a funding decrease to which requires prior Congressional approval:

Neutron Generators, Components and Associated Equipment	\$6,000,000
The conferees recommend that the following conversion projects be funded in the Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Defense-wide appropriation account in the Dual Use Technologies program element. DD form 1414 shall show them as items of special Congressional interest, a funding decrease to which requires prior Congressional approval:	
CFC Free Refrigeration Technology Project	\$200,000
Shipboard Material Handling System	500,000
Plastics and Rubber Technologies	3,125,000
Drew Medicine and Science Health Occupations Retraining Demonstration Project	2,000,000
Midwest Regional Centers for Advanced Technology Development	20,000,000
Far West Regional Office Technology Transfer Project	79,000
Renewable Electric and Renewable Thermal Utility Demonstration Projects	6,250,000
Ocean Thermal Power Plantships Technology Project	2,000,000
St. Louis Manufacturing Extension Program	1,000,000
Center for Photochemical Sciences	1,250,000
Center for Advanced Control System Technology	2,500,000
Queens Hall of Science "Discovery Lab" Project	2,500,000
Lahey Clinic Ambulatory Surgical Research	750,000
RPI New York Regional Manufacturing and Engineering Center, Troy, New York	1,250,000
Miami Health Technologies Science Center Defense Reinvestment Project	750,000
Tucson Defense Conversion Project	225,000
Joint Arizona Center for Manufacturing and Training (JACMET)	375,000
Curved Plate Technology Project in Norfolk, Va.	15,000,000
Joint Army Ammunition Plant Transfer Project	18,750
Southeast Health Professional Training Center at Mt. Sinai Medical Center of Miami, Florida	750,000
High Technology Center of Rochester, New York	6,000,000
Magnetically Levitated Transportation Prototype Test Track	0
USF/DOE Pinellas Technology Deployment Center	10,000,000
Device Independent Multimedia Universal Interface System for Medical Information Management	1,400,000
Ben Franklin Partnership and Industrial Resource Center	14,000,000
Methanol Plantship	3,000,000
Low Cost Continuous Emission Monitoring System	185,000

Mojave Regional Technical Center for San Bernadino County	167,000
Software Engineering Environment for Parallel Processor Supercomputers	7,851,000
Environmental Technology Project at Duquesne University	750,000

The conferees also recommend that the Department consider funding for the following projects: the California Gold Strike Program, California Manufacturing Excellence Program, and California Information Initiative Program.

Details on some of the projects listed above follow:

TRANSITION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

The conferees are aware that the Congress appropriated \$1,200,000 in 1993 for the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans Employment and Training to use for distributing the Militran Guide under the Transition Assistance Program (TAP). Since the services rely upon the TAP program to help with the transition of military personnel leaving the force, the conferees urge DOD to work with the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans Employment and Training to release funds for distributing the Militran Guide.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND HEALTH CARE PROVIDER TRAINING

The conferees agree to provide a total of \$15,000,000 for a demonstration project designed to ease the impact of defense downsizing while strengthening local law enforcement and health care efforts by encouraging military personnel with experience in these fields to work for local police departments and health care agencies after completion of military service. The conferees urge the Secretary of Defense to consider using a part of these funds to help ease the transition of military members living in Southern California.

SAN DIEGO UNIVERSITY DEFENSE CONVERSION CENTER

The conferees agree that a regional conversion center shall be established at San Diego University and appropriate \$7 million in defense conversion funds for the center.

URBAN-RURAL HEALTH CARE NETWORK

The conferees are aware of the health care program that the Carolinas Medical Center is developing to serve parts of North and South Carolina. This program should provide better and more cost effective health care in rural areas where hospitals have had trouble

attracting professionals and buying the necessary equipment. The concept could also prove useful to the military. The conferees have included \$3,000,000 to provide the telecommunications equipment necessary to begin this program.

TITLE V

REVOLVING AND MANAGEMENT FUNDS

DEFENSE BUSINESS OPERATIONS FUND

Amendment No. 108: Appropriates \$1,102,295,000 instead of \$1,091,100,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,161,095,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Defense Commissary Agency. The Defense Commissary Agency's budget request is reduced by \$58,800,000.

Amendment No. 109: Restores and amends House language restricting the obligation of funds for the Defense Business Management System (DBMS) beyond those funds necessary to provide the present level of support for existing customers consistent with all provisions of law and the DBOF Improvement Report.

The conferees direct the Department to continue executing sound business decisions and seeking efficiency improvements to the DBMS system. The Department, however, may neither expand the current mission of the system nor the number of customers served by it.

NATIONAL DEFENSE SEALIFT FUND

Amendment No. 110: Restores the title of the National Defense Sealift Fund as proposed by the House instead of the National Defense Strategic Lift Fund as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 111: Restores the House center heading.

Amendment No. 112: Restores the title "Sealift" as proposed by the House instead of "Strategic Lift" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 113: Appropriates \$1,540,800,000 for National Defense Sealift Fund instead of \$490,800,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,669,100,000 for the National Defense Strategic Lift Fund as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 114: Deletes language proposed by the House regarding execution of a loan guarantee program and inserts language allowing transfer of funds to the Secretary of Transportation and restriction on foreign ship equipment purchases.

NATIONAL DEFENSE SEALIFT FUND

The conferees agree to provide \$1,540,800,000 for the National Defense Sealift program. Up to \$50,000,000 of these funds are available for

shipbuilding loan guarantees as authorized. An additional, \$1,200,000,000 may be available for later transfer to Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy for the CVN-76 nuclear aircraft carrier to the extent that such funds are authorized in supplemental legislation. In the event that such authorization does not occur, the funds provided may be available, subsequent to notification to and approval by the Committees on Appropriations, to charter up to five roll-on/roll-off vessels if subsequent authorization allows for this charter under the National Defense Sealift Fund and/or for sealift ship construction.

MERCHANT MARINER UTILIZATION

The conferees recognize the vital role played by the United States merchant marine in providing operating crews for sealift vessels retained in inactive status when activated for defense purposes. The conferees direct that vessels constructed or operated with funds drawn from the NDSF shall be operated and crewed by United States merchant mariners to the extent possible. Preference shall be given to otherwise qualified former military personnel released from active service as a result of the downsizing of the Armed Forces. This action is to be consistent with current policy and practices.

NATIONAL DEFENSE STOCKPILE

Zinc Stockpile. The conferees note that current sales of zinc from the National Defense Stockpile compete directly with zinc sales of U.S. domestic producers. The conferees further note that the zinc from the stockpile is being sold at prices well below prices paid by the U.S. Treasury for coinage operations. Therefore, it is the view of the conferees that if, in fact, the zinc in the stockpile meets the ASTM standards for flat-rolled zinc for coinage operations, then the manager of the stockpile should first sell zinc as required for Treasury coinage operations prior to the release of zinc from the stockpile to the domestic market.

TITLE VI—OTHER DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PROGRAMS

DEFENSE HEALTH PROGRAM

Amendment No. 115: Appropriates \$9,626,072,000 instead of \$9,644,447,000 as proposed by the House and \$9,576,209,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 116: Earmarks \$9,352,435,000 instead of \$9,368,185,000 as proposed by the House and \$9,303,447,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conferees recommend the following levels highlighted in the table below for the Defense Health Program:

	Budget	House	Senate	Conference
<i>(In thousands of dollars)</i>				
Operation and Maintenance:				
All Other Programs	\$9,023,685	\$9,023,685	\$9,023,685	\$9,023,685
Medical Funding Shortfall	\$0	300,000	\$0	\$289,500
Laboratory Technology Demonstration	\$0	1,000	\$0	1,000
Physician Assistant/Rural Health Demo	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,250
Cancel DBOF Base Support Test	49,853	\$0	\$0	\$0
William Beaumont ADP/Indigents' care	\$0	2,500	\$0	2,500
Medical Imaging Network—Washington	\$0	3,000	\$0	3,000
Head and Neck Injury Initiative	6,000	7,000	6,000	7,000
Composite Health Care System (CHCS)	\$0	20,000	\$0	9,000
Blood/Anatomic Pathology Applications	\$0	10,000	\$0	5,000
Undistributed Increase	\$0	\$0	272,762	\$0
Nursing Research	\$0	\$0	(3,000)	3,000
Nurse Practitioner Program	\$0	\$0	(2,000)	2,000
Pacific Island Referral Program	\$0	\$0	(2,500)	2,500
Brown Tree Snakes	\$0	\$0	(1,000)	1,000
Clinic Investigation/Tripler	\$0	\$0	(500)	500
National Museum of Health and Medicine	\$0	\$0	(1,500)	1,500
Total—Operation and Maintenance	9,080,538	9,368,185	9,303,447	9,352,435
Procurement:				
All Other Programs	272,762	272,762	272,762	272,762
Digital Mammography System	0	3,500	0	875
Total—Procurement	272,762	276,262	272,762	273,637
Total—Defense Health Program	9,353,300	9,644,447	9,576,209	9,626,072

CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS FORT BRAGG MENTAL HEALTH DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

The conferees support the House position and recognize that to ensure continuation of the current services the demonstration authority must be extended to allow for the delivery of and payment for services currently not part of the CHAMPUS benefit.

PHYSICIAN ASSISTANT/RURAL HEALTH CARE DEMONSTRATION

The conferees support the House position. In addition, the conferees agree to \$250,000 in additional funding for this ongoing demonstration project to expand its scope to study cost effective methods of providing rural health care.

UNIFORMED SERVICES UNIVERSITY OF THE HEALTH SCIENCES (USUHS)

The conferees do not agree with the House report language.

NONPHYSICIANS RANK STRUCTURE

The conferees remain concerned about the inability of nonphysicians (particularly the Nurse Corps) to achieve adequate numbers in the upper ranks of captain (Navy) and colonel, as well as flag and general officer ranks. The conferees believe the Department should address this inequity by providing more career advancement options to affected officers.

HEALTH MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Biofeedback care.—The conferees continue to support CHAMPUS reimbursements for biofeedback care.

Patient records.—The Department is encouraged to ensure that patient medical records are integrated, such that all health care providers, including nurses, utilize the same form.

Psychology Prescription Privileges.—The conferees agree to delete a general provision detailing certain restrictions regarding this program, as proposed by the Senate. The conferees expect the Department to continue to provide regular and timely reports to the Congress on the status of the psychology prescription privilege training project.

Amendment No. 117: Earmarks \$273,637,000 instead of \$276,262,000 as proposed by the House and \$272,762,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 118: Inserts Senate language that includes the State of New Mexico in one multi-state expansion region of a mail service pharmacy program.

Amendment No. 119: Restores House language for the continuation of the cooperative program model recently established at Madigan Medical Center for severely behavior disordered students; deletes House language which made a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorizing legislation; inserts Senate language providing \$1,410,000 for annual incentive pay bonuses for certified nurse anesthetists; and inserts Senate language providing \$3,000,000 for nursing research programs.

CHEMICAL AGENTS AND MUNITIONS DESTRUCTION, DEFENSE

Amendment No. 120: Appropriates a total of \$389,947,000 for Chemical Agents and Munitions Destruction, Defense, instead of \$397,561,000 as proposed by the House and \$395,847,000 as proposed by the Senate.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Amendment No. 121: Earmarks \$291,261,000 for operation and maintenance, instead of \$292,061,000 as proposed by the House and \$278,361,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The reduction of \$16,900,000 below the budget is to be applied to Anniston reconfiguration operations (–\$10,000,000), Tooele systemization (–\$5,900,000) and CSSEP (–\$1,000,000).

The conferees have agreed to restore \$1,000,000 of the \$2,000,000 Senate reduction for anticipated savings in FEMA's overhead cost. The action is based on assurances from representatives from the Department of Defense and FEMA that steps have been and are continuing to be taken to improve the management of the CSSEP program. In addition, it is based on assurances by the new Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy that a thorough review of the CSSEP will be conducted and that a decision on the management structure will be forthcoming in this fiscal year.

PROCUREMENT

Amendment No. 122: Earmarks \$67,986,000 for procurement instead of \$74,800,000 as proposed by the House and \$65,886,000 as pro-

posed by the Senate, and adds the words "shall be for Procurement" as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement includes the following reductions below the budget estimate:

DBOF	–\$11,000,000
Transfer to R&D	–5,700,000
Umatilla long lead equipment	–19,000,000
Pine Bluff equipment	–21,800,000

The \$700,000 remaining in the bill for the Pine Bluff facility provides only for continuing design and engineering work. The \$19,200,000 remaining for the Umatilla facility provides for long lead equipment procurement. The conferees stipulate, however, that any equipment procured with these funds must be required for the facility regardless of which destruction technology is chosen for that facility. In other words, no "baseline-unique" equipment may be procured.

Amendment No. 123: Deletes House language "shall be for Procurement" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 124: Earmarks \$30,700,000 for research, development, test and evaluation as proposed by the House instead of \$51,600,000 as proposed by the Senate and adds "shall be for Research, development, test and evaluation" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 125: Deletes House language "shall be available for Research, development, test and evaluation" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 126: Deletes House language making a portion of the appropriation available for obligation only after enactment of authorization legislation.

DRUG INTERDICTION AND COUNTER-DRUG ACTIVITIES

Amendment No. 127: Appropriates \$868,260,000 instead of \$757,785,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,080,656,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conference agreement on the items in conference is as follows:

	1994 Pres. budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
Military Personnel:				
Army Reserve	5,820	5,820	5,820	5,820
Army National Guard	123,381	123,381	123,381	123,381
Navy Reserve	4,374	4,374	4,374	4,374
Marine Corps Reserve	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
Air Force	13,922	13,922	13,922	13,922
Air Force Reserve	6,200	6,200	6,200	6,200
Air National Guard	28,894	28,894	28,894	28,894
SOC	720	720	720	720
Subtotal, Military Personnel	185,391	185,391	185,391	185,391
Operation and Maintenance:				
Army	147,428	147,428	123,771	147,428
Navy	240,391	240,391	213,391	240,391
Marine Corps	10,345	10,345	10,345	10,345
Air Force	199,808	199,808	157,608	199,808
Defense Agencies	92,248	92,248	92,248	92,248
Army Reserve	7,772	7,772	7,772	7,772
Navy Reserve	8,197	8,197	8,197	8,197
Marine Corps Reserve	2,329	2,329	2,329	2,329
Air Force Reserve	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Army National Guard	23,654	23,654	24,654	23,654
Air National Guard	6,896	6,896	6,896	6,896
SOC	14,449	14,449	14,449	14,449
Undistributed Reduction		(180,000)		(137,331)
OMASS		(500)		(500)
OSD Support		(1,000)		(1,000)
Support to Law Enforcement		(10,000)		(2,000)
Theater CINC Support		(1,500)		(1,500)
Classified		(112,862)		(96,235)
Gulf States Initiative		5,900	3,200	3,200
Civil Air Patrol		400		400
Multi-jurisdictional Task Force		2,000		2,000
Police Research Institute		1,100		0

(In thousands of dollars)

[In thousands of dollars]

	1994 Pres. budget	HAC	SAC	Conference
Subtotal, O&M	759,517	463,055	670,860	530,051
Procurement:				
Procurement, Army	61,263	61,263	56,898	61,263
Procurement, Navy	11,802	11,802	11,802	11,802
Procurement, MC	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500
Procurement, AF	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500
Procurement, Def Ags	36,378	36,378	36,378	36,378
National Guard/Reserve	21,447	21,447	21,447	21,447
Procurement, SOC	1,376	1,376	1,376	1,376
Air Force Reserve Counter-Drug Support		(4,000)		(4,000)
Classified		(58,437)		(55,397)
Undistributed Reduction		(10,000)		
Subtotal, Procurement	141,266	68,829	136,901	81,869
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation				
Army	10,282	10,282	7,760	10,282
Navy	961	961	961	961
Defense Agencies	70,783	70,783	78,783	74,783
Counterdrug R&D		(7,000)		(3,500)
Classified		(24,516)		(11,637)
Undistributed Reduction		(10,000)		
Subtotal, RDT&E	82,026	40,510	87,504	70,889
Total, Drug Interdiction	\$1,168,200	\$757,785	\$1,080,656	\$868,200

JTF-6

The conferees agree with the House position regarding the limitation on obligations for Defense Department training support to law enforcement agencies and also agree that this limitation shall only apply to Joint Task Force 6 activities.

LIGHT ARMORED VEHICLES (LAVS)

The conferees agree with the House position regarding Light Armored Vehicles (LAVs) to be used by the national guard to support activities of law enforcement agencies in the counter-drug program. The conferees do not agree with the Senate language which directs the Marine Corps to transfer 4 LAVs to the National guard for a two year demonstration project. The conferees therefore direct the Defense Department to acquire these vehicles and equipment as directed in the fiscal year 1993 Defense Appropriations Act. It is the conferees belief that with the acquisition of the fiscal year 1993 LAVs, the requirements of the National guard in this mission area will have fully been met.

MILITARY DRUG REHABILITATION FACILITY

The conferees agree to provide \$3,500,000 to assist in the establishment of a military style boot camp to be located in Cook County, Illinois which concentrates on substance abuse intervention of the youthful drug offender using traditional therapeutic community approaches along with military discipline. The conferees also direct that the Defense Department provide assistance to the county sheriff's office in the planning of a military style regimen and curricula at the facility.

GULF STATES INITIATIVE

The conferees have provided \$3,200,000 for the Gulf States Counter-Narcotics Initiative (GSCI). The conferees understand the Defense Department plans to reprogram additional funds to the GSCI and expects this to occur so that the fiscal year 1994 funds along with reprogrammed funds will be enough for sustainment and enhancement costs in fiscal year 1994. The conferees concur with the House direction regarding future management for the GSCI C4 network.

COUNTER-DRUG MULTI-JURISDICTIONAL TASK FORCE TRAINING

The conferees agree to provide \$2,000,000 for the Multi-jurisdictional task force training program identified by both the House and Senate. The conferees have provided addi-

tional funding above the budget request for this program and in addition to those amounts requested and identified in this bill for National Guard Counter-drug activities. The additional funding in made available only for the Florida National Guard to implement counter-drug operations courses developed during fiscal year 1993, including \$905,000 for the procurement of equipment for the delivery of the distance learning module to public administrators.

LAND BASED AEROSTATS

The conferees are deeply concerned about the degradation of operational readiness of the land based aerostat program currently managed by the Air force. The conferees therefore direct the Department of Defense Coordinator for Drug Enforcement Policy to provide a report detailing the status of the land based aerostat network and corrective action required to maintain an adequate level of coverage. The conferees further direct that the Committees on Appropriations be notified prior to any action which deactivates a land based aerostat site.

LINGUIST AND INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS SERVICE

Consistent with section 1004 of the fiscal year 1991 National Defense Authorization Act, the Conferees direct that \$5,000,000 is available solely for the purpose of supporting the translation needs of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

COUNTER-NARCOTICS R&D

The conferees direct that none of the funding reductions taken to the fiscal year 1994 counter-drug research and development budget be taken against existing cargo inspection site efforts.

Amendment No. 128: Amends House language earmarking funds for the Gulf States Counter-Narcotics Initiative.

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

Amendment No. 129: Appropriates \$137,601,000 instead of \$169,801,000 as proposed by the House and \$127,601,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 130: Earmarks \$136,801,000 instead of \$169,001,000 as proposed by the House and \$126,801,000 as proposed by the Senate for operation and maintenance.

The conferees recommend an additional \$10,000,000 for the increased audit and investigative workload of the Office of the Inspector General.

CONSOLIDATION OF DEFENSE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE FUNCTIONS

The conferees are deeply concerned about the effectiveness and efficiency of the Department's criminal investigative functions. In an attempt to address these concerns, the possibility of consolidating criminal investigative functions under the Department of Defense Inspector General was considered by the conferees in each of the past two years. However, the conferees recognize that such consolidation should take place based on careful analysis of the problems inherent to the current structure, and on a thorough review of possible alternatives.

The conferees support the DoD plan to form an Advisory Board which will perform a comprehensive review of all the issues relating to the conduct of investigative functions. The Secretary of Defense is directed to submit an interim report, not later than June 30, 1994, which describes the status of the Advisory Board's review of these issues, including the consolidation of criminal investigative activities, and provides preliminary findings and conclusions. In particular, the conferees direct that the report include, but not be limited to, consolidation of procurement fraud investigation. Finally, the conferees direct the Department to submit a final report of the findings and recommendations of the Advisory Board before the end of calendar year 1994.

TITLE VII

Amendment No. 131: Restores House language "National Foreign Intelligence Program" as the title.

Amendment No. 132: Deletes the House provision which abolishes the National Security Education Trust Fund and appropriates \$10,000,000 from the fund.

Amendment No. 133: Appropriates \$151,288,000 for the Community Management Staff, instead of \$114,688,000 as proposed by the House and \$115,788,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The conferees agree that the Community Management Staff was established to assist the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) in his community-wide functions. Therefore, the conferees have transferred funds into this account in order to fund those programs that are DCI related. The conferees agree to provide \$24,000,000 for the Environmental Task Force.

NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (NFIP) BUDGET JUSTIFICATION

The conferees agree to delete the provision proposed by the House requiring by law that the budget justification material for the NFIP be significantly improved. However, the conferees agree fully with the intent of the House and direct that the NFIP budget material submitted in conjunction with the fiscal year 1995 request clearly display all programs, define all requirements, and justify all resource requests. The conferees also explicitly stipulate that each individual program must provide complete details for the entire request, not simply any changes from the "base" level provided in the prior fiscal year.

NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (NFIP) REQUIREMENTS BOARDS

The House included a provision directing that a majority of the members of all NFIP requirements boards, committees, and panels represent the ultimate users of the intelligence information being required. Currently, all such panels are composed entirely of career intelligence professionals. The conferees are encouraged with recent steps taken by the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) to improve the responsiveness of the intelligence requirements, collection, production, and dissemination process. The conferees, therefore, agree to delete the provision proposed by the House in order to allow the DCI one additional year to implement demonstrable improvements.

AUTHORIZATION OF INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS

The conferees agree to include section 8152 which provides that funds appropriated by this Act for intelligence or intelligence-related activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of section 504 of the National Security Act of 1947 until such time during fiscal year 1994 as the Intelligence Authorization Act for fiscal year 1994 is enacted into law.

TITLE VIII—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Amendment No. 134: Inserts Senate language to exempt foreign nationals employed in the Republic of Turkey from the limitations prescribed under the provision.

Amendment No. 135: Restores House language which extends an Administration disapproval notification period from six to eighteen months for a GP-160 AIDS vaccine trial.

Amendment No. 136: Places a ceiling on the transfer of funds between accounts at \$2,500,000,000 instead of \$2,000,000,000 proposed by the House and \$1,500,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 137: Deletes House language which provides for a civilian military technician floor and an active Guard or Reserve ceiling, and inserts Senate language allowing Operation and maintenance funding to be used for civic action teams and transporting civilian personnel to various Pacific treatment facilities.

AGR'S/CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS

The conferees agree to delete section 8012 as proposed by the House in order not to conflict with or prejudice the President's Report of the National Performance Review.

In taking this action, the conferees urge the reserve components to adhere to the intent of the House provision. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs shall monitor the reserve components to make sure that they do not convert technician positions to AGRs, and that technician personnel are not included in any administratively imposed freeze on civilian posi-

tions. The following table shows the breakdown of the AGRs/technicians.

	Budget	Conference	Conference versus budget
AGR/TARS:			
Army Reserve	12,542	12,542	
Navy Reserve	19,369	19,369	
Marine Corps Reserve	2,119	2,285	+166
Air Force Reserve	648	648	
Army National Guard	24,180	24,180	
Air National Guard	9,389	9,389	
Total	68,247	68,413	+166
Technicians:			
Army Reserve	7,159	7,159	
Air Force Reserve	10,484	10,541	+57
Army National Guard	27,259	27,259	
Air National Guard	24,251	24,251	
Total	69,153	69,210	+57

The Department submits a monthly report on active duty personnel end strengths to the defense committees. The conferees direct that the Department resume submitting a monthly end strength report on the Selected Reserve and AGRs and begin a monthly end strength report on technician personnel.

Amendment No. 138: Restores House language prohibiting management of DOD civilian personnel on the basis of end strength and retains Senate language which limits the number of civilian workyears that DOD may fund outside the United States and its territories.

Amendment No. 139: Restores and amends House language which provides that the automated information systems oversight review board will be independent of any other department review function; provides open systems capability to the Composite Health Care System (CHCS); and provides for the inclusion of anatomic pathology and blood components; and deletes two Senate provisions, the first regarding major automated information systems which have not completed oversight reviews required by Department regulations, and the second had set a limit of \$1,600,000,000 as the total life-cycle cost for the CHCS.

DEFENSE BLOOD STANDARD SYSTEM (DBSS)

The conferees support the House position with regard to the deployment of the Defense Blood Standard System (DBSS), but have expanded its deployment to include, for medical readiness requirements, ten Primary Casualty Receiving Hospitals (PCRHS) and two military hospitals outside the continental United States with transfusion services only. The conferees direct that a competitively procured commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) product, open system complaint and fully compatible with CHCS, shall be the blood bank application for all remaining Department hospital-based transfusion services.

Amendment No. 104: Inserts Senate language requiring the Department to develop and implement a nationwide managed health care program with stated characteristics, and directs entire system implementation to be completed by September 30, 1996. In addition, restores and amends House language requiring the Department to competitively award at least four new region-wide contracts, provides preemption for these contracts, directs the Department to award two contracts for managed mental health services consistent with the Department's managed mental health care contract, and provides for managed health care in the Home-stead catchment area.

MENTAL HEALTH CARE

The conferees are pleased with the delivery of mental health benefits through the com-

petitively procured, at-risk managed care project to over 250,000 CHAMPUS beneficiaries in the Tidewater area of Virginia. The General Accounting Office documented that the cost savings from this project alone were \$148,000,000. Because of the Department's severe funding constraints, the conferees would like to see similar savings achieved in other high mental health cost areas as soon as possible, along with the concurrent high beneficiary satisfaction, and therefore include a provision to competitively expand the Tidewater concept as a step toward cost-effectiveness and nationwide beneficiary equity.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

The conferees direct the Department to establish a nation-wide military health care system featuring a uniform, stabilized benefit structure for all military members, retirees, and their families. The conferees understand that this direction entails a radical restructuring of the current military health care system. As such, they intend to work closely with the Department to establish an appropriate implementation schedule for this new program. In particular, the conferees believe it essential that details regarding the provision of health care for eligible beneficiaries at bases to be closed, over-the-counter prescription drug programs, dental benefits, mental health care benefits, and the role of the uniformed service treatment facilities be included in the plan to be provided to Congress.

The conferees are concerned that, as the Department transitions from health care demonstrations to the new nationwide program, some beneficiaries already participating in ongoing managed care programs within regions could have their care disrupted. The conferees encourage the Department to continue to closely monitor this concern, and to phase implementation of managed health care whenever possible, so that beneficiaries will continue to receive access to uninterrupted quality health care when necessary.

Amendment No. 141: Restores and amends House language providing funds for the Reserve Component Automation System and mandating other limitations; and inserts and amends Senate language limiting expenditures for Computer Aided Acquisition and Logistics Systems without approval of Departmental officials.

Amendment No. 142: Restores House language prohibiting the purchase of certain molded shipboard anchor and mooring chains outside the United States and inserts and amends Senate language directing the Department of Defense to replace old security locks with GSA approved locks, except for certain locks required by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Amendment No. 143: Restores House language providing authority for DOD to exempt military technicians and medical personnel and programs from sequestration; and inserts Senate language requiring calculation of total costs for ship overhaul competition.

Amendment No. 144: Restores and amends House language restricting the expenditure of funds for specific Department of Defense consolidations or realignments without certain required certifications by the Department of Defense Comptroller.

The conferees specifically state that the provisions of this section only apply to the sites listed in the section. It is the conferees' firm intention that none of the provisions of this section impact, in any way, the current Base Closure and Realignment Act or its 1993

implementation. However, the conferees direct the Department of Defense to follow the direction provided in House Report 103-254, pages 306-308, especially regarding the circumvention of Congressional oversight and the utilization of criteria for future consolidations or realignments below threshold. The conferees direct the Comptroller General to provide an analysis as to whether or not the Department's submission of the DOD Data Center consolidation to the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission violated the funding restrictions or reporting requirements of section 9047, P.L. 102-396 in effect at the time of the submission to the Commission. The conferees direct the Secretary of Defense to provide to the Appropriations Committees a cost comparison and feasibility analysis of having the Department of Agriculture National Finance Center provide financial management support services through cross servicing arrangements for Defense Department and service civilians and civilian systems.

Amendment No. 145: Inserts Senate language which requires any pay raise to be absorbed within amounts funded in the bill.

Amendment No. 146: Deletes House language and inserts Senate language to apply restrictions on bone trauma research to any Army research laboratory.

Amendment No. 147: Restores House language which limits funds for relocation of an organization, activity or function into or within the National Capital Region and inserts and amends Senate language regarding high unemployment in noncontiguous states.

Amendment No. 148: Deletes House language that provided a floor on medical personnel end strength overall and at a select location; and inserts and amends Senate language concerning Indian Tribal corporations and Alaska Native corporations.

MEDICAL PERSONNEL END STRENGTH

The conferees agree to remove a provision establishing a floor on medical personnel end strength levels. However, the conferees urge the Department to carefully monitor the level of all medical and medical support personnel to ensure that CHAMPUS costs do not escalate.

The conferees strongly support sound Graduate Medical Education (GME) for the Military Health Services System. Every effort should be made by the Department to maintain high quality and cost-effective GME programs. The size of individual GME programs (within accreditation constraints) should be reduced only to reflect the decline in the requirements for Interns-Residents—Fellows and be based on the Services' demonstrated need for given types and numbers of specialists and subspecialists. Duplicative GME programs in close geographical proximity may be closed where the patient population clearly cannot support multiple programs and the Services cannot demonstrate requirements for the types and numbers of specialists to be trained.

TRIBAL AND ALASKA NATIVE CORPORATIONS

The conference agreement on Indian Tribal corporations and Alaska Native corporations assures that they will not be precluded from having their offers considered for a contract opportunity being solicited and awarded pursuant to section 2323 of title X, United States Code, on the basis that the firm is offering the product as a regular dealer and will be supplying a product furnished by suppliers who are responsible small business manufacturers (or processors) of the product. The provision is designed to overcome obstacles erected by certain DOD buying organizations

through unpublished deviations to published procurement regulations.

Amendment No. 149: Provides \$11,679,000 as proposed by the House for Civil Air Patrol instead of \$10,596,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 150: Restores House amount for operation and maintenance funding for the Civil Air Patrol.

Amendment No. 151: Restores House language on the National Drug Intelligence Center and inserts Senate language for environmental cleanup and remediation of Kahoolawe Island.

Amendment No. 152: Restores and amends House provision concerning multibeam sonar mapping systems and inserts and amends Senate provision concerning the Indian Financing Act.

The conference agreement on multibeam sonar mapping systems conforms the provision to last years legislation.

The conference agreement on the Indian Financing Act changes section number and makes clear that Indian subcontracting incentive payments are available under any prime contract or covered subcontract (those in excess of \$500,000) which require the submission of a subcontracting plan pursuant to Section 8(d) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 637(d)).

Amendment No. 153: Restores House language providing "appropriations as necessary" to continue CHAMPUS benefits for disabled care and deletes the Senate language.

CHAMPUS BENEFITS FOR THE DISABLED

The conferees have been frustrated by the Department's inability to provide data on the economic impact of this provision. Therefore, the conferees agree to remove the spending cap on this fund. Thus, the Department is directed to specifically track the benefits paid as a result of this language and provide this data to the Committees on Appropriations of the House and Senate every six months, beginning March 1, 1994.

Amendment No. 154: Restores and amends Senate language concerning Federally Funded Research and Development Centers (FFRDCs). The conferees agree to place a ceiling on funds to finance FFRDCs at \$1,352,650,000, a reduction of \$200,000,000 of funds for FFRDCs in this Act to reflect the ceiling, and adds a reduction of \$200,000,000 in titles III and IV to reflect savings from the decreased use of non-FFRDC consulting services by the Department of Defense.

Amendment No. 155: Restores House language on the procurement for carbon, alloy, or armor steel plate; deletes House language on sealift funds; inserts Senate language on the Common Airborne Instrumentation System; and restores Senate language on research grants from unobligated balances available in the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund.

Amendment No. 156: Restores and amends House language providing funds for the cleanup of hazardous waste contamination at Hamilton Air Force Base and provides for other requirements to complete the cleanup; and inserts Senate language on Defense Technology and Industrial Base Analyses.

HAMILTON AIR FORCE BASE

The conferees have included bill language addressing the disposition of the real property at the Hamilton Air Force Base in California. The General Services Administration is still negotiating the sale of this property to a private concern, including the possible sale of the complete parcel at a renegotiated price.

The bill language permits transfer of the property to the City of Novato in the event that the private concern withdraws from its agreement to purchase the entire parcel. The conferees have considered this language carefully, particularly the terms permitting the city to sell portions of the property following improvement or development.

In the event the city of Novato sells a parcel of land for a price which exceeds the combined value of the unimproved property and the cost of improvements made by the city, the Army is to receive all proceeds less the demonstrated reasonable costs of conducting the sale and the actual cost of any improvements.

In the event the city of Novato sells a parcel of land for a price which is less than the combined value of the unimproved property and the cost of improvements, the Army still is to receive an amount equal to the full value of the unimproved, environmentally restored property.

According to the recommended provision, the full cost of improvements can only be deducted from the sale price if the improvements provide an increase in the value of the property which equals or exceeds the total cost of the improvements.

The recommended provision also requires the Defense Contract Audit Agency (DCAA) to complete a thorough, independent audit of all of the purchaser's predevelopment costs and claims. To avoid undue delays in reimbursing valid purchaser claims, the conferees expect DCAA to expeditiously complete this audit and provide it to the congressional defense committees. DCAA may consider data obtained by other audit agencies in completing its review.

Amendment No. 157: Restores House provision concerning chromite ore and manganese ore in the National Defense Stockpile and inserts and amends Senate provision concerning chemical weapons studies.

The conference agreement on chemical weapons studies changes section number and provides that chemical weapon transportation studies requested of the General Accounting Office by a Member of Congress or a Congressional Committee are permitted.

Amendment No. 158: Inserts Senate language that restricts construction of the Pentagon facility and deletes House language.

Amendment No. 159: Deletes House language restricting construction of an integral part of the Pentagon facility.

Amendment No. 160: Restores House language prohibiting construction of Ground Wave Emergency Network sites in fiscal year 1994.

Amendment No. 161: Inserts Senate provision concerning participation of Naval shipyards in manufacturing extension programs and changes section number.

Amendment No. 162: Inserts Senate language to allow availability of funds for covering relocation costs from the Philippines to sites in the United States.

Amendments No. 163: Restores House language prohibiting the use of funds to relocate the 116th Fighter Wing from Dobbins Air Reserve Base or to convert that wing to B-1B aircraft and restores and amends Senate language regarding the relocation of headquarters functions from Charleston, South Carolina.

Amendment No. 164: Restores House language that allows the exchange of real estate property in Texas and deletes Senate language contained in FY 1993 Defense Appropriations Bill that permanently allows firms of NATO members or any major non-NATO ally to bid on any maintenance of equipment for the Department of Defense.

Amendment No. 165: Restores and amends House language concerning the procurement of aircraft fuel cells; and inserts and amends Senate language concerning B-2 maintenance support.

Amendment No. 166: Restores House language allowing the Department to conduct an ROTC demonstration project at the University of Indiana-Northwest and deletes Senate language regarding certain funds for university research grants.

Amendment No. 167: Inserts Senate amount of \$25,000 limiting item unit cost that can be purchased with operation and maintenance funds instead of \$50,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 168: Deletes House language prohibiting the use of funds for indirect support of the joint Department of Defense/Department of Energy Safeguard C program.

DEFENSE NUCLEAR AGENCY (DNA)

The conferees agree to realign funding for support of certain Johnston Atoll military operations, transferring all funds included in the DNA budget request for this program to the Army. Also, the conference agreement eliminates all Department of Defense funding for the Safeguard C program. The conferees recognize that Department of Defense/Department of Energy contractual arrangements on Johnston Atoll provide base support for other non-Safeguard C activities. These include a Defense Nuclear Agency plutonium cleanup and the Army Johnston Atoll Chemical Agent Demilitarization System (JACADS). The action directed here is not intended to affect the current support arrangements for non-Safeguard C activities on the Atoll. The conferees, however, direct the Department to include, in the fiscal year 1995 budget, the transition of Johnston Atoll base support functions from the current joint DOE/DNA arrangement to the Army.

Amendment No. 169: Restores House language which allows DOD to consider qualified bids from any eligible country under the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act; and inserts Senate language which provides funding for the mitigation of environmental impacts resulting from military operations on Indian lands.

Amendment No. 170: Deletes House language regarding Senior Executive Service positions in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works; deletes Senate language which restricts the use of funds for the training of psychologists in the prescription of drugs; and inserts language that transfers funds to the National Park Service for various projects and programs.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

The conferees agree to delete section 8096 as proposed by the House concerning the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works. In doing so, the conferees remain very concerned about the lack of responsiveness in this Office to explicit Congressional direction. Not more than \$530,000 of the funds appropriated in title II of this Act for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works may be obligated or expended until the Secretary of Defense has submitted a report to the Committee on Appropriations outlining the mission of this Office and its responsiveness to Congressional statements of intent as written in statute and accompanying reports over the past ten years. The conferees direct that the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Civil Works respond to Congressional inquiries through the normal budget and policy liaison offices designated to work with the Congress.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The conferees agree to provide an additional \$25,000,000 to be transferred to the National Park Service for these purposes: (1) \$10,000,000 to repair and rehabilitate military structures transferred from the Department of Defense to the National Park Service as part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and, of this amount, \$7,500,000 shall be provided for the repair and rehabilitation of military structures to be outleased after transfer to the National Park Service; (2) \$10,000,000 to convert and rehabilitate military structures at Fort Wadsworth, New York, for National Park Service purposes, but these funds shall not be used to mitigate any toxic hazards on the site; and (3) \$5,000,000 for the National Park Service's cultural cyclic resource system.

Amendment No. 171: Restores House provision concerning the use of the Defense Business Operations Fund for investment items and deletes Senate provision which keeps stock fund obligations-to-sales ratio at 70 percent.

DBOF INVESTMENT ITEM PROHIBITION

The conferees agree to restore the House provision restricting the introduction of procurement end-items into the supply system managed under the Defense Business Operations Fund (DBOF). This provision, however, does not restrict the introduction into the DBOF supply system of initial or replenishment spare parts that are now or were at one time purchased with procurement funds.

Amendment No. 172: Deletes House provision permitting the procurement of Apache and AHIP aircraft and inserts Senate provision limiting certain equipment modifications.

Amendment No. 173: Inserts and amends Senate language concerning the purchase of alcoholic beverages for resale by nonappropriated fund activities. The conferees deleted Senate language which included cigarettes in this provision.

Amendment No. 174: Restores House language on intelligence personnel compensation and reductions and inserts Senate language on National Defense Science and Engineering Graduate Fellowships.

Amendment No. 175: Restore House language making permanent a provision on Central Intelligence Agency construction projects.

Amendment No. 176: Restore House language making permanent the provision that waives monetary limitation on the purchase price of passenger vehicles for intelligence activities.

Amendment No. 177: Restore House language making permanent a provision on transfer of funds between the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense.

Amendment No. 178: Restores House language concerning the General Defense Intelligence Program; deletes House language concerning the National Foreign Intelligence Program; restores House language concerning the Defense Mapping Agency; restores House language providing a pay raise for the United States Coast Guard; deletes House language on depot-level maintenance; restores House language concerning Letterkenny Army Depot; deletes House language concerning the USH-42 Mission Recorder program; restores and amends House language concerning the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center; restores House language concerning the DDG-51 destroyer program; restores House language concerning the Mine Warfare Center of Excellence; deletes House language placing an outlay cell-

ing on funds in the Act; inserts Senate language concerning military treatment facilities; deletes Senate language concerning summer school operations at DODDS schools; inserts Senate language extending obligations on funds for international sporting competitions; inserts Senate language concerning the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) Radar System Improvement Program; inserts Senate language concerning the transportation of chemical munitions to Johnston Atoll; inserts Senate language concerning the Naval Air Station at Barbers Point; deletes Senate language restricting B-1B funding; inserts and amends Senate language concerning Italian air defense agreements; deletes Senate language concerning the 52 caliber-variant of the M109 howitzer; and inserts Senate language concerning high frequency satellites. Also, amends section numbers.

Amendments No. 179-189: Amends Senate language which makes transfers of funds required to finance prior year shipbuilding program.

Amendment No. 190: Deletes House language defining the membership of intelligence requirements boards, deletes House provision directing obligation of \$55,500,000 provided in fiscal year 1993 solely for the Space Nuclear Thermal Propulsion (SNTF) program, and inserts a provision deleting the statutory requirement reserving the funds exclusively for the SNTF program; the conferees agree to transfer the fiscal year 1993 SNTF funds to the Navy to help meet ship cost adjustment funding needs. Inserts and amends Senate language on the High Performance Computing Modernization program, and inserts Senate language on the National Science Center for Communications and Electronics.

Amendment No. 191: Restores and amends House provision concerning procurement of enclosed lifeboat systems (changing percentages from 75 to 50), restores House provision concerning a United Nations peacekeeping facility, deletes Senate provision concerning sale of tanks and infantry fighting vehicles, and deletes Senate provision concerning the Small Business Innovation Research Program and the Small Business Technology Transfer Pilot Program.

Amendment No. 192: Inserts and amends House language to consolidate four Buy American provisions into one provision; deletes Senate language on the Electro-magnetic Pulse Radiation Environment Simulator for Ships (EMPRESS II) program; inserts and amends Senate language on Separation Benefits; inserts Senate language on the Assistive Technology Center at the National Rehabilitation Hospital; deletes Senate language on the Marshall Center, and inserts language on the purchase of United States coal or coke. Also, amends section numbers.

Amendment No. 193: Deletes Senate language which extends obligational authority for funds provided for disaster relief efforts.

Amendment No. 194: Inserts Senate language expanding existing authority to allow funds from the Defense Emergency Response Fund to cover disaster relief operations costs.

Amendment No. 195: Deletes Senate language that sets a ceiling on U.S. funding of the NATO headquarters.

The conferees agree to remove the NATO headquarters obligation limitation included in the Senate bill. Nonetheless, the conferees remain concerned about the apparent lack of fiscal restraint exhibited by NATO budget managers in the face of continuing allied force reductions and constrained economic

conditions. As such, the conferees urged the Department, in cooperation with the other NATO allies, to reduce administrative overhead and other management costs. The conferees intend to review the Department's progress in this regard. Should adequate fiscal constraint not be obtained, the conferees will consider proposing remedies in future legislative actions.

Amendment No. 196: Inserts Senate language on contracts for studies, analyses, or consulting services, and amends section number.

Amendment No. 197: Inserts Senate language which transfers a tract of land at Charleston Naval Base to the Secretary of State.

Amendment No. 198: Inserts and amends Senate language which provides \$5,300,000 in additional funds for a death gratuity to a beneficiary of a deceased service member who died after October 28, 1992 and before December 1, 1992.

Amendment No. 199: Deletes Senate language regarding transfer from the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund.

Amendment No. 200: Deletes Senate language regarding managed health care at Homestead Air Force Base, Florida, since this provision is addressed under Amendment No. 104.

Amendment No. 201: Inserts and amends Senate language which provides for the rescission of certain fiscal year 1992 and fiscal year 1993 funds.

RESCISSION OF FUNDS

	House	Senate	Conference
FISCAL YEAR 1992			
PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY			
8-inch M1 green bag propelling charge	0	-\$8,181,000	-\$8,181,000
M762 electric time artillery fuze	0	-22,000,000	-22,000,000
Subtotal		-30,181,000	-30,181,000
OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY			
LSDS	0	0	-4,000,000
WEAPONS PROCUREMENT, NAVY			
Drones and decoys	0	-10,000,000	-10,000,000
Environmental support equipment	0	-5,000,000	-5,000,000
Subtotal	0	-15,000,000	-15,000,000
PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS			
Light anti-armor weapon	0	-7,130,000	-7,130,000
Items less than \$2 mil	0	-1,144,000	-1,144,000
Subtotals	0	-8,274,000	-8,274,000
OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE			
Items less than \$2,000,000 (cartridges)	0	-3,768,000	-3,768,000
BSU-85/93 inflatable retarder	0	-888,000	-888,000
Sensor fuzed weapon	0	-778,000	-778,000
Spares and repair parts	0	-4,790,000	-4,790,000
Items less than \$2,000,000 (other items)	0	-5,152,000	-5,152,000
FMU-139 fuze	0	-1,900,000	-1,900,000
Subtotal	0	-17,276,000	-17,276,000
TOTAL FISCAL YEAR 1992	0	-70,731,000	-74,731,000
FISCAL YEAR 1993			
AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY			
AH-64 Mods	0	-42,700,000	-42,700,000
PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY			
155mm M203 red bag propelling charge	0	-21,493,000	-21,493,000
.45 caliber cartridges	0	-987,000	-987,000
Volcano	0	0	-30,000,000

RESCISSION OF FUNDS—Continued

	House	Senate	Conference
Subtotal		-22,480,000	-52,480,000
WEAPONS PROCUREMENT, NAVY			
Drones and Decoys	0	-7,500,000	-7,500,000
OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY			
Nuclear Alterations	0	-26,600,000	-26,600,000
PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS			
Linear charges, all types	0	-1,231,000	-1,231,000
Grenades, all types	0	-1,801,000	-1,801,000
Items less than \$2 mil	0	-3,476,000	-3,476,000
Subtotal	0	-6,508,000	-6,508,000
MISSILE PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE			
Target drones	0	-6,000,000	-6,000,000
OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE			
Cartridge chaff RR-180	0	-2,426,000	-2,426,000
Items less than \$2,000,000 (bombs)	0	-1,070,000	-1,070,000
Flare, IR MJU-78	0	-618,000	-618,000
Spares and repair parts	0	-5,948,000	-5,948,000
Modifications	0	-750,000	-750,000
Items less than \$2,000,000 (other items)	0	-2,894,000	-2,894,000
Subtotal	0	-13,706,000	-13,706,000
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST & EVALUATION, AIR FORCE			
Classified EW Technology (Target Drones)	0	0	-45,000,000
Subtotal	0	0	-51,000,000
TOTAL FISCAL YEAR 1993	0	-125,494,000	-206,494,000
TOTAL FY 1992/1993	0	-196,225,000	-281,225,000

155MM LIGHTWEIGHT HOWITZER PROGRAM

The conferees agree not to rescind the \$13,100,000 provided in fiscal year 1993 for the development of the 155mm Lightweight Howitzer as proposed by the Senate. The conferees, however, do direct that no more than 50 percent of these funds may be obligated until a Joint Operational Requirements Document (JORD) is signed by the Army and Marine Corps and provided to the defense committees.

Amendment No. 202: Deletes Senate provision appropriating \$25,000,000 for a loan guarantee subsidy program.

Amendment No. 203: Inserts and amends Senate language concerning the Defense Nuclear Agency.

Amendment No. 204: Deletes Senate language which prohibited funds to be expended for the purpose of establishing the Antler Military Operations Area in Pennsylvania.

ANTLER MILITARY OPERATIONS AREA

The conferees are aware of recent aircraft conversions and modernization programs in the Air National Guard and the effect these conversions will have on training requirements in existing military training airspace in the Northeastern United States. The expansion of an existing training route in Pennsylvania, Antler MOA, is proposed to permit low altitude intercept training. The conferees agree the Air National Guard should not obligate or expend any funds for the implementation of Antler MOA until the Department provides all the information requested, the defense committees have determined that no additional information is needed, and the Congress has had an opportunity to hold hearings on this issue.

Amendment No. 205: Inserts Senate language which provides for the modification and transfer of certain vessels to the government of American Samoa.

Amendment No. 206: Deletes Senate language which placed a cap on Seawolf attack submarine procurement costs.

Amendment No. 207: Deletes Senate language which directed the Comptroller General to study the cost effectiveness of nuclear powered aircraft carriers and submarines.

Amendment No. 208: Inserts Senate language which permits military installations scheduled to be closed to compete for overhaul and depot maintenance workload.

Amendment No. 209: Inserts Senate language which permits operators of industrial facilities at military installations scheduled to be closed to compete for overhaul and depot maintenance workload.

Amendment No. 210: Deletes Senate language which prohibits funds to carry out a test program for determining the cost effectiveness of transferring to the private sector the operation of the Academy preparatory schools.

Amendment No. 211: Inserts Senate language regarding unresolved commercial disputes in Saudi Arabia.

Amendment No. 212: Inserts and amends Senate language that the Secretary of the Air Force consider the interests of the representatives of the Duck Valley Reservation of the Shoshone-Paiute Tribes involving decisions on the use of airspace above the Reservation.

Amendment No. 213: Deletes Senate language which clarifies the eligibility for assistance for certain levees affected by the flooding in the Midwest during 1993.

The conferees believe that the Army Corps of Engineers should develop a plan to rebuild all primary levees located in the area affected by major, widespread flooding in the Midwest during 1993. The plan should cover levees designed for a 5-year flood or higher, regardless of the status of participation (or lack of participation) of the public sponsor in the levee rehabilitation assistance program. Not later than 45 days after enactment of this Act, the Chief of the Army Corps of Engineers shall submit to the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations a report detailing how he plans to address the need to repair these primary levees.

Amendment No. 214: Inserts Senate language that the President should declare for purposes of section 112 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 that service in Somalia should be treated as service in a combat zone.

Amendment No. 215: Deletes Senate language expressing the sense of the Senate concerning hearings on the commitment of combat troops in Somalia.

Amendment No. 216: Inserts and amends Senate language regarding the obligation of funds for the USH-42 mission recorder within sixty days.

Amendment No. 217: Inserts and amends State language which requires a report on the cost of cargo preference laws.

Amendment No. 218: Inserts Senate provision concerning progress payments for C-17 aircraft and changes section number.

Amendment No. 219: Deletes Senate language providing limitations on certain research and development programs.

Amendment No. 220: Inserts Senate language expressing the sense of the Congress on funding for U.S. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Amendment No. 221: Inserts Senate language expressing the sense of the Congress on the use of funds for military operations in Haiti.

Amendment No. 222: Inserts and amends Senate provision concerning the Department of Defense Mentor-Protege program, and inserts eight new provisions: a provision to

provide authority to transfer energy savings to various accounts; a provision to transfer the U.S.S. Blueback; a provision regarding U.S. operations in Somalia; a provision regarding funds for intelligence and intelligence-related activities; a sense of the Congress provision requiring the President to consult with Congress when U.S. armed forces are used for peacekeeping or peace-enforcement operations; a provision on A-6 rewing program; a provision which will lower progress payments based on costs to 75 percent for large businesses; and a provision on payment of logistical support costs for Somalia operations.

MENTOR-PROTEGE PROGRAM

The conference agreement changes section number and provides flexibility so that funds for the Mentor-Protege program may be used for programs funded by research and development and operation and maintenance appropriations.

A-6 CANCELLATION

The Navy has recently moved to terminate contracts associated with the rewinging of A-6 aircraft. At the time of the President's budget submission, it was fully expected that these contracts would be completed in their entirety. Thus, CBO and OMB scoring of prior year program outlays occurring in fiscal year 1994 included outlays associated with these efforts. Since the funds associated with the terminated contracts are expired and no longer available for new obligation, the resultant contractual actions should result in real outlay savings in fiscal year 1994. It is estimated that the Defense Department will recoup at least \$460 million in termination costs and that approximately \$260 million in outlays will be avoided in fiscal year 1994 that were originally expected to occur.

The conferees have included a general provision to ensure that the Defense Department proceeds on its present course of action and that the funds recouped are not used for any other purpose. This will ensure that actual outlay savings are realized during this fiscal year.

PROGRESS PAYMENTS

The conferees agree to a general provision which will lower progress payments based on costs to 75% for large businesses. This action is recommended because DoD has failed to reduce progress payment rates in accordance with its own regulations. Progress payments are supposed to be adjusted when interest rates change. While DoD has proposed lowering the progress payment rate provided to large businesses from 85 to 80 percent, this is not sufficient to account for the precipitous drop in interest rates.

Based on calendar 1992 and 1993 short-term commercial borrowing rates, DoD regulations require that fiscal year 1993 and 1994 progress payment rates to large business concerns be made at the rate of 75%. DoD ignored this policy in fiscal year 1993. Additionally, government regulations allow for five and ten percent increases above this rate to be used for small businesses and small disadvantaged businesses respectively. The DoD is expected to maintain these percentage differences.

The conferees take this action recognizing that it will reduce government outlays by \$358,000,000 during fiscal year 1994. By making this appropriate policy adjustment, the conferees are thus able to provide for additional worthy programs to be funded and still live within the restrictive budget caps.

SOMALIA LOGISTICAL SUPPORT

The conferees have included a general provision which allows the Defense Department

to use up to \$100,000,000 of the funds provided in this Act to pay the costs of logistical support of non-U.S. forces in Somalia. By March 31, 1994, U.S. forces will have left Somalia. At that time, the provision of logistical support to maintain essential services will become the responsibility of others. There is a concern that the U.N. will be unable to meet this responsibility by that date. This provision would allow for the U.S. to contract with an independent entity to perform these functions. The conferees understand that the United Nations plans to sign a Letter of Agreement with the United States to reimburse the U.S. for any such costs.

The conferees insist that any funds transferred for this purpose be subject to a prior approval reprogramming in accordance with the policy agreed to by the conferees regarding any such transfer.

Amendment No. 223: Deletes Senate language urging the Department of Justice to investigate certain actions during riots in Crown Heights.

Amendment No. 224: Inserts Senate Title IX on operational control of U.S. armed forces during peacekeeping operations.

Amendment No. 225: Inserts and amends Senate Title X on the conveyance of Kahoolawe Island, Hawaii to the State of Hawaii.

CONFERENCE TOTAL—WITH COMPARISONS

The total new budget (obligational) authority for the fiscal year 1994 recommended by the Committee of Conference, with comparisons to the fiscal year 1993 amount, the 1994 budget estimates, and the House and Senate bills for 1994 follow:

New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1993	\$254,112,739,000
Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1994	241,081,531,000
House bill, fiscal year 1994	239,601,539,000
Senate bill, fiscal year 1994	239,177,885,000
Conference agreement, fiscal year 1994	240,569,945,000
Conference agreement compared with:	
New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1993	-13,542,794,000
Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1994	-511,586,000
House bill, fiscal year 1994	+968,406,000
Senate bill, fiscal year 1994	+1,392,060,000

JOHN P. MURTHA,
NORMAN D. DICKS,
CHARLES WILSON,
W.G. (BILL) HEFNER,
MARTIN O. SABO,
JULIAN C. DIXON,
PETER J. VISCLOSKEY,
GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
JOSEPH M. MCDADE,
C.W. BILL YOUNG,
BOB LIVINGSTON,
JERRY LEWIS,
JOE SKEEN,

Managers on the Part of the House.

DANIEL K. INOUE,
FRITZ HOLLINGS,
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON,
ROBERT C. BYRD,
PATRICK J. LEAHY,
JIM SASSER,
DENNIS DECONCINI,

DALE BUMPERS,
FRANK R. LAUTENBERG,
TOM HARKIN,
TED STEVENS,
ALFONSE D'AMATO,
THAD COCHRAN,
ARLEN SPECTER,
PETE V. DOMENICI,
DON NICKLES,
PHIL GRAMM,
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND,
MARK O. HATFIELD,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2520, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the conference report on the bill (H.R. 2520) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes, with the remaining amendment in disagreement and that the House recede from its amendment to the amendment of the Senate numbered 123 and agree to the action of the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the House amendment to Senate amendment No. 123 is as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert:

SEC. 317. GRAZING.

Title IV of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1751 et seq.) is amended by adding the following new sections:

"SEC. 405. GRAZING FEES.

"(A) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall annually establish grazing fees.

"(b) PHASE-IN.—The grazing fee for the grazing years 1994, 1995, and 1996 shall be as follows:

"(1) Grazing Fee for 1994=\$2.39 per AUM.

"(2) Grazing Fee for 1995=\$2.92 per AUM.

"(3) Grazing Fee for 1996=\$3.45 per AUM.

"(c) CALCULATION.—Beginning in the grazing year 1997, the grazing fee per AUM shall be equal to a \$3.45 base value multiplied by the forage value index computed annually from data supplied by the National Agricultural Statistics Service, in accordance with the following formula:

"Grazing Fee Per AUM=\$3.45 Forage Value Index.

"(d) DEFINITIONS.—For the purposes of this section—

"(1) the term 'Forage Value Index (FVI)' means the average estimate (weighted by AUMs) of the annual rental charge per AUM for pasturing cattle on private rangelands in the 17 contiguous Western States (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming) divided by \$8.67 (average for the years 1990, 1991, and 1992); and

"(2) the term 'Animal Unit Month (AUM)' means the amount of forage necessary for the sustenance of 1 cow or its equivalent for a period of 1 month.

"(e) INCREASES OR DECREASES.—Any annual increase or decrease in the grazing fee occurring after 1996 shall be limited to not more

than 15 percent of the fee in the previous year.

"(f) **LANDS AFFECTED.**—Fees shall be charged for livestock grazing upon or crossing the public lands and other lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management and the National Forest System lands in the 17 contiguous Western States, excluding the National Forests in Texas, at a specified rate per animal unit month.

"(g) **GRAZING AFFECTED.**—The full fee shall be charged for each paying animal unit which is defined as each animal 6 months of age or over at the time of entering the public lands, or National Forest System lands, for all weaned animals regardless of age, and for such animals as will become 12 months of age during the authorized period of use. No charge will be made for animals under 6 months of age at the time of entering the public lands, or National Forest System lands, that are the natural progeny of animals upon which fees are paid, provided they will not become 12 months of age during the authorized period of use, or for progeny born during that period.

"SEC. 406. RANGELAND REFORM.

"(a) **REGULATIONS.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall promulgate regulations to establish payment dates, late fee assessments, and service charges for the grazing fee established pursuant to section 405 of this Act and as provided for in section 4130.7-3 of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations.

"(b) **EXECUTIVE ORDER.**—Executive Order No. 12548 (43 U.S.C. 1905 note) shall not apply to grazing fees established after the date of enactment of this section.

"(c) **PROPOSED DECISIONS AND APPEALS ON PERMITS OR LEASES.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall issue regulations providing for decisions and appeals of final decisions on grazing permits or leases. Such regulations shall provide the following:

"(1) **CHANGES IN LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT PRACTICES.**—After consultation, reductions of permitted use or changes in livestock management practices necessary to protect rangeland ecosystem health shall be implemented through a documented agreement or by decision of the authorized officer. Determinations regarding the ecological health of ecosystems or the actions necessary to achieve healthy ecosystems shall be based on the standards and guidelines promulgated pursuant to subsection (o), or monitoring, inventory, or other forage production data acceptable to the authorized officer.

"(2) **OTHER CHANGES.**—When the authorized officer determines that the soil, vegetation, or other resources on the public lands require protection because of conditions such as drought, fire, flood, or insect infestation, or when continued grazing use poses a significant risk of resource damage from these factors, after consultation with, or a reasonable attempt to consult with affected permittees or lessees, other interested parties, and the State having lands or responsible for managing resources within the area, the authorized officer shall close allotments or portions of allotments to grazing by any kind of livestock, or modify authorized grazing use. Notices of closure and decisions requiring modification of authorized grazing use may be issued as final decisions effective upon issuance or on the date specified in the decision. Such decisions shall remain in effect pending the decision on appeal unless a stay is granted by the Office of Hearings and Appeals.

"(d) **WATER RIGHTS.**—Subject to valid water rights existing on the date of enactment, no water rights shall be obtained for

grazing-related actions on public lands except in the name of the United States.

"(e) **SUBLEASING.**—A leasing surcharge shall be added by the Secretary of the Interior to the grazing fee billings for authorized leasing of base property to which public land grazing preference is attached or authorized grazing of livestock owned by persons other than the permittee or lessee. The surcharge shall be in addition to any other fees that may be charged for using public land forage. Surcharges shall be paid for grazing use calculated in accordance with the following:

"(1) 20 percent of the grazing bill for the permitted grazing use that is attached to a leased base property by an approved transfer, or that was leased and attached to the base property of another party through an approved transfer.

"(2) 50 percent of the grazing bill for pasturing livestock owned by persons other than the permittee or lessee under a grazing authorization.

"(3) 70 percent of the grazing bill when base property is leased and a transfer has been approved and livestock owned by persons other than the permittee or lessee are pastured under a grazing authorization.

"(f) **UNAUTHORIZED GRAZING USE.**—

"(1) **VIOLATIONS.**—

"(A) Violation of section 4140.1(b)(1) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations, constitutes unauthorized grazing use.

"(B) The authorized officer shall determine whether a violation is nonwillful, willful, or repeated willful.

"(C) Violators shall be liable in damages to the United States for the forage consumed by their livestock, for injury to public lands and other property of the United States caused by their unauthorized grazing use, and for expenses incurred in impoundment and disposal of their livestock, and may be subject to civil penalties or criminal sanction for such unlawful acts.

"(2) **NOTICE AND ORDER TO REMOVE.**—

"(A) Whenever a violation has been determined to be nonwillful and incidental, and the owner of the unauthorized livestock is known, the authorized officer shall notify the alleged violator that a violation has been reported, that the violation must be corrected, and how it can be settled, based upon the discretion of the authorized officer.

"(B) Whenever it appears that a violation exists and the owner of the unauthorized livestock is known, written notice of unauthorized use and order to remove livestock by a specified date shall be served upon the alleged violator or the agent of record, or both, by certified mail or personal delivery. The written notice shall also allow a specified time from receipt of notice for the alleged violator to show that there has been no violation or to make settlement under paragraph (3).

"(C) When neither the owner of the unauthorized livestock nor his agent is known, the authorized officer may proceed to impound the livestock under paragraph (3).

"(3) **SETTLEMENT.**—

"(A) The authorized officer shall determine whether the violation is nonwillful, willful, or repeated willful. Where violations are repeated willful, the authorized officer shall take action under section 4170.1-1(b) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations. The amount due for settlement shall include the value of forage consumed as determined under subparagraph (B). Settlement for willful and repeated willful violations shall also include the full value for all damages to the public lands and other property of the United States, and all reasonable expenses incurred

by the United States in detecting, investigating, resolving violations, and livestock impoundment costs.

"(B) For purposes of subparagraph (A), the value of forage consumed shall be determined as follows:

"(i) For nonwillful violations, the value of forage consumed as determined by the average monthly rate per AUM for pasturing livestock on privately owned land (excluding irrigated land) for the 17 Western States as published annually by the Department of Agriculture. The authorized officer may approve nonmonetary settlement of unauthorized use when the authorized officer determines that each of the following conditions are met:

"(I) Evidence shows that the unauthorized use occurred through no fault of the livestock operator.

"(II) The forage use is insignificant.

"(III) The public lands have not been damaged.

"(IV) Nonmonetary settlement is in the best interests of the United States.

"(i) For willful violations, twice the value of forage consumed as determined in clause (i) of this paragraph.

"(iii) For repeated willful violations, three times the value of the forage consumed as determined in clause (i) of this paragraph.

"(iv) Payment made under this paragraph does not relieve the alleged violator of any criminal liability under Federal or State law.

"(v) Violators shall not be authorized to make grazing use on the public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management until any amount found to be due the United States under this section has been paid. The authorized officer may take action under section 4160.1-2 of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations, to cancel or suspend grazing authorizations or to deny approval of applications for grazing use until such amounts have been paid. The proposed decision shall include a demand for payment.

"(g) **RESOURCE ADVISORY COUNCILS.**—

"(1) One or more resource advisory councils, as provided for in section 309, shall be established for the area within the jurisdiction of each Bureau of Land Management State Office to provide guidance on the management of public lands and resources.

"(2) The Secretary or a designee of the Secretary shall appoint not less than 10 nor more than 15 members to serve on each resource advisory council. One appointee of each resource advisory council shall be an official elected to a position in State or local government serving the people of the area for which the council is established.

"(3) A resource advisory council advises the Bureau of Land Management official to whom it reports regarding multiple use plans and programs for public lands and resources within its area.

"(4) A resource advisory council and its subcommittees shall meet at the call of the designated Federal officer and elect their own officers. The designated Federal officer shall attend all meetings of the council and its subcommittees.

"(5) Administrative support for a resource advisory council and its subcommittees shall be provided by the office of the designated Federal officer.

"(h) **RANGE IMPROVEMENT FUND.**—

"(1) With respect to public lands, in addition to range developments accomplished through other resources management funds, authorized range improvement may be secured through the use of appropriated range improvement fund provided for by section 401

of this Act. One-half of the available funds shall be expended in the State and district from which they were derived. The remaining one-half of the fund shall be allocated, on a priority basis, by the Secretary or designee for on-the-ground ecosystem rehabilitation, protection and improvement.

"(2) All appropriated funds for range improvement are to be used for cost-effective investment in improvements that benefit all rangeland resources, including riparian area fish and wildlife habitat improvement or protection, rehabilitation, improvement, or protection, soil and water resource improvement, wild horse and burro habitat management facilities, vegetation improvement and management, and livestock grazing management. The funds may be used for activities including the planning, design, layout, modification, and monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of specific range improvement projects.

"(3) During the planning of the range development or range improvement programs, authorized officers shall consult affected permittees, lessees, and other interested parties.

"(1) RANGE IMPROVEMENT OWNERSHIP.—

"(1) With respect to public lands, any permittee or lessee may apply for a range improvement permit to install, use, maintain, or modify range improvements that are needed to achieve management objectives within his or her designated allotment. The permittee or lessee shall agree to provide full funding for construction, installation, modification, or maintenance. Such range improvement permit may be issued at the discretion of the authorized officer.

"(2) The permittee or lessee may hold the title to all temporary range improvements authorized as livestock handling facilities such as corrals and dipping vats and temporary, readily removable improvements such as troughs for hauled water. The authorization for permanent water developments, such as spring developments, wells, reservoirs, stock tanks, and pipelines, shall be through cooperative range improvement agreements to protect the public interest for multiple use of rangeland ecosystems. The United States shall assert its claims and exercise its rights to water developed on public lands to benefit the public lands and resources thereon.

"(3) Where a permittee or lessee cannot make use of the forage available for livestock and an application for nonuse has been denied or the opportunity to make use of the available forage is requested by the authorized officer, the permittee or lessee shall cooperate with the temporary authorized use of forage by another operator, when it is authorized by the authorized officer following consultation with the preference permittee or lessee.

"(4) A permittee or lessee shall be reasonably compensated for the use and maintenance of improvements and facilities by the operator who has an authorization for temporary grazing use.

"(5) The authorized officer may mediate disputes about reasonable compensation and, following consultation with the interested parties, make a determination concerning the fair and reasonable share of operation and maintenance expenses and compensation for use of improvements and facilities.

"(6) Where a settlement cannot be reached, the authorized officer shall issue a temporary grazing authorization including appropriate terms and conditions and the requirement to compensate the preference permittee or lessee for the fair share of oper-

ation and maintenance as determined by the authorized officer under subpart 4160 of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations.

"(J) MANDATORY QUALIFICATIONS.—

"(1) Except as provided in sections 4110.1-1, 4130.3, and 4130.4-3 of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations, to qualify for a grazing permit or lease on the public lands an applicant must own or control land or water base property, and must be—

"(A) a citizen of the United States or have properly filed a valid declaration of intention to become a citizen or a valid petition for naturalization;

"(B) a group or association authorized to conduct business in the State in which the grazing use is sought, all members of which are qualified under subparagraph (A); or

"(C) a corporation authorized to conduct business in the State in which the grazing use is sought.

"(2) Any applicant who currently holds or has previously held a Federal grazing permit or lease, either directly or indirectly, must be determined by the authorized officer to have a satisfactory record of performance.

"(3) The applicant and any affiliate must at the time of permit or lease issuance be determined by the authorized officer to be substantial compliance with the terms and conditions of any Federal or State grazing permit or lease presently held and with the rules and regulations applicable to those permits and leases. The authorized officer may take into consideration circumstances beyond the control of the applicant or affiliate in determining whether the applicant and affiliate, if any, are in compliance with existing permit or lease terms and conditions and applicable rules and regulations.

"(4) Any applicant or affiliate who has had any Federal or State grazing permit or lease canceled for violation of the permit or lease within the 36 calendar months immediately preceding the date of application shall be deemed to have an unsatisfactory performance record.

"(5) In determining whether affiliation exists, the authorized officer shall consider all appropriate factors, including, but not limited to, common ownership, common management, identity of interests among family members, and contractual relationships.

"(6) Applicants shall submit an application and any other information requested by the authorized officer in order to determine that all qualifications have been met.

"(K) SUSPENDED NONUSE.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations to remove references in existing regulations to long-term suspended nonuse.

"(1) PROHIBITED ACTS.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations which would make violations of the Wild Horse and Burro Act, Endangered Species Act of 1973 (16 U.S.C. 1531 et seq.), and other Federal or State laws concerning conservation, protection of natural or cultural resources, and protection of environmental quality prohibited acts. Upon the expiration of appeal or review periods following a conviction for violation or an administrative finding of violation of these laws the authorized officer may consider cancellation or suspension of permits and leases when the violation occurred on public land or is found to be related to authorized grazing of public land.

"(M) RANGE IMPROVEMENTS.—Subject to valid rights existing on the date of enactment of this section, all rights to permanent improvements contained on or in public lands are vested in the United States.

"(N) CONSERVATION NONUSE.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations to au-

thorize persons or entities owning or controlling base property which is capable of serving as a base for livestock use of public lands to apply for up to 10 consecutive years of conservation use of a permit or lease, and up to 3 consecutive years of temporary nonuse.

"(O) STANDARDS.—The Secretary of the Interior shall develop standards and guidelines that establish minimum conditions for the protection of rangeland ecological health. These standards and guidelines shall be promulgated pursuant to the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, and chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, to the extent each is applicable. Permits and leases shall incorporate applicable standards and guidelines to ensure the proper management of public rangelands. These standards and guidelines shall provide for—

"(1) the restoration and protection of riparian values, such as healthy wildlife and fish habitat and diverse vegetation;

"(2) compliance with the Clean Water Act (33 U.S.C. 1251 et seq.);

"(3) compliance with the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (16 U.S.C. 1531 et seq.); and

"(4) restoration, maintenance, and improvement of ecosystem health, such as diversity, resilience, and sustainability."

SEC. 318. USE OF FUNDS.

Except as provided by this Act, none of the funds made available to the Secretary of the Interior by this Act may be used to implement any grazing reform program, including a grazing fee increase, unless Congress has approved such program or fee increase. Nothing in this section shall prohibit the Secretary from promulgating regulations, modifying existing regulations, or taking other actions, as necessary, to implement the provisions of sections 405 and 406 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 as added by this Act.

SEC. 319. REPEAL.

Section 403 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1753) is repealed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so in order to inquire of the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], after we have dealt with this conference report, if the next item would be Somalia, as Members have been told earlier?

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GINGRICH. I yield to the majority leader under my reservation.

Mr. GEPHARDT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to tell the gentleman and the other Members that our intention after the matter with the Interior bill is to go straight to the Somalia matter.

There will be an hour of general debate, a half-hour on the Gilman amendment and a vote, and then a half-hour on the Hamilton amendment and a vote. That will be the last vote.

Mr. GINGRICH. I thank the majority leader and, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I reserve the right to object in order to advise the House as to what has happened on this.

On September 29 this House, by a vote of 314 to 109, instructed the House conferees to reject the Senate amendment to this bill which put a moratorium on the Secretary of the Interior. I am pleased to inform the House Members that the House has prevailed. The moratorium has been taken out of the bill and the Secretary of the Interior will now be free to, by executive action, deal with the grazing-fee issue and also with whatever regulations he may choose to promulgate.

This reflects exactly the House position as we, as conferees, were instructed by that vote on September 29.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM SOMALIA

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 293, I call up the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 170) directing the President pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from Somalia by January 31, 1994, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The text of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 170

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),

SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM SOMALIA.

Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994 (unless the President requests and the Congress authorizes a later date), except for a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens, and noncombatant personnel to advise the United Nations commander in Somalia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore pursuant to House Resolution 293, the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the concurrent resolution is adopted.

Pursuant to the order of the House of Monday, November 8, 1993, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. JOHNSTON].

Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida. I thank the chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, just a brief review to my colleagues: On December 9 of last year President Bush went into Somalia literally without the advice and consent of Congress and within a matter of a few weeks there were 25,000 troops in Somalia over the Christmas period.

I supported the President in his mission there. I supported him very strongly.

I really felt it was the obligation and responsibility of the United States to go in there, and I repeat to you his mission at that time: He said, No. 1, to stop the starvation in Somalia and, No. 2, and I quote, "to secure the environment of this country."

One problem though is the mandate did not request that we disarm this country. Time and time again the military came back to the President and said "We want to disarm the clans that created this problem in the first place," and it did not.

The one area though that people do not emphasize is there has been a huge success in Somalia. We kept 400,000 Somalis from starving to death after 300,000 Somalis had already died.

□ 1720

Any of you who happened to listen to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations today, knows there has been tremendous success there. There is civility being returned to Baidoa, to Kismayu, to the other areas of the country. Three hundred thousand children have been inoculated for disease there. We are establishing and training police in the major cities there.

It is only 2 percent of this country, South Mogadishu, that has not been civilized.

President Bush stated that when we went into Somalia that he would have the troops out by Inauguration. He did not.

On January 20 of this year when President Clinton was sworn in, there were 28,000 American troops there; but by spring we had stopped the starvation in this country.

But going back to President Bush's original mandate, there was no securing of the environment.

In July of this year I went to the Horn of Africa. First I went to Mombasa and Kenya and visited a refugee camp there of 45,000 Somalis. To the person, they came to us and said, "We cannot return to Somalia until civil order has been restored and the clans have been neutralized."

I then went to Mogadishu. I met with our military general there. I met with the U.N. representatives.

I also met with 70 members of various clans there, members also of Aideed's clan. They professed the same thing, that you cannot go back there and they cannot establish civil order until the clans have been neutralized.

Today by the Gilman amendment to the bill by the committee chairman, we are trying to micromanage the operation of the military, of the Commander in Chief of the United States.

I said in this very Chamber when President Bush on his third address to the Nation on the State of the Union said that Congress should stop trying to micromanage the Pentagon. The entire left side of the Chamber stood up and applauded him tremendously. That is exactly what the Gilman amendment is trying to do is micromanage this.

What is our mission? I ask you, what was our mission in Panama? What was our mission in Granada, where no one could define it?

People do not realize that we lost more troops in those two skirmishes in 17 days than we did in Somalia in the last 11 months.

March 31 is the date that we have agreed on that we will leave. It is something that the President has agreed on and it is something that the Republican leadership has agreed on. There are a lot of reasons why we need to stick to this date. No. 1, we form a new coalition with replacements. We are taking our troops out and we are bringing other U.N. troops in.

The United Nations has a definite timetable and it will send the wrong message to them and to the world that they will have to reconsider their commitment.

The house of cards literally may collapse if we pull out prematurely here. We need this particular time. We need the next 140 days to have an orderly withdrawal.

I would like to read a statement that has become famous in the annals of foreign relations by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, a Republican Senator from Michigan 40 years ago. He states:

To me bipartisan foreign policy means a mutual effort under our indispensable two-party system to unite our official voice at the water's edge.

He has said that and we have repeated it again and again.

We have far exceeded politicizing this foreign policy beyond the water's edge. We have crossed the Atlantic. We have crossed the Mediterranean. We have crossed the Red Sea and we have gone into the Indian Ocean.

I am very, very disappointed at what is happening here today, and it is a very dangerous thing. Isolationism lies at the very heart of what is being proposed by the Gilman amendment.

The primary purpose of this is to embarrass the President of the United States, our Commander in Chief, and also to embarrass Senator DOLE, if you really want to know the truth.

The resolution is nonbinding. It will have no effect on policy at all. It will never get out of this Chamber.

To my colleagues, we have lost 30 brave soldiers in Somalia. I ask that they do not die in vain. By pulling out early, we can create a monster here, and I am sure that this body does not want to do so.

Please vote against the Gilman amendment and vote for the chairman's amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today we have the first opportunity for a serious debate on Somalia in the House of Representatives since last May. For too long, the House has sat on the sidelines while the administration negotiated the terms of United States involvement in Somalia with other countries, with the United Nations, with the other body, with Somali warlords, but not with us. Today, finally, for the first time in almost 6 months, the House has the opportunity to be heard.

Shortly I will introduce a substitute amendment to the Hamilton resolution as reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The purpose of my amendment will be to move up by 2 months the target date for withdrawing United States forces from Somalia, from March 31, 1994, to an earlier date of January 31. My amendment would restore the date contained in the resolution when originally introduced by me and the distinguished ranking Republican member of the Committee on Armed Services, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE].

It would be far better if we could debate the question of when United States forces should be withdrawn from Somalia on a measure that had binding legal effect. Regrettably, because House Concurrent Resolution 170 is a concurrent resolution rather than a joint resolution and therefore will not be presented to the President for his signature, it will not be legally binding.

Mr. SPENCE and I first tried to prompt this debate with a bill that would have been legally binding, H.R. 3292. It was only when we were stymied in that effort that we introduced this concurrent resolution.

I stress to my colleagues that the fact that this resolution is not legally binding should free you to vote your conscience on my amendment. Because neither the January 31 nor the March 31 date will be legally binding, no one need to vote against the amendment in order to protect the President. The only reason I can think of not to vote for my amendment is because you genuinely believe that the departure of United States forces from Somalia should be delayed until March 31.

I believe that the United States accomplished its legitimate humani-

tarian objectives in Somalia months ago and that our forces should now be withdrawn at the earliest practicable date.

Early on, when our mission was to alleviate the suffering and feed the hungry, the Somalia operation was successful and had the support of the American people. This administration, however, did not leave well enough alone. The mission soon evolved from feeding the hungry to nation building. And when the administration's ambitions to remake Somali society ran into the entrenched interests of Somali warlords, armed conflict was inevitable. The warlord we fought with was Mohamed Farah Aided, but if it hadn't been him it would have been another one. And if we had defeated Aided, another warlord would have stepped forward to resist us, because none of the warlords had any real interest in cooperating with us in their own political emasculation.

Neither the American people nor the Congress had signed onto fighting a war in Somalia to wrest political power from warlords. So the administration tried to pretend that we could defeat the warlords on the cheap. And regrettably we all know how that played out. The administration left out forces in Somalia without the wherewithal to accomplish their expanded mission, or even to defend themselves adequately. Calls from our military commanders on the scene for more firepower were ignored by civilian political appointees.

As a result, tragically on October 3, 18 Rangers were killed and 75 wounded.

In the wake of the October 3 debacle, President Clinton reexamined his policy and reached the inescapable conclusion that it was off course. Our nation-building goal was then repudiated.

A date for withdrawing our U.S. forces was set, but far enough in the future that it wouldn't look bad. Military reinforcements were belatedly dispatched, as was a special U.S. envoy. The U.N.-directed hunt for warlord Aided was called off. He would no longer be deemed a war criminal, but our political interlocutor.

It was all a big misunderstanding, the President explained. The U.N. took advantage of our good will and his administration's inattention to detail to foist the nation-building agenda on us. And the finger pointing did not stop at the United Nations. The senior U.S. diplomat in Mogadishu was unceremoniously dumped, amid press leaks suggesting that he was single-handedly responsible for the mess.

Mr. Speaker, this is a disgraceful foreign policy. The American people don't want excuses. They don't want scapegoats. They want leadership. They want hard decisions. And that's not what they're getting.

The New York Times got it exactly right in their editorial of October 8 en-

titled "Somalia: Time To Get Out." Listen to what they said:

Rather than make a decision either to cut American losses and withdraw now—the preferable course of action—or tough it out until [his] goals are achieved, the President succumbed to the tempting illusion that he could manage a little of both. * * * It's painfully reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson's escalation in Vietnam.

The Administration could easily find itself spilling considerably more blood, both American and Somali, for the next six months without accomplishing much in a cause unrelated to any direct American interest.

I ask that the full editorial be included in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, if the President can't make the hard decisions that have to be made in Somalia, we must show him the way. We must protect our forces from any senseless, unnecessary risks. Accordingly, I urge the adoption of the amendment I will offer to bring our forces home by January 31.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 8, 1993]

SOMALIA: TIME TO GET OUT

American casualties in Somalia have been steadily rising, political support at home has evaporated and an emotionally wrenching hostage crisis has begun. The mismatch between modest American means and ambitious political goals was painfully clear. President Clinton had to do something.

And he did. But rather than make a decision either to cut American losses and withdraw now—the preferable course of action—or tough it out until those goals are achieved, the President succumbed to the tempting illusion that he could manage a little of both. Mr. Clinton announced a six-month target date for complete American withdrawal but ordered the number of U.S. troops more than doubled, to 10,000.

It's painfully reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson's gradual escalation in Vietnam. The Administration could easily find itself spilling considerably more blood, both American and Somali, for the next six months without accomplishing much in a cause unrelated to any direct American interest.

The better call would have been temporary reinforcements to protect American troops from further attack while taking immediate steps to withdraw U.S. forces from Somalia. The remaining humanitarian tasks should be left to the U.N.

Americans need feel no shame in withdrawing now. The mission to Somalia was undertaken as a humanitarian gesture, to get food to starving people. The American public did not sign on to armed intervention in the clan politics of a chaotic country that poses no international threat.

The heart of the problem remains the highly personalized vendetta that has developed between the U.N. Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a single Somali warlord, Mohammed Farah Aided. The U.S. and other Security Council powers initially agreed to target General Aided after forces thought to be loyal to him gunned down Pakistani peacekeepers in June. More recently, in response to public misgivings, the major powers have urged a reversion to less confrontation policies. But the Secretary General won't back down.

The original humanitarian mission, though it continues, has now been overshadowed by the deadly urban warfare in Mogadishu. This combat has forced peacekeepers and relief

workers to hunker down in fortified compounds, turned Somalis against a U.N. presence they once welcomed and multiplied U.N. and civilian casualties.

While humanitarian aid can't be delivered without a minimum of order, the U.N. has no business arrogating to itself the role of restructuring Somalia's chaotic politics through outside force.

Two weeks ago it looked as if Washington were ready to use diplomatic muscle to force an end to the U.N.'s fruitless hunt for General Aidid and its destructive efforts to pacify south Mogadishu. But since Mr. Boutros-Ghadi has resisted the pressure, the U.S. now seems ready to settle for new political and diplomatic efforts under Ambassador Robert Oakley without insisting that the U.N. break off the Mogadishu showdown.

The cost of prolonging the ordeal for six months could prove high indeed—in American lives, in American support for peace-keeping activities and in Mr. Clinton's capacity to focus his political energies on domestic reform.

□ 1730

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HASTINGS].

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise before this body today to say that our mission in Somalia is not over. I weep for the parents and spouses and children of soldiers killed or wounded in Somalia, and won't insult their intelligence by using the phrase "patriotic duty." But we do have a duty in Somalia—to fulfill the promises that we have made and which were originally extracted from us by those same people who are now demanding that we leave.

Our constituents were all for intervention in Somalia when the 7 p.m. news was flashing clips of starving children with flies crawling over their faces. Those same people criticized the Clinton administration when their favorite media celebrity was shown raising money to send to the poor Somali because their own Government would not take a step to stem the tide of the Somali suffering. The images of dead children prompted the U.S. public to call for U.S. and U.N. intervention. And now the pictures of dead Americans in Mogadishu are prompting those same Americans to demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops. But our mission must be defined by empirical realities, not television sound-bites.

We must stay to complete our humanitarian mission. While the mass starvation seems to have been prevented for the time being, we must give the United Nations adequate time to bring stability to the area. Don't think that starvation was caused because they ran out of spam at the local 7-11; mass starvation is the result of political and social anarchy.

We ought not jeopardize the overwhelmingly positive results of the last 11 months. The prevention of anarchy and mass starvation must be our long-term foreign policy goal for Somalia. The United States has always played a crucial role in advancing international

humanitarian protection for those who live in fear of danger and violence. Outside of Mogadishu, our presence has brought about enough stability to enable the local community to achieve a political solution. If we stay put a little longer, only until March 31, perhaps we can achieve that much more.

We committed to lend our considerable talents toward resolving some of the more solvable problems in Somalia. To remove ourselves in January will cripple the United Nations effort, and will leave the United Nations impotent in the face of future conflicts. If we vote today to remove ourselves, and thereby undermine the United Nations, we will forever forfeit the right to complain about actions taken or not taken, on the next international conflict coming down the pike and into our television sets.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, we had a great mission, and the mission was to provide humanitarian aid in Somalia. We did it. We did it well. We were accepted beautifully by the Somalis. The hatred for us did not come until the mission changed, and I would like to briefly talk about that because I think we are asleep while the United Nations is changing their mission. Their mission is being changed from peace keeping to nation building. We cannot build nations, the United Nations cannot build nations, and we better understand that.

Now we were told, "You can't remove these troops that quickly." Well, let me tell my colleagues that a couple of weeks ago we had 200-plus there. Now we have 11,000. If we can do that in 2 weeks to build up, why can we not do that in 4 weeks to build down, which is what I offered, to have them home by Christmas.

We were told by the Secretary General this morning that, as a matter of fact, it is just small groups in a small area of Somalia causing the problem. If that is true, then 28,000 troops that are there from other nations should be able to handle that situation very well, and they are going to build up to 32,000 within 2 months' time.

We have been accused of micromanaging. Well, if it is nation building, if we change to chasing warlords and building nations, and we do not protect our troops, and we do not give them the tools they need to take care of the changed goals, then we better not micromanage.

But the cheapest shot of all is when someone tries to say that this is politically motivated, we want to embarrass the President. Nobody wants to embarrass any Commander in Chief in the Congress of the United States. What we want to do is try to save the lives of American young men and women until

we decide what our policy really is, No. 1, and then No. 2, determine how we are going to carry out that policy, and, No. 3, how does it benefit the United States?

Support the Gilman amendment when it is offered.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MCCURDY].

Mr. MCCURDY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this blatant partisan attempt to tie the President's hands in foreign policy.

The debate on United States policy toward Somalia is over. Everyone agrees that terrible mistakes were made. The administration has indicated that it will stop combat operations in Somalia. Everyone agrees that we will withdraw.

In consultation with top military officers, the President has outlined a schedule for withdrawal that protects the safety of U.S. troops. Multilateralism is no substitute for foreign policy—a lesson the administration has taken to heart on Haiti.

What we are debating today is nothing more than a symbolic rebuke of our President's right to conduct foreign policy. Such a rebuke may feel satisfying, but it will not serve our interests in the long term.

Think of how much concern you will provoke among our allies by this act. Think of the delight you will cause among our adversaries.

Imagine General Aideed reading with glee your statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD attacking the President. Imagine Kim Il Sung, or Saddam Hussein, or Mohammad Ghaddafi's delight because of what has been said here today.

Think, too, of the jobs and security you will cost Americans because you send President Clinton to the APEC and NATO summits with an even weaker hand than he has today.

I am frankly shocked at the arguments of my colleagues who stood here not 3 years ago and talked of the need to support President Bush in the Persian Gulf. I agreed with them, as did nearly 100 Democrats, who put partisanship aside and cast a vote for American power and influence.

But apparently, for some in this body, Presidential power, the authority of our Commander in Chief, the image of the United States abroad, are only important when a Republican is in the White House.

This is no time to be sending more signals about the weakness and indecision of U.S. foreign policy. This is no time to be playing partisan politics with the security of the American people. Our soldiers did not die in vain—they have saved thousands of lives, and we should not take action that devalues their sacrifice.

I urge a rejection of the Republican alternative, and a vote for the Hamilton resolution.

□ 1740

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH], a senior member of our Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, in a narrow sense, Somalia symbolizes the lack of rigorous attention given by policymakers to defining in advance the objectives of U.S. involvement in U.N. military operations abroad. In a broader context, the debate over Somalia symbolizes the historic American ambivalence about entanglement in the world beyond our borders, whether that engagement relates to multilateral cooperation on international security issues or the economic interdependency inherent in U.S. participation in international economic agreements and institutions.

At the outset, let me deal with the more poignant and urgent problem of United States military involvement in Somalia.

The original Bush administration mission was unprecedented in its idealism: the humanitarian commitment of U.S. Armed Forces of the United States to feeding a starving population. Beginning in January 1992 with the adoption of U.N. Security Council Resolution 733, the United Nations began actively addressing the humanitarian crisis in Somalia. Consistent with the humanitarian impulses of our citizens and the best traditions of American foreign policy, the United States actively assisted the United Nations' effort to deal with a serious human catastrophe.

The United States provided food aid as well as joined in a military airlift—Operation Provide Relief—to bring critical nourishment into the heart of the country. Nevertheless, by December of last year, over 300,000 Somalis had died of starvation. In addition, five times that number were believed to be at risk, outside the reach of international relief efforts because of the ongoing civil conflict.

Therefore in November 1992, the United States supported U.N. Security Council Resolution 794, which authorized Member States to use all necessary means to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. President Bush judged that the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces was necessary to avert a major humanitarian calamity, avert related threats to international peace and security, and protect the safety of Americans and others engaged in relief operations. On December 8, 1992, United States Armed Forces entered Somalia to secure the airfield and port facility of Mogadishu and to achieve the objectives of U.N. Security Council Resolution 794. The U.S. initially encountered little organized resistance.

As President Bush stated in December of last year, "U.S. armed forces will remain in Somalia only so long as necessary to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations and will then turn over the responsibility of maintaining this environment to a U.S. peacekeeping force assigned to Somalia." In other words, the mission of the military was to provide security to allow the delivery of food.

About 26,000 United States troops were deployed in Somalia for Operation Restore Hope. Those forces, augmented by 13,000 troops from other countries, operated under

the U.S.-led Unified Task force, or UNITAF. UNITAF's strictly humanitarian mission was largely successful. Enough civil order was established to permit international aid workers to distribute food to all but a few of the most at risk in Somalia. Markets reopened and crops were planted. According to Secretary of Defense Aspin, by the spring of 1993 chaos and banditry throughout much of Somalia had been greatly reduced.

In addition, this spring, a U.N.-led process of national reconciliation appeared to gain the support of a broad spectrum of Somali leaders. In March 1993, under the so-called Addis Ababa accords, Somali leaders appeared to be observing a ceasefire and had committed themselves to complete disarmament.

Under the strictly humanitarian mission laid out by President Bush, the United States should have withdrawn its armed forces from Somalia in late February or March 1993. Instead, the mission changed by American troops remained.

The Clinton administration determined that success could only be declared and American troops completely withdrawn when we "institutionalized the gains," i.e., restored enough civil order and built a governing structure to prevent the country "from backsliding into the chaos that cause the famine in the first place."

Thus the new administration supported U.N. Security Council Resolution 814, passed in late March of this year. This unprecedentedly ambitious operation—known as UNOSOM II—called for the U.N. not only to continue its humanitarian work, but to rehabilitate their political institutions and economy, promote political settlement and national reconciliation, and develop an adequate system of justice and police to maintain order. As agreed, the U.S. quickly reduced its group levels from more than 25,000 to 4,000.

Only then did Congress act. In May of this year the congress not only gave belated authorization to the President to use U.S. Armed Forces to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 794 of December 1992, but also similar authorization to the President to implement Security Council Resolution 814. The legislation constitutes specific authority for military operations in the event of hostilities under section 5(b) of the War Powers Act. The authorization for U.S. military participation in UNOSOM II expires in late March 1994.

Somalia represents the first United Nations-led multinational peace enforcement mission. Under the terms of U.S. participation in UNOSOM II, about 28,000 troops from 27 countries operating under U.N.-command were authorized to be deployed throughout Somalia. The United States agreed to provide troops for logistic support and contribute about 4,000 troops for a quick reaction force. The U.S. quick reaction force, not under U.N.-command, was tasked to support UNOSOM II missions.

The command and control structure established for UNOSOM II placed an American, retired U.S. Adm. Jonathan Howe, in overall command of the U.N. operation as Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary General. Admiral Howe was to coordinate all non-military aspects of UNOSOM II. The UNOSOM II forces are commanded by Turkish Gen. Cevik Bir. General Bir had worked with Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin Powell in NATO

and was General Powell's top choice for the position of UNOSOM II commander.

U.S. Maj. Gen. Thomas Montgomery is the Deputy Commander of the U.N. forces. General Montgomery commands the U.S. logistic support contingent participating in UNOSOM II as well as the U.S. quick reaction force. Here it is key to note that operational command and control of the U.S. quick reaction force has been placed solely under the authority of General Montgomery, who reports through the Joint Chiefs of Staff structure to the Commander-in-Chief in Washington.

The Clinton administration admitted that the process of nation building would take time and require a combination of diplomacy and force. The Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Peter Tarnoff, testified late this July before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that for UNOSOM II to accomplish its mission a secure environment must be restored—requiring if necessary the forceful disarmament of all factional militias.

In this context, things began to go awry. On June 5 Somali militia forces loyal to Mohammad Farah Aided brutally attacked Pakistani peacekeepers in Mogadishu, killing 23 Pakistani soldiers and wounding 3 Americans. According to the Clinton administration, the attack on June 5 represented "a fundamental challenge to UNOSOM's mandate to provide humanitarian assistance and foster reconciliation."

The means by which political reconciliation was evidently to be achieved was by a de facto U.S. and U.N. declaration of war against Aided. On June 6, the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 837, which authorized the U.N. to take "all necessary measures against those responsible for attacks against UNOSOM, including their arrest, detention, trial, and punishment." On June 16 the overall U.N. commander, Admiral Howe, declared Aided to be a criminal and placed a public price on his head. U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine K. Albright branded Aided a thug, and the State Department coordinator on Somalia affirmed that Aided should "be removed from the equation." Indeed, in August, the Clinton administration dispatched 400 elite Army Rangers to Somalia with the understood—if undeclared—mission of neutralizing Aided.

For the administration, from an intelligence perspective, to think it has command of the situation in Mogadishu is troubling. For the administration to think that special operations assaults are either effective or likely to win the hearts and minds of the citizenry—in an operation which by its very nature must place heavy emphasis on civic action—is foolhardy.

Only now are the American people beginning to understand that under UNOSOM II the mission became something very different from urgent and temporary humanitarian relief: The military effort to impose order on a fractious and often very violent population of a country enmeshed in fundamental nation-building. The security function for achieving the original short-term humanitarian mission was accomplished; establishing security has not yet and possibly cannot be accomplished without unacceptable cost under the second mission because the fundamental object to be achieved involves not relief but the distribution of power

within a civil conflict over who governs Somalia.

In his speech before the U.N. General Assembly on September 27, President Clinton asserted that if the American people are to say "yes" to U.N. peacekeeping, the United Nations must know when to say "no." That is wise and sound advice, advice which unfortunately the President himself forgot to observe earlier this year with regard to Somalia. Contrary to what the administration now appears to be saying, the United Nations did not change its mission over the objection of the United States. We are the most important voice within the U.N. Security Council. No plan was likely to proceed over our informal objections. As a Permanent Member, we have the veto—which we apparently never contemplated exercising in this circumstance. In fact, the Clinton administration fully supported the resolutions authorizing UNOSOM II as well as the capture of the warlord Aidede.

I believe the administration would be well advised to shift gears and order a rapid orderly withdrawal of U.S. combat forces as contemplated under the Gilman amendment. Our primary humanitarian mission has, at least in the short term, been met. It is for the people of Somalia to resolve their own nation-building challenges.

Reliance on the United States or any other countries for internal security is likely to be counterproductive. Nations are built by citizens, not foreign nationals. To the degree other parties may be relevant in this task, the Organization of African Unity probably has more to offer than the United Nations or any nation-state, including the United States.

The U.S. role should be that of the original mission: the provision of food and the utilization of our good offices for diplomatic give and take. It would be better in today's context to ask a retired soldier, Gen. Colin Powell, to serve as a diplomatic emissary than to call on young American servicemen to fight in a quasi-civil war setting for an undefined, un compelling cause.

Instead the news of the past few months is that troops were sent to defend troops, that escalation was the answer to problems associated with civilian leaders who earlier blocked armored protection for troops in the field. Is there no sense that lives are more important than pride, that hearts and souls aren't likely to be won over by air power?

Is there no sense that public support for peace enforcement in more critical geo-political settings than Somalia is jeopardized by the false priority given multinational operations in Somalia? By failing to apply intellectual rigor to our Somalia policy the Administration is responsible for a policy that lacks persuasiveness to the American public and convincingness to peoples of the world. Above anything else, Somalia symbolizes a want of intellectual discipline.

Our military hasn't let us down; political leadership has. It does no good to blame the United Nations. We led it more than it misled us. This is a time for responsibility taking, not blame shifting.

It is important to recognize this circumstance. Otherwise peacekeeping, peace-making and enforcement as well as multilateral approaches to other problems in other

countries at other times will be foiled before they are undertaken.

In a broader context, however, the compelling and often tragic news of recent weeks from Moscow, Mogadishu, Sarajevo and—in the context of debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and open multilateral trade—the union halls of San Francisco, underscores the emergence of a profound debate in this country about the nature of the unfolding post-Cold War world and American national purpose.

Will the post-cold war world be hallmarked by a strengthening of the bonds of international society or a disintegration of those bonds within and between nation-states?

Will America drift into self-centered isolationism, as in the disastrous interwar era of the 1920's, or lead in expanding an open world economy and institutionalizing a civil international society from which all countries derive benefit?

The answer, I fear, is in some doubt. After having aggressively promoted a foreign policy doctrine of assertive multilateralism, the President has been placed on the defensive by those who allege that American foreign policy is increasingly divorced from the national interest and, in a sovereignty context, is ceding its foreign policy decisionmaking to a foreign bureaucrat: the U.N. Secretary-General. Likewise, on international economic issues, the President has largely ceded the rhetorical initiative to economic nationalist opponents of NAFTA, the failure of which could be catastrophic for the still uncompleted Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] and the future of the world trading system itself.

Yet despite the wrenching difficulties in Somalia, and the intractable and bloody welter in the Balkans, the end of the cold war has created the most propitious moment since 1945 for a U.S.-led U.N. to fashion common responses to the common problems of mankind. The manifest limits of American power and the contrasting global reach of American interests make multilateral cooperation and burden-sharing imperative; they make U.S. leadership in an effective United Nations essential.

With regard to international security, the American people are reluctant to assume the lonely and costly role of policeman of the world. On the other hand, they are willing to accept as a collective responsibility the obligation, together with other countries, to part of an international highway patrol.

But the key to U.S. military participation in U.N. collective security endeavors is a compelling and clear mission and operational effectiveness. With the distinction between traditional peacekeeping and peace enforcement—as well as between international and civil conflict—becoming ever more opaque, clarity of mission and professionalization of U.N. collective security operations becomes ever more crucial.

Thus, as the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the U.N., which I co-chaired, recently recommended in its final report, when sending blue helmets into action "the United Nations should be guided by clear standards. Only under the most extraordinary circumstances should operations be launched if these standards are not met. In addition, op-

erations that do not have a high probability of success should not be sanctioned. The United Nations cannot afford to support missions that will fail because their mandate is politically weak or operationally unfeasible."

For peace enforcement operations (like UNOSOM II in Somalia) where all nonviolent policy means have failed, the Commission recommended the application of the following standards which, in retrospect, might have averted tragedy if followed by the current Administration:

A clear and unambiguous mandate must be expressed in the Security Council, and widely supported in the international community generally, that U.N. intervention is called for and that the U.N. is capable of making a constructive contribution to the preservation or restoration of peace and security.

The purpose of the action, its duration and conditions and rules of engagement must be carefully defined, with costs projected in advance by credible professional experts.

The mandate of the force should be broad enough to allow a full range of operations within a specified geographic area in pursuit of the force's objectives.

The intervention of the force should come at a critical juncture, where the prospect of stabilizing an area, politically and economically, for the long term exists.

Hence it is key that the Clinton administration understand that there are times and places where U.N.-sanctioned and U.N.-led peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations is appropriate and that the U.S. should be prepared, where missions are compelling and well-defined, to play a role. The time and the place, however, is not now, not in Somalia.

Likewise, the administration should not capitulate to the narrow, insular nationalism that appears to be stalking the land. Isolationism and belligerent nay-saying is not a realistic prescription for the advancement of American national interests. To default leadership in the world's principal arena of multilateral diplomacy amounts to strategic retreat.

In the twilight of the 20th century nothing is more naive than to suggest that the U.S. national interest should rely on the advancement of a narrow, nationalistic foreign policy. With the health of the American and world economy dependent on open markets and free trade, with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and with ethnic, religious and racial divisions rising in the geographic cockpits of historic conflict, U.S. national purpose cannot afford to be diverted by ideological posturing or rudderless, meandering diplomacy.

In America in particular there is no place for self-centered isolationism or uncertain international leadership. The stakes are too high.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, we are having this debate much too late. The House has not carried out its responsibility to debate our policy in Somalia. America has had at least four separate missions in Somalia, and we have only considered one. Let me go

over some of the history of our involvement with Somalia. In December of 1992, then-President Bush ordered 25,000 troops to that country pursuant to the U.N. Resolution 794 to protect humanitarian relief efforts. This was done when Congress was out of town, but I think the vast majority of members and the American people supported it. It was done with clear military thinking and committed more than adequate troops to accomplish the mission. It was very similar to the other successful military operations in the recent past. We went in with more than enough force to accomplish a clear mission, and got out when the mission was completed. The difference this time was we stayed around after we finished what we originally went in to do.

In early February, the other body voted unanimously to authorize the use of American forces to implement Resolution 794 to protect relief shipments and feed starving people. The House never quite got around to considering that question. In March, the UN Security Council—with the Administration's strong support—decided to add nation-building to the agenda. And on May 25, the House considered the resolution authorizing American troops to participate in the peacekeeping mission. As you may remember, many Members warned that the United Nations was not capable of accomplishing this mission, and that American troops would be at grave risk. Republicans voted overwhelmingly against this measure, but it passed. So the House did vote to support the peacekeeping and nation-building, to try and put Somalia's Government back together.

Then in June, things got personal. The mission became one of capturing Mr. Aided. For the past 4 months, the United Nations and the United States have taken sides in the Somali civil war against Mr. Aided's faction. This was with greatly reduced forces that were not armed for the mission and did not have adequate equipment. And when the field commanders asked for what they needed, they were rebuffed.

Since that time, all the demands for a vote in the House on this radical change in policy have fallen on deaf ears. There have been 10 separate pieces of legislation introduced to withdraw our troops from Somalia. But the only debate allowed was in September, to the watered-down amendment that asked the President to provide Congress with a report.

It is not a question of credibility or implying that America will cut and run when the going gets tough. The President has agreed that American forces will be withdrawn from Somalia. The January 31 deadline is a more appropriate choice for a withdrawal date. How is it in our national security interest to keep our forces there for an

additional 60 days? Nothing in the President's report to Congress gives an adequate answer to that question.

Mr. Speaker, I don't think Congress should micro-manage foreign policy. But first there has to be a policy. Congress has to take a role when the Administration can't decide what its policy is. America's military belongs to the American people. It does not belong to the United Nations. And we cannot let Boutros Boutros-Ghali decide on the use of our troops by default. Vote for the Gilman amendment. Don't keep our forces bogged down in Somalia for 60 more dangerous days.

Mr. Speaker, I think history will indicate that we have had four separate missions. We have been allowed in this House to vote on one. Vote for the Gilman amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN].

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a very disappointing moment for the House. Let me, if you will, also review history, without as great specificity, but in general.

Mr. Speaker, it is disappointing, because our friends on the other side came to us at a point in time not too many years ago and told us, rightfully so, that we should not bicker over foreign policy; we should not undermine our President; we should stand as one when staring down dictators and tyrants, murderers, and international renegades. And they asked us to stand with President Reagan in Lebanon, a very difficult move indeed, and we did. We put partisanship aside in our national interest.

Yet again they came to us under the administration of President Bush and said we are all Americans, let us stand side by side. Let us back up our President. Let us not undercut him. Let us not show all of our cards. Let us as a Congress not micromanage a war. And we did that. We provided the votes to make sure that there was a unified American policy behind our American President.

Difficult though it was, and indeed, nobody likes bloodshed, I stood holding the hand of a mother in my district as she buried her son who was killed in the Persian Gulf. It is difficult duty indeed to suffer the consequences of our actions and to witness that firsthand. But we live in a very cruel and tough world, and tough decisions have to be made. And pain is involved. And, sometimes, yes, suffering and death are involved. And that is why nations have armies. But we were asked to stand as one, and indeed we did.

And now, Somalia. We are there. We are there on a humanitarian mission. We are there with the United Nations. We are there under the request of President Bush, if you recall. The previous speaker asked where is our pol-

icy? Our policy in Somalia started with President Bush, who put the troops in, who said we would have them out before the end of the year.

President Bush is out, the troops are still there. If it was that easy, why did he not pull them out?

There is no difference between March 31 and January 31. There is no difference between this administration and other administrations, other than politics.

Mr. Speaker, let us not change our values when we change administrations. Let us not become political patriots. Let us be the Americans we should be.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN] just said there is no difference between this administration and the Bush administration and the Reagan administration. Let me refresh the gentleman's memory just a little bit.

When we went into Grenada, we went in with overwhelming force. We had a goal, an objective. We did the job and we got out.

When we went into Panama, we went in with overwhelming force. We did the job, and we got out.

When we went into the Persian Gulf, we went in with overwhelming force. We had General Schwarzkopf. We did the job, did it very well, and we got out.

When we went into Somalia, we went in to feed the starving masses, and were supposed to be out by Inauguration Day, or very close to it. President Clinton went out on the White House lawn with the troops and declared victory over starvation in Somalia. Then he brought home, out of the 28,000 troops, all but 3,500. Then what did he do? He expanded the mission into nation-building.

The problem we have is not that this administration is not any different than the previous administrations. It is. That is the problem. They do not have a clue on how to conduct foreign policy and foreign military operations. And anybody who has really taken a good hard look at what is going on does not have confidence in what this administration is doing.

Can you imagine Saddam Hussein or anybody saying this: We are calling for the U.S. troops to confine themselves to their positions at the airport to avoid a repetition of the unfortunate events of the past?

Mr. Speaker, you have got a tinhorn dictator over there, a warlord, who does not have over maybe 400 or 500 or 1,000 followers, telling the United States, the greatest country on the

face of the Earth, stay in your barracks there or we are going to kill a bunch more Americans.

Mr. Speaker, do you know why that happens? It is because they know they can push this administration around. They know this President does not know what he is doing. If they had President Reagan or President Bush to deal with, they would not be doing that, because they know they knew how to deal with these kinds of problems.

The problem is, we have on-the-job training with this administration. You have a Governor of Arkansas with no background in foreign policy making monumental decisions. And it is unfortunate. We need to replace some of these people in leadership over there so we have some real expertise in foreign policy.

□ 1750

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from American Samoa [Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA].

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Hamilton amendment which supports the President's policy decision to commit United States Forces in Somalia until the end of March 1994.

Mr. Speaker, it was not so long ago that the world bore witness to unspeakable horrors unfolding in Somalia. Countless numbers of Somali men, women, and children and elderly withered and died of hunger before our eyes in a gruesome, daily ritual through the media. Five hundred thousand Somalis faced immediate starvation, and half of Somalia's population, upward of 4 million people were at risk.

Our Nation, under the leadership of then-President Bush, moved by this senseless tragedy, sent our troops over to ensure that humanitarian relief supplies were delivered to those that desperately needed them, in the midst of anarchy and widespread fighting by rival clans. Having been to Somalia, I can personally attest that the United States-led relief effort, a tremendous success, was directly responsible for saving hundreds of thousands of Somali lives.

The amendment offered by the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Honorable LEE HAMILTON, ensures that this hard-won victory over mass starvation and death will not be short lived. By supporting the President's plan for commitment of United States Forces in Somalia until March 31, the Hamilton amendment provides the greatest chances for stability and the timeframe necessary for negotiation of a new Somali Government and strengthening of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force.

Mr. Speaker, at this delicate juncture, it is absolutely vital that the United States protect against a premature force withdrawal that would

surely result in the return of civil war, anarchy, and chaos to Somalia. To do less would make us party to the inevitable rebirth of famine, mass starvation, and needless suffering amongst the Somali people.

Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, I recalled when the Congress raised the question of United States troop mobilization in the Middle East, our President Bush said it was necessary to protect our interests in Saudi Arabia—and we all accepted the President's leadership and initiative to save Saudi Arabia, then suddenly, our people were told that our policy was not to save Saudi Arabia from invasion, but was to liberate Kuwait. The President was given that courtesy to revise our policy as it was in the best interests of country. The same thing can be said of President Clinton. Let's give our President a chance to conduct our foreign policies as it should be afforded him just like we've done for Presidents Reagan and Bush.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation intervened in Somalia because it was the right and honorable thing to do. To pull out prematurely, cut and run before we have finished the job in Somalia is neither right nor honorable—and, in my humble opinion, I believe will make a mockery of those brave American soldiers who sacrificed their lives on behalf of the humanitarian interests of the Somali people. I strongly urge our colleagues to support the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE], a cosponsor of my amendment and the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe what I am hearing here this afternoon. With a straight face, some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are trying to compare what is happening in Somalia with the Persian Gulf. They are trying to compare it to a war. We are not talking about a war. Even the President admitted that we do not have a military mission in Somalia, not a wartime mission.

American troops are being killed. American troops have been killed. That is our business in this Congress. When mothers and fathers and sisters and brothers and wives have their loved ones killed, that is our business. It is not a question of micromanaging. It is my business as a Member of this body. It is our business.

And the blame is shared by us, if we do not take action. The blood is on our hands. We will not in the future be able to simply say, the United Nations did this, the President did this. That we did not have anything to do with Somalia, with the change of policy that resulted in our people being killed, many of them wounded, taken captive,

some had their bodies desecrated and dragged through the streets. This is our business, and we cannot lay it off on the United Nations, as the President has done, and say it is not our doing.

The administration claims the United Nations had the wrong mission but they were party to the changed mission, with our representative to the United Nations supporting that change in mission in the Security Council.

Now I understand that we are going to go back into the streets of Mogadishu. And by so doing we will once again take sides in the internal conflict of Somalia. We are putting our people at risk again. And if they are killed in the future without us taking some kind of action, at least in an advisory way, the blood is on our hands, and my colleagues will have to explain that away to their people back home. I maintain, there is no way they can do it.

This is a nonbinding resolution. It gives Members the way out. And my colleagues, we are going to need a way out real bad. We better take advantage of it. Vote "yes" on the Gilman amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. LANTOS], chairman of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, the United States speaks with a strong voice, when we speak with a united bipartisan voice.

I rise in praise of some great Republicans, not great Republicans of bygone days, like Senator Vandenberg, but great Republicans of today: Senator CHAFEE of Rhode Island; Senator DANKFORTH of Missouri; Senator DOMENICI of New Mexico; Senator HUTCHISON of Texas; Senator JEFFORDS of Vermont; Senator KASSEBAUM; Senator SIMPSON of Wyoming; Senator SPECTER of Pennsylvania; Senator WARNER of Virginia; and the outstanding Republican expert on foreign policy in the U.S. Senate, Senator DICK LUGAR, and yes, on behalf of the Senate Republican leader, BOB DOLE of Kansas, who voted with the Democratic majority 76 to 23 to stand by the President of the United States in fulfilling our obligation.

Now, the Gilman proposal is not only nonbinding and unconstitutional, it is also snake oil, because it proposes a risk-free, cost-free universe.

We are in for some troubled times, and we better learn that we do not speak with an uncertain trumpet, that we stick together, that we stand up for our obligations.

We have three options, Mr. Speaker: We can either be the policeman of the world that none of us wants; we can claim that the world can be stopped and we are going to get off, which is the avenue of lunacy that the ultra-isolationists are peddling; or we can work

together with a group of nations committed to building in the post-cold-war world a system of security.

I am calling on my Republican friends on that side of the aisle to stand with BOB DOLE and DICK LUGAR and ALAN SIMPSON and STEVENS of Alaska and all the others who had the courage and the guts to recognize that we have one President at a time and we ought to have one foreign policy at a time. Cheap political rhetoric is no substitute for a steady foreign policy.

I strongly urge the defeat of the Gilman proposal, and I support the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LEVY], another member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. LEVY. Mr. Speaker, as we debate this issue from the comfort and safety of this room, surrounded by barricades and protected by the Capitol Hill Police, the people who are most affected by what we do here tonight face danger and the potential of injury or death every hour of every day. The risk is always present that one or more of our people will be hurt or killed.

Why are we subjecting American soldiers to that kind of danger? What will be true on March 31 that will not be true on January 31 or, for that matter, is not true today?

□ 1800

What American interests are we protecting by keeping troops in Mogadishu for 2 additional months? I keep hearing about the signals that we send as a country if we pull out of Somalia now. Are we talking about public relations here? Are we putting American lives at risk because there is some PR interest in doing so, just as we were told there was some PR interest in denying the armaments and manpower that were requested by our people in Somalia a month ago?

Mr. Speaker, this is not like health care or the budget fight that we had on this floor. If the President was wrong on the budget, as so many of us think he was, then taxes rise and the deficit increases anyway. If the President is wrong on health care, we create a bureaucracy and we still do not bring the costs down.

However, if we make the wrong choice tonight, American soldiers may die unnecessarily. Let us get out of Somalia. A couple of minutes ago my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER] spoke about the allegations that Republicans are trying to embarrass the President. Let me suggest that nothing would be more embarrassing to the President than the loss of American soldiers in February or March for no reason. Support the Gilman substitute. Bring our people home.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PAYNE].

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in the period of 1991-92 the world watched with horror as the collective response to meeting humanitarian needs in Somalia by multilateral and bilateral agencies was an absolute failure due to the lack of security.

Without strong regional organizations to assist, the United Nations was requested to add the matter to their agenda.

President Bush addressing the Republican National Convention made a case for the airlifts to the starving Somalia people as the least the United States could do—a belated push to attract African-Americans to Republican ranks.

The mission called Operation Provide Relief failed because food could not be safely landed in all areas, and even those where it was possible, the food could not be transported to surrounding areas due to fighting by rival factions and unaffiliated armed bands of Somali young men realizing that food was money, and money was power.

President Bush faced with this dilemma, committed U.S. Ground Forces under the banner of Operation Restore Hope. There was bipartisan support for this effort even though some felt the mission to secure the safe delivery of humanitarian aid should also include disarming warring factions as U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had pleaded.

In Namibia the peace process was successful because disarming took place, while in Angola peace is yet to be achieved because disarming never took place before elections.

While disarming did not happen as part of Operation Restore Hope, President Clinton gave full support to pursue this task by assigning U.S. troops under the U.N. Command of UNOSOM II which was operating under U.N. Security Council Resolution 814 which set reconciliation and rehabilitation as the fundamental U.N. objective, but also factored in disarming as a means to these objectives. U.N. Resolution 814 was passed under chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter, which allows the use of force.

The Senate took the first step toward authorizing the use of U.S. forces in Somalia on February 4, 1993, by passing Senate Joint Resolution 45. The House passed an amended version on May 25, 1993, which also authorized the troops to remain for 1 year and most importantly to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 814. Also, a war powers authorization to be used in the event that U.S. troops are engaged in hostilities.

The Senate never acted on the amended Senate Joint Resolution 45. One can speculate the killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeeping troops on June 4 and the controversy over the best way to handle the General Aided crisis probably slowed up the Senate consideration.

The passage of the Byrd amendment to the Senate's defense authorization bill was a quick out. Negotiated with the administration it called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops by March 31, 1994.

The House soon followed the passage of the companion Gephardt amendment.

Now Mr. GILMAN wants to move the date up to January 31 on the premise that an early departure will save lives. In the Foreign Affairs markup of GILMAN's bill witnesses for the Defense Department argued that an early withdrawal could actually put remaining U.S. troops in danger—not to mention other U.N. troops remaining.

Let us not blame the present administration nor the U.N., even though we may wish the U.N. had performed more effectively. Let us be clear that the blame lies with Mr. Aided, who is now responsible for the death of the majority of the 82 peacekeepers killed to date—of whom 34 are Pakistani, 25 American, and the balance from France, Italy, Morocco, Nigeria, Turkey, and Malaysia.

It is important to note that there has been considerable success in re-establishing the Somalia police and local government councils almost everywhere in Somalia with the exception of southern Mogadishu. And in Kismayu, a former trouble spot, Belgian peacekeepers have organized negotiations among clan elders.

It is clear that a change in tactics of the U.N. and U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces in Mogadishu was needed to minimize civilian deaths and the risking of the lives of peace keepers. The U.N. has now refocused on the fundamental U.N. objectives of reconciliation and rehabilitation. Neighboring Eritrea and Ethiopia have volunteered to help in this process.

Let us not forget that before the U.S. and U.N. intervened in Somalia, over 300,000 Somalis had died from starvation. If we withdraw now, before the country is stabilized, there is a good chance that civil war and mass starvation will resume. Other clan leaders such as Mohamed Ali Mahdi have already indicated they may have to re-evaluate their decision to disarm.

As Robert Press of the Christian Science Monitor, one of the few Americans reporting on the spot in Mogadishu states, "Somali intellectuals express concern that if the country has not achieved peace by the end of next March, the United States exit will only enhance prospects of renewed civil war and famine. And, they add, the withdrawal will weaken America's credibility elsewhere."—As it already has done in Haiti.

Let me also not forget that the guns that need to be gathered and stacked were provided by the United States and the former Soviet Union in pursuit of the cold war agenda. We fought the cold war on African soil.

Americans have a moral responsibility to bring peace to this troubled land and finish the job we started.

Now is the time for America's diverse population to come together in a show of unity for its commitment for Africa. To run when the going gets tough will not only be divisive for Somalia, but for America as well.

For too long African-Americans have watched the second rate treatment of Africa by United States foreign policy. Committing United States troops to save the lives of black Africans was an event many of us never expected to see happen after our neglect of the victims of the civil war in Liberia. Don't disappoint us now!

I was so proud the morning when I saw Sgt. Bobby Jackson on TV from a hospital in Germany an African-American who was wounded with those on that tragic day we lost 18 soldiers. He said he was proud to be in Somalia. He said he had a mission. He said he volunteered in this all-volunteer army. He said he hopes he recovers to go back to complete the mission.

Yes, we in America, black and white, have a mission to complete. A mission to improve race relations in our own country at a time we are starting to head backwards.

A mission to make Martin Luther King's dream a reality, and to remember his words that "Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere". Finally, I would remind my Republican friends that African-Americans were proud to be Americans when President Bush announced his new world order, where the strong would protect the weak. Let us together complete the mission.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS], the ranking member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, in supporting the so-called Gilman amendment, I do not want to tie the hands of the President in an emergency. Let me suggest, it is not partisan, it is not weakness to suggest that we must not permit the continued mindless intervention where we have no clear objective or national interest. Those who cannot remember and learn from the past are condemned to repeat it.

Mr. Speaker, let us hear what Senator Richard Russell said back at the height of the Vietnam war: "We hear a great deal about limited wars, but there is no such thing as a limit on the actual combat in which our men are engaged."

Back during the rather infamous briefing on Somalia, Secretary Aspin told us the administration's plan was not working. They needed a new plan and a new timetable. Then he said, "What do you think?" I think the policy is no more clear today than then. American service personnel are in a combat zone with no military objective

other than self defense. That violates a basic commitment this Nation should honor with our men and women in service.

Today is the 218th birthday of the U.S. Marine Corps. No, we are not going to practice isolationism. No, we are not going to cut and run, but when a marine is wounded or pinned down or killed, we send the platoon, the company, the battalion, the regiment, or the whole damn corps. That is not a clear military commitment in Somalia. We should support the Gilman amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ENGEL].

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Hamilton resolution and against the Republican amendment. The question here is not should we get out of Somalia. Everyone agrees we need to get out of Somalia. The question is when do we get out of Somalia, when do we get out of Somalia that is most prudent for this country, for this country's foreign policy, for our troops in Somalia. When is the best time?

As far as I am concerned, the 60-day extension is nothing more than an attempt to embarrass the President. Foreign policy should be bipartisan. It should be treated in a bipartisan manner. Let me remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that it was President Bush that sent our troops into Somalia, a move which many of us supported because, again, we felt that America as the last remaining superpower has a responsibility in the world. It does not mean we ought to be the policemen of the world. No one is saying we ought to stay in Somalia, but we were sent there with a mission. The President has redefined that mission. He has said we will get all our troops out of Somalia by March 31. That seems infinitely reasonable to me.

Mr. Speaker, isolationism, despite what some of my friends on the other side of the aisle say, isolationism is isolationism. With the collapse of communism too many of my friends on the other side of the aisle are willing to go, in my opinion, into a very dangerous phase of isolationism. We have a responsibility. The world looks to us. We have a goal, and we have goals. We need to fulfill those goals.

If we cut and run, and we would be cutting and running, we will tell the Aidedes and all the tinhorn dictators all over the world that "All you need to do to change American policy is to kill a few Americans and then the Americans will get scared and cut and run." We have to show the Aidedes and the Saddam Husseins and others that we are not going to cut and run.

Mr. Speaker, I supported President Bush in the Persian Gulf war. It was not an easy vote to take on this side of the aisle. I believe that as President,

he needed bipartisan support. I wish some of my friends on the other side of the aisle would give President Clinton the same courtesy.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Maine [Ms. SNOWE], a senior member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. Speaker, today we are presented with a clear, simple choice. The Hamilton resolution was reported out by committee on a razor-thin vote of 22 to 21—by no means a mandate on this critical foreign initiative. The Gilman amendment on the same issue was the only amendment attracting bipartisan support.

The Gilman amendment recognizes that United States forces in Somalia have accomplished the purpose of humanitarian relief that tragically resulted in the loss of American lives. It calls for the removal of United States combat troops from Somalia no later than January 31, 1994.

Ironically, the committee resolution does not argue against the near-term withdrawal of American combat forces from Somalia. However, it recommends that those forces remain in Somalia—devoid of any genuine mission—for an additional 2 months. This presents supporters of the resolution with a quandary. They propose that we use American troops to purchase a face-saving decent interval and/or to advance the United Nation's ambitious nation-building exercise in Somalia.

Some might argue that the January 31 deadline in the Gilman amendment is arbitrary. But any deadline is by its very nature arbitrary. Since it is non-binding, what the Gilman amendment does is express the view that we should withdraw from Somalia as quickly and safely as possible. Frankly, I believe that we should pull out our troops well before January 31, and in committee I supported a Goodling amendment calling for withdrawal within 30 days. But the committee resolution would extend the deadline to March 31. If we adopt the committee resolution, this House would go on record urging the President to allow our troops to remain in positions of danger months after they could have been safely withdrawn.

The question before us is clear: How much longer does this administration intend to allow the lives of our soldiers to be placed at risk in a country which obviously harbors no good will to the United States and in a campaign which has no focus or cohesion? This is a policy which has no overriding support among the people we are here to represent?

On a question of intent of mission, let there be no misunderstanding: according to the Red Cross, mass starvation in Somalia has ended. Our brave troops should take great pride in that accomplishment. Our original humanitarian mission was over 6 months ago

when the famine ended and Operation Restore Hope changed to Operation Get Aided. We should have withdrawn from Somalia at that time, as President Bush originally intended.

Yet, along the way, this administration has deluded themselves into thinking that we can go further and that we must inspire our troops with some magic notion that we can convert Somalia into a stable Jeffersonian Democracy in a matter of a few months. But the administration which wants our troops and the American public to believe this can be achieved is the same administration where critical National Security Council briefings go unattended, where field general's requests are rejected, and whose policy drifts to and fro like a reed in the wind.

Every day, yet another confused message comes out of the administration. After the October 3 ambush and massacre, U.S. forces withdrew to their compounds. According to numerous press reports, the focus of their mission since then has been to defend their own barracks. The administration was clearly embarrassed by these reports—particularly a Washington Post article last Wednesday—because they revealed the continuing, fundamental lack of purpose to our continued presence.

Suddenly, on Thursday, 1 month later, the administration announced that U.S. troops would resume joint patrols with U.N. forces to reestablish an aggressive foreign troop presence on the streets of Mogadishu. But then the administration ran into another snag. On Sunday General Aided, still formally subject to a U.N. arrest warrant, held a rare press conference. He warned that U.S. participation in such patrols would be a provocative violation of the truce he had agreed to with Ambassador Oakley. He warned that if U.S. troops returned to their earlier mission, it would risk another bloody confrontation.

President Clinton has a serious obligation to steer a clear, definable course of foreign policy for our Nation, to set a standard for our Government when this Nation should properly engage itself and its Armed Force in any conflict. I have always believed, as I believe now, that we should only ask U.S. servicemen and women to put their lives on the line to defend American national security.

It is not too late to set our country back on course. Nothing can bring back the lives of those servicemen who perished on a dusty street in Mogadishu. But we have a definitive moral obligation to ensure that no more lives are sacrificed in vain in a conflict we are likely to only deepen and widen by our presence.

In casting our votes today, we must keep foremost in our own minds the October 3 massacre of our finest young Americans, when 18 Rangers were killed, 2 of them from my own district,

and 75 others were wounded. We watched horrified as the bodies of two American servicemen were dragged through the streets of Mogadishu to ecstatic, cheering Somali crowds.

Since that debacle—and even before then—many have questioned whether we really have any fundamental interests at stake in Somalia. But I would argue that today we do indeed have many national interests in Somalia. Over 10,000 interests, in fact, and every one of them should be brought home as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the Gilman amendment.

□ 1810

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS].

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge support for the Hamilton amendment.

One year ago, I traveled to Somalia with other Members of Congress. We were appalled by what we saw. We saw suffering and starvation on a scale that is incomprehensible to those who did not see it with their own eyes. I saw a young child starving to death in her mother's arms. I saw death all around.

The country was in chaos. Warlords and young thugs roamed the country with guns of all kinds. No one was safe.

Now 1 year later, our young men and women have served well in Somalia. Because of U.S. aid and intervention, farmers are planting crops. Rival warlords came together in a historic gathering. Rebuilding has begun throughout the country.

Peace has been restored to much of Somalia. We have saved hundreds of thousands from starvation. We have much to be proud of. Our success has been dramatic.

I agree that we must withdraw our troops. But we must do it in an orderly fashion so that we do not destroy everything good we have done over the past year. In the meantime, we must be on guard. But we cannot second guess the President every step of the way. If we do that, we risk confusion in the command. We also risk hurting our troops on the ground.

The President has set a date for withdrawal. He is very aware of our concerns. I say to you, my colleagues, do not endanger our good work, do not endanger our young men and women, by second guessing the President every step of the way.

Our mission has been noble. We used our military in the best possible way—to save lives. We did the right thing by helping the people of Somalia.

Support the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON].

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress I find it disappointing that many majority party

Members cry gridlock, partisanship, obstruction anytime there is a good piece of legislation that they disagree with. This tactic, of course, is easier than debating the merits of a bill.

I ask: What are you afraid of? Let us stop the rhetoric and look at the facts. Regardless of the situation last December, it is a new game. We are now involved in another country's civil war. The drought is over, but the chaos continues, and it will continue whether we get out January 31 or March 31.

We have heard a lot of talk today, but not much substance. Not one speaker has told us why 60 more days really makes a difference. And that is because no one can explain why we are still there in the first place.

Let us support the Gilman amendment and get our soldiers home sooner than later.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OLIVER). The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] has 6 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] has 8½ minutes remaining.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON].

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the War Powers Resolution, enacted into law on November 7, 1973 over President Nixon's veto, is to ensure both Congress and the President share in making decisions that may involve the U.S. in hostilities.

Compliance becomes an issue whenever the President introduces U.S. Armed Forces abroad in situations which might be construed as hostilities or imminent hostilities.

Criteria for compliance include: prior consultation with Congress, never happens; fulfillment of reporting requirements; and congressional authorization.

If the President has not complied fully, Congress must decide what action it should take to bring about compliance.

Now, President Clinton has already committed to withdraw troops from Somalia by March 31 and provisions in the DOD Appropriations Bill will cut off funding for the operation by this date. In practical terms, this debate has more to do with legitimizing the War Powers Resolution than with bringing our troops home.

But a total of 23 U.S. soldiers have been killed in Somalia including 18 killed and 75 wounded in the ill-fated October 3 attack on Aided's headquarters.

Instead of declaring victory over hunger and getting our troops out of Somalia, the President expanded our mission to "nation building" and the capture of Aided.

Mr. Speaker, because of our change in mission from feeding to fighting Somalis, we have suffered tragedy and mishap, and now we find ourselves in an unsteady truce, while humanitarian aid continues and our troops are holed up in barracks in Somalia.

But there is no government in Somalia, no structure, no guarantee that whenever we leave the anarchy will not be rekindled. No matter how long we stay, we have done good for the Somalians.

But we did a great disservice to our troops when we abandoned our original mission to feed the people and began to fight them. And we continue to do a disservice to our troops by leaving them in Somalia.

We cannot change the circumstances in Somalia. We wish we could, but we cannot. So we dare not expose our sons in uniform to the unnecessary and inevitable danger without giving them a definite and achievable mission. There is none. So we can leave them in Somalia to become the targets of Lebanese-style catastrophes, or we can declare victory over hunger, as I said last January, and pull our troops out of that unfortunate land.

We cannot control that situation. It is a powder keg, and we should pull our boys out before it blows up.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. TORRICELLI].

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding the time.

Mr. Speaker, the debate about whether or not America should remain in Somalia in fact ended a long time ago. Now it is only a question of ensuring that there is an orderly withdrawal and all that America fought for and some died for is not lost.

America can take enormous pride because indeed no other nation in the world would have sent her sons and daughters so far for such a noble purpose, simply to feed the hungry and to save lives. And yet, all of us want to ensure that in these final months of this mission that we remain true to our cause of ensuring that it is both completed and that American lives are saved.

Mr. Speaker, only moments ago the distinguished chairman of the committee, Mr. HAMILTON, received a letter from the Secretary of State. At this point, if I could, I would like to engage in a colloquy.

Mr. Chairman, is it your understanding that indeed while American forces remain in Somalia that their mission will be limited to protecting their bases, responding on an emergency basis in case United Nations forces are in trouble, and keeping lines of communication and supply open?

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TORRICELLI. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, that is my understanding. And may I quote a paragraph from the Secretary of State's letter addressed to me November 9:

In his address to the Nation, the President made clear that the core of our mission is to protect United States troops in Somalia and their logistic bases, and to keep open and secure the key roads and lines of communication that are essential for the United Nations and relief workers to keep the flow of food supplies and people moving freely throughout the country. There has been no change in our mission as stated by the President.

Mr. TORRICELLI. So indeed Members can be assured that for the safety of American forces, that this is their mission, it is well defined, it is being coordinated with the Somali factions to minimize the risk to American forces and to ensure that we are solely completing the mission that we went there to do, while having an orderly withdrawal and giving the greatest chances for other forces to replace the United States so that our work is not lost when we depart?

Mr. HAMILTON. I think Members can be so assured.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TORRICELLI. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am reading from a White House bulletin dated November 8, 1993, in which United States Special Envoy Robert Oakley told Somali clan leaders that American troops will "resume patrolling city streets, clearing roadblocks, and disarming technicals."

Mr. TORRICELLI. Reclaiming my time, I think this is what remains critical, is the difference is that it is now done in conjunction with Somali factions and the United Nations, and that these missions are only done to ensure that the roads are open to deliver supplies and communication lines. But that there are no offensive patrols. The mission has changed and our forces, for as long as they remain, remain safe in that mission. That is the distinction, and that is an enormous difference.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER].

□ 1820

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the Gilman amendment to withdraw United States forces from Somalia by January 31.

The original United States mission in Somalia initiated by President Bush, which ended last May, was a huge success. With food supplies safeguarded and order restored, we turned the situation over to the United Nations and began to withdraw.

Unfortunately, the United Nations soon alienated certain Somalis. The re-

sult was the ambushing of Pakistani troops and President Clinton's subsequent determination that United States troops in Somalia should come to the United Nations' aid.

The problem was that this new U.S. mission was no longer peacekeeping. Rather, it was peacemaking. The United States abandoned its previous policy of neutrality and using minimal force, and instead committed itself to use significant military force against specific parties to the conflict.

This is not a course we should have pursued. We saw the result on October 3d—18 U.S. deaths and scores more wounded.

Today, the goodwill we developed with the people of Mogadishu during Operation Restore Hope has dissipated. The situation remains volatile, and any spark might set it off. We should withdraw our forces now, before hostilities recur. This ill-defined mission is not worth one more American life.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, we have only one speaker left. Is it correct that we have the right to close?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). The gentleman is correct. The gentleman from Indiana has the right to close.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA].

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about Somalia in this Congress. Unfortunately nothing has been done by this Congress about Somalia.

Months ago one did not need to be a war strategist or a Ph.D. in international affairs to know that the United States was headed down the wrong path in Somalia.

But we did not learn easy lessons in Somalia. We did not learn that our presence was no longer welcome.

We did not learn that we should not become involved in the civil disputes of another nation. We did not learn that our ill-protected troops should not be needlessly sacrificed.

And we did not learn that this is still a dangerous world where peace is only obtained through strength.

Unfortunately today, my colleagues, we cannot undo what has been done.

We cannot bring back the precious lives that have been lost. And we cannot recoup the hundreds of millions of dollars that have needlessly been spent on the military fiasco in Somalia.

What we can do today is to learn from the costly lessons from the past.

What we can do today is to act now—in our last opportunity to save lives—to save taxpayer dollars and hopefully to learn from the lessons of the past.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to support the Gilman amendment which offers us today the only opportunity to correct the mistakes made yesterday.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH], the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. GINGRICH. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I really rise in some anguish. I frankly do not believe that the Congress should tie the Chief Executive's hands in foreign policy except under the most difficult of circumstances. And I suspect if this were a binding resolution, I might well vote "no" just because the world is a dangerous place, things happen overnight, and you cannot be sure.

But as we watch what is happening and we watch the confusion and we watch the inability of the administration to explain itself or to have a clear policy and you get up one morning and it says American troops are going to patrol Mogadishu and then you hear them say, "Well, not really, except occasionally," and then they explain that occasionally only means when it is really dangerous but it will not really be dangerous because after all they would not do anything to put our guys in danger unless of course they happen to get killed.

You go through these discussions, and frankly we in the Congress have an obligation to send a signal to the President. I think the signal we have to send is that we are not satisfied with the way this foreign policy is being run; we are not satisfied with the way the Defense Department is being run; we do not think our young men and women are being given the right backup; we do not think there is a clear policy in Somalia as there is not a clear policy, frankly, in Haiti or in the Balkans, and somehow those of us who are worried both about the lives of young Americans and about America's role in the world have to send a signal.

I frankly came to the conclusion that voting "yes" on this resolution, voting for Gilman is the right signal. It is a signal that says to the President there is not support in this Congress for a muddled, confused, and unexplained policy which risks the lives of Americans for what seems to be no purpose.

I think it is very important for this President to understand that he has a deep, serious foreign policy crisis and that he needs to thoroughly overhaul his defense and foreign policy establishment and he needs to find a way to calmly and consistently lead Americans in a way that we can support and follow. And, frankly, today, from every meeting I have been in, from every report I have seen, that is not the case. That is why I will vote "yes" on Mr. GILMAN's amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

Mr. DORNAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, the reason I brought this picture on the floor is that I will not take a second seat to anyone on foreign affairs or defense, or any Member of the House, as far as working on

this issue is concerned. I went to Mogadishu, took 39 hours of flying to get there. Since I have come back, I have been to Fort Benning, I have been to Fort Bragg, and this weekend I was at Fort Campbell and met with CWO Michael Durant and the widow of the legendary helicopter pilot from the best helicopter regiment in the world, the 160th special ops aviation regiment, Cliff Walcott's widow Christine.

The reason that I am supporting Mr. GILMAN, and I do not think any dates should have been drawn in the sand ever, the President should have said we will try to be out by the spring. It was an embarrassment and political pressure that forced him to pick March 31. We could have been out sooner. He was just telling Aideed, "I will jerk the Rangers out, and you release Mike Durant, and then we will go from there."

Aideed is now threatening us. As of Monday they killed the Somalia security head of one of the volunteer organizations, CARE, yesterday. A colonel spokesman there is saying our soldiers are going back out on the street.

The reason this photograph is important—and some of you cannot see it over there on the majority side, but believe me, our camera crews downstairs, come in close on this and you can see it clearly in all the homes around America that follow our discourse here—these are 5 of 14 Russian-designed main battle tanks, P-72's owned by the Indians. The Italians had a dozen M-60's that are every bit as heavy as our Abrams, to blow through road blockades.

There were 12 M-48 tanks owned by the Pakistanis, and none of this armor was available when our Rangers and special ops guys were pinned down in a 15-hour firefight from hell. There is no coherent policy there, as Mr. GINGRICH just said, and that is why any Congressman with any common sense is going to have to vote for the earlier pullout date.

Now, here is why Aideed is so angry at us: There are eight of his armored tanks and armored personnel carriers that we blew up with our gunships earlier in the summer. There are his roadblocks all over the city. And we are going to send our people in harm's way again to try to knock out of the way, with every building a sniper's nest.

There is another roadblock across one of the major arteries, the October 21st highway that you can hardly drive down today. And there is what we pulled out on August 23, 2 days before the Rangers and the special forces arrived, we pulled out the world's biggest, most effective fighter, the AC-130 Spectra gunship.

Why do we leave our men, who train with us all the time, unprotected? It is because we have no coherent policy in Somalia, as we do not have a coherent one going into the Balkans, God forbid,

or going into Haiti. We simply must get out as quickly as possible. And if those beautiful little black children start starving again with their mothers, we can get food to them lots of other ways. We do not have to stay in this scorpions den and get our young people killed in Mogadishu itself.

□ 1830

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. BARTLETT].

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, it was clear to me and to most Americans why we went to Somalia. It was clear that we had finished our mission and should have come home a long time ago.

Now we have drawn a date in the sand. I never understood why we would do that, totally counterproductive. It tells Aideed that he simply has to vacation, come back in 6 months. He will be a winner.

As long as we have set a date, we might as well make that date nearer, rather than further away. It will cost us less money and put our young men less at risk.

I strongly support this amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the final 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the issue that we face today is really very straightforward and simple. House Concurrent Resolution 170, as reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, directs the President to withdraw the troops by March 31. The Gilman substitute directs U.S. troop withdrawal by January 31.

I think it is time to put this divisive debate about Somalia behind us.

I want to say to my colleagues on the Republican side who have argued here that there has been no coherent policy that I do not argue this evening that there have been no mistakes made in Somalia. I happen to believe that the burst of criticism that came from this body and from the American people has been helpful. The aggressive effort to capture Aideed should not have been allowed to supplant the political process, and all of us, including the President, acknowledge that.

The President made a mid-course correction. That mid-course correction was away from increased involvement and toward gradual disengagement.

The criticisms of U.S. policy have been heard. They have been heeded, and it is now time to put this divisive debate behind us.

The President has announced a policy of gradual disengagement, and what we do here tonight will not have any impact on that policy.

I have heard it said over and over again tonight that there is no coherent policy. Read the President's October 7 speech. Read the letter that the Secretary of State has sent to us.

The President has made clear that the core of our mission there is to protect our troops. That is the first priority, and the second priority is to open

and secure the key roads and lines of communication so that the humanitarian aid can flow.

March 31 is the date that the President has announced. March 31 is the date in the Defense Department appropriations bill that we are going to vote on tomorrow.

How does it look if the House of Representatives tonight votes for a date of January 31 and then turns around tomorrow and votes for March 31? How is that for constancy and consistency in American foreign policy? What kind of signal does that send to the world? It sends a signal of confusion that we cannot get our act together.

We are leaving Somalia. The date of March 31, as the President said and the Secretary of State said, was set on the basis of military advice.

The Senate of the United States has approved it by 3 to 1. There is no disagreement.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the defeat of the Gilman amendment and support the Hamilton resolution.

Mrs. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that when we voted a few weeks back to instruct conferees on the Defense bill to accept a Senate provision imposing a March 31 deadline for complete United States withdrawal from Somalia, that we laid this issue to rest. I believe it was the right vote and I stand behind it.

Mr. Speaker, what has happened in Somalia over the past several months is horrible. We all agree on that. We have all read the news stories and seen the graphic media footage. Given the deaths and treatment of U.S. servicemen at the hands of rebel forces, it is understandable that emotions are high and the calls for quick withdrawal are loud and clear.

When a government is tasked with developing a coherent, viable, foreign policy, it must not be rooted in emotion. Our policies should be based on reason, logic, and means. Can we achieve our desired goal given the resources at hand, in a timely manner, with a minimum amount of hardship? Knee jerk, reactionary foreign policy may seem to offer a quick fix, but in the grander picture, it does more harm than good. Some have argued that this has been the case with the United States in Somalia; we have been a day late and a dollar short. Perhaps, they are right.

President Clinton has wisely redefined and narrowed the focus of the United States mission in Somalia. The Senate acted to codify part of the new plan in an amendment to the fiscal year 1994 Defense appropriations bill on October 15.

I believe we need to get our forces out of Somalia as soon as it is safe and possible to do so. Immediate withdrawal is not logistically possible and it would severely cripple the U.N. effort there. The question now is: What is a fair date for U.S. withdrawal?

If the Gilman amendment is adopted and the Hamilton substitute defeated, January 31, 1994, will be the date for a complete U.S. withdrawal. Could we meet this deadline if we absolutely had to? Probably. What are the drawbacks? First, we scuttle the October 15 compromise worked out in the Senate regard-

ing our involvement in Somalia. Further, in agreeing to Gilman, we in Congress tell the President that we know better than he how to run our foreign policy. We essentially tie his hands.

I believe U.S. foreign policy should be a joint product between the administration and the Congress. The administration provides the policy expertise and the Congress provides the input of the Nation.

Admittedly, the administration policy in Somalia has been disjointed. The President inherited the Somalia crisis from the Bush administration—who I am sure never anticipated the escalation of violence that we have witnessed over the past several months. But if there is a chance of restoring order to Mogadishu at least in part, then the most underlying goal of our policy—a goal that has been consistent almost throughout our entire deployment—is reached. A January withdrawal could undermine our ability to leave Somalia in some semblance of order so that the U.N. forces can easily assume full control of the mission there.

Another reason I fear that a quick withdrawal is dangerous is, that I believe it sends the wrong signal to our allies and our enemies throughout the world. If it is understood that once an American serviceman/woman is killed on a peacekeeping mission, then the message is: If you don't want the United States around, take a couple of shots at us, and we'll turn tail and run.

My colleagues, before you cast your votes, please understand that this debate is not only about United States involvement in Somalia, it also makes a statement about just what the future of United States foreign policy will look like.

Mr. GALLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this important sense of the Congress resolution calling on the President to remove United States forces from Somalia and urge my colleagues to support the amendment which our colleague from New York, Mr. GILMAN, will be offering that would establish December 31, 1993, as the date by which we believe our presence in Somalia should end.

When President Bush sent American troops to Somalia in order to help the starving people of that beleaguered land, I supported him and the mission to which he had committed us. The President defined a limited mission, committed the troops and resources necessary to achieve it, and knew when and how we would end our involvement.

Once we had done what we could to make certain that food was again available to the Somali people, President Clinton, who endorsed and supported President Bush's actions in support of a limited mission, should have brought our troops home. Unfortunately, at some point last spring, our new President decided to widen the mission, reduce the number of troops, and limit the resources available to them to achieve the mission—all without any idea about how or when we would end our involvement.

The results of the President's tragic policy—and I use the word policy generously—have been tragic. The most grievous example of the failure of the Clinton policy in Somalia was the disaster in Mogadishu on October 3. Some of the finest young men in our military service

lost their lives that day because the Clinton administration denied them the support they needed to achieve the expanded mission the President had laid out for them.

One of those brave fallen warriors, Ranger Cpl. James E. Smith, was a resident of Long Valley, NJ. His father, James H. Smith, a disabled infantry veteran of the Vietnam war, is proud of his son—who saw his duty and bravely did it—and is disappointed in his son's Commander in Chief, who failed to support the troops under his command.

The elder Mr. Smith wrote a powerful letter to the President expressing his feelings—both as a father and a combat veteran—about this issue. I ask that the text of his letter be printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks. I urge each of my colleagues to read what Mr. Smith has written. He puts a human face on the situation and helps prevent us from turning this into an impersonal policy debate on a discussion about protecting the President's political capital.

It is time for our troops to come home. The mission that President Bush committed us to has been completed. No constructive purpose is served by leaving American forces in Somalia any longer. Support this resolution and support the Gilman amendment.

The letter follows:

LONG VALLEY, NJ,
October 25, 1993.

President WILLIAM CLINTON,
The White House,
Washington, DC.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: As a warrior who was disabled in the Vietnam War and as a father of a warrior killed in action in Somalia, I cannot accept your letter of condolence for the death of my son Ranger Corporal James E. Smith. To accept your letter would be contrary to all the beliefs I, my son and the Rangers hold so dear, including: loyalty, courage and tenacity.

During the battle for Anzio, in World War II, an inept indecisive field commander sent the Rangers into battle where they were slaughtered. Fifty years later the Rangers again were ordered into battle, where they were surrounded and outgunned. But this time it was not the fault of the field commanders. No—this time it was the fault of the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States. Your failure to provide the requested combat support reveals a lack of loyalty to the troops under your command and an extreme shortage of moral courage.

I had the honor to meet the Rangers who fought alongside my son and were with Jamie when he died. I heard of magnificent acts of courage and sacrifice. I had Rangers, with tears in their eyes, apologize for letting my son die or their failure to break through and rescue the trapped Rangers. The failure is not theirs, it is yours. Trucks and Humvees cannot replace the requested tanks, armored personnel carriers and Spectre gunships.

As a combat veteran I know that there are no certainties on the battlefield; however, as an Infantry Officer I will always speculate that significantly less casualties would have resulted if you, as Commander in Chief, provided the Rangers with the requested combat support—equipment with which Rangers routinely train and for which approval should have been automatic. The Rangers were pinned down for twelve hours—long hours when the Rangers were fighting for their lives and a Delta Force medic fought to save

my son. Jamie bled to death because the requested armor support was not there to break through to the Rangers.

Rangers pride themselves on the Ranger Creed. "Driving on to the Ranger objective", or "Surrender is not a Ranger word" are not hollow phrases to the men of the black beret. These soldiers understand the word tenacious and wanted to complete their mission. As Ranger after Ranger told me, they were hitting Aidid's forces and command structure hard. But, the United Nations was actually impeding Ranger missions by offering sanctuary to Aidid's supporters. Your willingness to allow this dangerous situation demonstrates a lack of resolve in supporting the men you sent into battle.

My son is no longer here to "Lead The Way"; however, I am. Until you as President and Commander in Chief are either willing or able to formulate a clear foreign policy, establish specific objectives and, most important, support the men and women in uniform, I will "Lead The Way" in insuring that you no longer send America's finest to a needless death. When you are capable of meeting these criteria, then I will accept your letter of condolence.

Sincerely,

JAMES H. SMITH,
Captain/Infantry (retired).

Mr. LEWIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, I could not be here for this vote due to a death in my family. Had I been here I would have voted in opposition to this resolution, which allows for troops to remain in Somalia until March 30, 1994, and in favor of the Gilman resolution to bring them back sooner.

I must comment about those who claim opposition to the President is brought on by partisan concerns. This is wrong and callous. Let me take a moment to read my statement when President Bush placed these troops in Somalia. I said in December 1992: "I am adamant that the Somali mission should be limited to creating an environment for distribution of relief supplies by international agencies. This mission should be clearly defined and not be open-ended." I maintain that position.

Early this year, I wrote the President and asked him to remove our troops. This was not done for public relations purposes, I believed it was the right thing. It is still the right thing.

I agree that we cannot oppose the President because he is from another political party. Neither can we support him in a bad policy because he is from our party. This is not about politics, it is about saving American lives. Let's finally bring our troops home.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Gilman amendment and in support of the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we must put the debate over Somalia behind us. U.S. policy has been decided. We are leaving Somalia. The President, in consultation with military commanders in Somalia, has set March 31, 1994, as the deadline for the withdrawal of United States troops. This policy was affirmed by the U.S. Senate when a strong bipartisan majority voted to support the March 31 deadline in an amendment to the Defense appropriations bill. Tomorrow, when the House considers the Defense appropriations conference report, it will also vote to reaffirm the United States policy for withdrawal from Somalia. The nonbinding Gilman amendment would serve only to confuse U.S. foreign policy in the eyes of the world.

In light of this agreement, it is ironic that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are tonight offering an amendment to curtail the foreign policy powers of the President. How many times in the past 12 years did Republican Members ask Democrats to stand by the President, to speak with one unified voice in foreign policy matters? And yet, tonight, those same members want the House to overturn the foreign policy position of the President and the Senate to score partisan points.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the Hamilton amendment and support the prerogatives of the President to execute a responsible withdrawal from Somalia.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, a previous President said one time, "Let us reason together."

All of us here tonight, I think, agree that the wrong policy in Somalia resulted in the unnecessary wounding and death of our troops as well as many of them being taken captive. We also agree that we should come home from Somalia either on January 31 or March 31. On these points, I believe, we are all in concurrence.

But something new has happened, as I mentioned earlier tonight, we have a new policy being enunciated now in Somalia. We are putting our military people back into the street, taking sides in a general conflict which led to the death of our people before. Last week it was announced that our military would resume clearing the streets of roadblocks in Mogadishu.

Somali militiamen toting automatic weapons set up road blocks and checkpoints due to their conflict with other clans in the area. If we attempt to clear these streets we put our military in the position of taking sides in the internal war in Somalia after just admitting that our humanitarian effort had been completed and subsequent United Nations and United States military mission directed toward one side in the conflict has been discontinued as being inappropriate.

We are again taking sides in this conflict and exposing our military to unnecessary risks. If this happens, and we don't vote for this resolution, we in this body, will share the blame with the President for the ones who will be killed or wounded in the future. Until now, those of you who have voted against this resolution, for whatever reason, could blame the United Nations or the President for what has happened but if you vote for this amendment you are affirmatively voting to be a part of a failed policy and for an extended time for withdrawal and for a new policy that could result in more casualties in the future.

This is a nonbinding, Sense of Congress resolution, which does not legally require the President to act, and, therefore, does not infringe on the authority of the President as Commander in Chief. The President can also come back and get an extension of time if he deems it necessary.

We are getting ourselves right back into the same position that we have renounced before.

Mr. Speaker, let us take this way out by sending this message to the President that we do not want to put the lives of our people at risk any longer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). All time for general debate has expired.

It is in order to consider the amendments in the nature of a substitute printed in House Report 103-328. The amendments may be offered only in the order printed and by a Member designated in the report, and shall be considered as read. Debate on each amendment shall be equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent of the amendment.

If more than one of the amendments printed in the report is adopted, only the last to be adopted shall be considered as finally adopted.

Pursuant to the rule, it is now in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part 1 of House Report 103-328.

For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
OFFERED BY MR. GILMAN

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. GILMAN: Strike all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. FINDING THAT THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES IN SOMALIA ARE ENGAGED IN HOSTILITIES.

For purposes of sections 5(c) and 7 of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c) and 1546), the Congress finds that the United States Armed Forces in Somalia are engaged in hostilities without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization.

SEC. 2. REMOVAL OF ARMED FORCES FROM SOMALIA.

Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove the United States Armed Forces from Somalia by January 31, 1994.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] will be recognized for 15 minutes and a Member opposed will be recognized for 15 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH], a senior member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I wish I had more than 2 minutes; however, let me try to digest this and say that the people of Somalia do not want us in Somalia. I mean, what more stark proof do you need than when our soldiers were killed and they pulled their dead bodies through the streets of Somalia, threw their dead bodies on the streets of Somalia, poking them with sticks, and we are supposed to stay there and keep our troops there longer?

I just think we need a quick refresher course. We went in there in December and we were told that we were going to

be out by January 20, Inauguration Day. Remember that? But Inauguration Day came and went and we were still there.

Then we were there in the spring. On May 25 we had an amendment here to be out of there by June 30. We had 127 votes for that amendment. Had the majority in this House gone with us on that amendment, our troops would be home today and these 18 young Americans would not have died on that weekend and these 75 young Americans would not be in hospitals today because of what happened on that weekend.

Now we are told that we are supposed to have trust and confidence in this administration, that they know what they are doing. Do you not ever read the paper? Look at this morning's headline, the front page. Your second man in command at the State Department left. Why? Because he does not want to be blamed for the misadventures in Somalia.

Now, come on. We have an obligation to the people who wear our uniform. They have been over there long enough and they have done the job.

Now we are saying that we want them out within the next 82 days. The Democrats are saying no, we have got to keep them there for 5 more months.

We are having a debate basically between the realists here in foreign affairs and the interventionists. The interventionists will drag you into every fight in the world, every dogfight in the world. We are nothing but a 911 for every trouble spot in the world.

I think it is about time that we assess and ask ourselves, where do our loyalties lie? Do they lie with our troops, or do they lie with everyone who is going to call us into their fights?

Mr. Speaker, let me just tell the gentleman from New York. I hope that when we vote here we vote for the Gilman amendment and think of our troops for a change.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROGERS], the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Gilman amendment.

The original United States mission in Somalia was to feed the starving millions, and in achieving that mission, to quell the street gangs and thugs that prevented the food and medicine from getting through. It was the first time in American history that our military had been ordered into such a mission.

Mr. Speaker, we achieved that goal months ago. Why are we still in Somalia? Because the United Nations changed the United States mission from feeding the hungry to "nation building," a political settlement between the Somali factions which

have been warring from time immemorial and will be warring until time is no longer.

There is no vital United States interest at stake in Somalia. International peace is not threatened in Somalia. The only reason we went was to stop overwhelming starvation. It has stopped.

Whatever happens when we leave, whether it is March 31 or January 31, is going to happen.

□ 1840

Why prolong our stay and expose American mothers' sons and daughters to injury or death needlessly and for no purpose other than to try to satisfy the personal vendetta of the Secretary General of the United Nations? Let the United Nations fulfill whatever mission it wants. The U.S. mission is fulfilled.

One further word, Mr. Speaker:

Make no mistake. Many international thugs, such as North Korea's Kim Il Sung, and others, are watching now. They see the United States forces doing nothing in Somalia but defending their barracks. They have no other mission. The powerful images from the overwhelming force of the tremendous victory of Desert Storm is being dissipated in Somalia by the new image of military ineffectiveness being seen. To let this continue will reap the whirlwind, Mr. Speaker. This administration is inviting some powerful dictator somewhere to test it, and I hope our interests are not at stake there.

Mr. Speaker, January 31 is better than March 31. Support the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and ask to control the time in opposition.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURTHA], chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, let me just make a couple of points.

I expressed my opposition to our deployment to Somalia when it began. When I went to the White House, I expressed my concern to President Bush.

I said, "This is a mistake, we shouldn't deploy under these circumstances, and it's going to deplete the resources of the Armed Forces," and I asked him how we were going to get out and when we were going to get out.

Mr. Speaker, he said, "I'll have these troops out by Inauguration Day."

Well, Mr. Speaker, the United Nations was slow in its deployment to basically take over the U.S. role. The United Nations came to depend heavily

on the United States. That was a mistake, no question about it. The administration has learned substantially from this and it has listened to our voices and our advice.

When I went to Somalia the first time, Mr. Speaker, my reservations remained the same. I told the new administration, when it came in, "We should get out of Somalia as quickly as possible," and in the middle of July I said, "Get our troops out because this could deteriorate into a very tragic situation."

I made a second trip to Somalia in October. I know the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] also went there. I talked to the Rangers about the October 3 incident. It was a bloody battle. The troops conducted themselves well. They fought valiantly in a congested urban environment.

The President has reassessed the situation. He called everybody in. He listened to what was suggested by the military commanders, and that was, "We need time, first of all, to put forces in place in order to protect our American forces." They also stated that, because the United Nations has extremely limited logistics capability and poor communications and intelligence, time was needed for the United Nations to develop these functions which had been conducted almost exclusively by U.S. forces.

Now how are we to get out of there? General Bir, the U.N. commander, said, "It would be chaos, a debacle, a disaster if the United States pulled out too quickly. We have to have time," and these are his words, "in order to replace the logistic support the United States has been providing." Now how do we do that?

They have a plan. They are going to do that with a civilian operation. We have provided, in our conference report tomorrow, the authority to the Department of Defense to allow them to contract with a civilian authority to provide these administrative logistics type capabilities.

Not only that, but in the conference report we set aside a sense-of-Congress resolution that says: "In the future, before you get involved in these kinds of operations, have consultation with the Congress. Don't wait until there's a tragedy. Consult with the Congress beforehand."

In working with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], and the gentleman from California [Mr. DELLUMS], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McDADE], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], and all the other Members, we have tried to work out some kind of a reasonable process where Members of Congress are consulted, with all the experience in the House and in the Senate, before something like this happens.

But I have to say this:

One thing we have learned from Vietnam is that we cannot from the Halls

of Congress dictate to the military the strategy for any kind of operation, but we have got to leave it up to the military to make the tactical onsite decisions.

On the ground, every military commander is saying, "I need until March 31." The recommendation by General Hoar, who spent over 2 hours briefing me about what happened in that tragic event, was "I need until March 31, because I cannot attain our objectives any quicker. Even if he gets a protective buildup done within a month, it will take considerable time beyond that to phase our forces out in a reasonable manner and to establish adequate logistic administrative support to take care of the U.N. mission. Ambassador Oakley also told me he needed until March 31. I realize this is a non-binding resolution. I realize the Congress wants to speak on this situation, and I think the administration has heard the objections. The administration came to a conclusion—March 31 is the earliest date we can complete our withdrawal.

Mr. Speaker, I would urge the Members to vote against the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and give the President an opportunity to get the troops out in an orderly manner as quickly as prudently possible.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WELDON].

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Speaker, let us set the record straight here. This President did not reach the date of March 31 based upon some intense discussion and analysis. Most of us were in attendance of that debacle of a briefing in early September where Warren Christopher and Les Aspin had no idea what our policy was in Somalia. As recently as August 15 in the Chicago Tribune the United States Special Coordinator to Somalia, David Shin, spoke of getting out in 1994 or 1995. The only reason we have a date certain is because the chairman of this committee, and the ranking member, and the chairman of the Defense Appropriations Committee and others have forced this administration to come to its senses, that we have to bring our troops home.

Why are we waiting until March 31, Mr. Speaker? We have already spent over \$2 billion in Somalia. We have lost 35 lives. The Red Cross, Mr. Speaker, certified on November 4 that officially the famine has ended, and I am going to insert this news release in the RECORD:

[News release from the American Red Cross]

SOMALIA FACT SHEET: 1 YEAR LATER

Somalia is emerging from two years of vicious and debilitating civil war and anarchy. The good news is that throughout the countryside, people are returning home to rebuild their lives. The current harvest is a good one. The violence we have seen is, at this point, confined to Mogadishu. However,

there is no government and essential life-support structures have broken down completely. The road to recovery will be long and difficult.

THEN (1992)

As the lead relief agency throughout the famine in 1992, the Red Cross conducted the largest relief operation in its history with the single exception of World War II, consuming one third of its global budget. However, it is estimated that between a quarter to one half of a million people died, in spite of all best efforts, due to famine and anarchy. While it is hoped that there will not be a need to resume such an operation, the Red Cross is ready to intervene should the situation demand it.

Tons of food distributed from 1992 to present: 254,000 metric tons. Through a system of 900 feeding kitchens throughout the country, the Red Cross was able to feed one million people per day under extremely difficult circumstances.

Other assistance: Over 100,000 families received cooking utensils, plastic sheeting, clothing, blankets and mosquito netting.

Medical: The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Somali Red Crescent operate Keysaney hospital in north Mogadishu, funded by the American Red Cross. Two teams of flying doctors, nurses and anaesthetist travelled the country performing war surgery and helping to train Somali doctors.

Water and sanitation: A direct result of the civil war and anarchy is the destruction of water and sanitation systems. The Red Cross has established shallow wells, bore holes, latrines and rubbish disposal projects, in addition to health education on water-borne diseases.

Total dollar value: \$196,000,000

Somali Red Crescent volunteers: 1500 men and women. The Somali Red Crescent remains one of the only functioning indigenous organizations in Somalia with a nation-wide network of local units.

NOW

Current humanitarian situation in Mogadishu: The American Red Cross continues to provide the operating cost of Keysaney hospital which has an average of 200 emergency cases per month, primarily gunshot wounds. A six person ICRC surgical team permanently is based there as well as another surgical team in south Mogadishu. The ICRC is also providing Benadir and Digfer hospitals with surgical supplies. Stocks of surgical supplies sufficient to treat up to one thousand war wounded are warehoused in Mogadishu. Fighting on the weekend of Oct. 3-4 resulted in 700 new cases in the three hospitals within a two day period.

Current humanitarian situation outside Mogadishu: The famine is over. In contrast to scenes of violence in Mogadishu, elsewhere in Somalia people are focused on rebuilding their lives. Greater emphasis by Red Cross is now being placed on health care and agricultural assistance in those areas where farmers are less advantaged and have had difficulty recovering from crop losses. Or who have just recently returned from refugee camps and are now in the process of resettling in their former homes.

Total seeds to restart crops: 2,820 metric tons of maize, sorghum and cow pea seed; 183,700 packets of vegetable seeds and 162,000 farming and fishing tools.

Total cattle inoculated: Over 7 million heads of cattle (sheep, goats, cows, camels) inoculated to maintain herds.

Health services: The Somali Red Crescent, with the help of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, has initiated a health, relief and rehabilitation program to establish an integrated health service by establishing up to 50 mother/child and primary health clinics for half a million people. These have begun in Belet Huen and Garoe.

Tracing/Red Cross message: The ICRC processes an average of 10,000-15,000 messages per month between family members separated by the conflict. The American Red Cross has processed 4,000 cases between Somalis in the U.S. and relatives in Somalia or refugee camps.

Protection: The total number of Somali detainees held by Unison visited by ICRC is 172. They also visited U.S. pilot, Michael Durant, and a Nigerian from UNISOM, who were held by forces loyal to Mohammed Farrah Aidede. Both were released to the Red Cross.

American Red Cross: Through the help of its chapters in local communities, the American Red Cross contributed \$2.6 million dollars to relief operations, including 42 kitchens, blankets, cloth, and plastic sheeting. It also provided eight staff.

Mr. Speaker, the Somalis do not want us there. Nothing will change by March 31. I think the date should be earlier than January 31. We have completed our job. General Johnson before our Committee on Armed Services a month ago said that our job was completed in the spring of last year. I was over there in February, and he told us the same thing at that time.

In a nutshell, Mr. Speaker, when it all is said and done, our colleagues have to answer a simple question: Can we justify going to that family of that young person who was killed in January, February and March and tell them that their mission in Somalia was justified and that their death was justified for this country, for our national security?

I say not.

This President has done a terrible job in Somalia. We need to send a signal to him, binding or nonbinding, that we want these troops home as soon as practicable and as soon as possible.

I urge support for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of Mr. GILMAN's resolution regarding Somalia. Like most Americans I supported our humanitarian mission in Somalia. When our role changed there under the direction of the United Nations, I strongly objected. I joined a number of my colleagues back in May calling for our troops to be removed.

Since then we have experienced the terrible tragedy of losing 18 killed and 70 percent casualties, in one battle—America's best fighting men—Army Rangers.

Soon after that incident, I went to the floor of the House and called for Secretary Aspin to resign because of his tragic decision. Many of my colleagues have joined me in that request

and Mr. Secretary we are not going away. But our troops are still in Somalia sitting and waiting, at the President's order, until spring. Why? There is no good reason—our troops are not engaged in humanitarian work or police work or peacekeeping. Are we there to show we won't be pushed out? If so, we've proved that. Let us leave now before we're drawn in further, before we have more hostages and more Americans dragged through the streets of Mogadishu.

I am also very concerned about our overall foreign policy vis-a-vis the demilitarization of our Armed Forces. Daily here on the Hill we are asked to further cut our military, yet daily we hear the President talking tough around the world. He has challenged the Serbs with military flights, the Haitians with American troops off shore, and Somalis and their warlords. And just recently, the North Koreans. The President told them that any attack on South Korea would be considered an attack on the United States. Mr. Speaker, if we keep cutting our Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines maybe—just maybe—someone will take up the President's challenge and then we'll have to put up or shut up.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we all need to involve ourselves in determining what our post-cold war foreign policy will be. There is obvious confusion and disarray in how we now approach political crises in the world. In the meantime, let's err on the side of nonintervention unless American interests are clearly at risk, or a defined humanitarian goal can be achieved and concluded quickly.

□ 1850

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CUNNINGHAM].

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] said that it would appear that we cannot get our act together. I think that is exactly the case when it deals with Somalia. When we have got 35 dead and 72 wounded, there is no way that a sense of Congress is going to solve that problem, and I agree with the gentleman from Indiana.

But Aideed is going to be there today. He is going to be there tomorrow. If not, his henchmen are still going to be there. And our pulling out today, or January, or March is not going to make a difference.

Mr. Speaker, there is no one on that side of the aisle I respect more than the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURTHA], and I sincerely say that. But I would say to my friend that maybe we could have pulled out troops when we did not, when we added another 22,000, that it would have been easier. I would say that there was another blun-

der made; that we should have made the decision then and gotten our troops out.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask what can we do by pulling our troops out now? One, we can lessen the risk to American men and women and their lives, because we are going to lose more American lives between now and March. We should not sacrifice 1 for 1000 or even 1 million Somalis.

Second, the cost to the American people, and what it is going to cost, we were willing to pay that cost for humanitarian aid. But that message is gone.

Mr. Speaker, my friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURTHA], has mentioned the depreciation on the armed services, on their equipment and the rest of it, which is being depleted in the Clinton budget. We are cutting defense by \$127 billion, and we do not know where we are going to come up with the Defense to act now.

Mr. Speaker, I would laud President Clinton in staying out of Haiti and staying out of Somalia. In my opinion, the real threat is going to be, in the near future, North Korea. That is what we ought to focus on.

Let us get out of Somalia. Let us save our troops and support the Gilman amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to ask Members to vote against the Gilman amendment and to vote for the Hamilton amendment. We have had an extended, and I think very important and meaningful, set of communications over the past days with the administration and between our administration and our military leaders in the field in Somalia. As a result of all those meetings and communications, it was clear that our military leaders in the field believe that to have the optimal chance to leave Somalia in a condition so that the needed foodstuffs can continue to be delivered, that they need until the end of March to have the best chance to make that happen.

They also said clearly that if we were to obtain greater participation by other U.N. countries, and in particular Egypt and Pakistan, that it was important that we have the optimal chance to leave Somalia in a condition where the U.N. forces that would be left and that would be beefed up by Pakistan and Egypt would have the best possible chance of bringing about the kind of lasting peace and lasting food delivery so that we do not wind up back in the condition we were in a year ago.

A number of our young people have died, very unfortunately. It would not be a fitting tribute to them and their families if, at the end of all this, we do not succeed.

I hope we can succeed. I think we can succeed. Our military leaders on the

ground believe that we can succeed. The United Nations is working to bring more people to follow us so that we can succeed. The President, in consultation with us and in consultation with military leaders on the ground, is telling us that this is the plan that he wants to try to follow.

Mr. Speaker, it is not right tonight for us to try to micromanage our foreign policy. We need to give him the benefit of the doubt tonight, that what they have come up with is sensible and can work. I ask Members to give him and give us and give the United Nations and give our military leaders that prerogative and that possibility. It is the right thing to do.

America did the right thing in going to Somalia in the beginning, and we have done good service, service that is moral, service that is right, service that will be looked back on in the world's history as a high act of generosity and an act that needed to be done and that only we could do. We did it. We succeeded. And even though, unfortunately, some of our young people died in the doing, we must not now try to micromanage, try to turn back, and try to walk away from what is succeeding and can succeed.

Mr. Speaker, one final point: Just in the last day there have been renewed negotiations with Mr. Aideed and the other factions on the ground. Let us give that a chance. Let us give that an opportunity.

If the Congress and the House says tonight that we, even in a nonbinding resolution, want to leave at the end of January, imagine the signal that goes out to our military, to the United Nations, and to the entire world. This will be heard around the world, and it will not be the right action or the right message.

Mr. Speaker, let us stand behind our President tonight and behind our policy. It will work, and we will be proud of it. I urge Members to vote against the Gilman amendment and for the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in favor of the Gilman amendment. The humanitarian need was over 9 months ago. The troops should have come home 9 months ago. Bring them home now.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support for the Gilman amendment.

This debate should have taken place more than 3 months ago, and I very much regret the inattention and lack of cooperation that have been exhibited by the Democrat leadership of this House.

Thanks to the persistence of Mr. GILMAN, the House is finally being accorded the opportunity to have this debate.

But he had to resort to the virtually unprecedented step of invoking the War Powers Act to force this debate.

But, Mr. Speaker, if the intention of the leadership in denying for so long an opportunity for the House to debate United States participation in Somalia was to spare the administration of embarrassment, it must be candidly admitted that such a delay did not work.

Indeed, nothing said or done in this House could possibly have been more embarrassing to the administration than its own blundering.

The United States participation in Somalia has evolved from a humanitarian mission, which was performed with professionalism and skill, to an ill-defined course that has, by turns, represented everything from law enforcement to nation building to outright involvement in the Somali civil war.

All the while, this administration was content to subcontract responsibility over to the United Nations for the decision making and policymaking that should have been done in Washington.

Only when it became undeniably clear that our forces were pinned down in a hostile and primitive environment, without any of the training or equipment they needed to deal effectively with the situation, did anybody wake up at the White House.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I believe we need to get our troops out of Somalia as soon as possible.

Keeping them there another 5 months serves only one purpose: To help save face for this administration.

As flimsy as all the other reasons may be for keeping them there, a political face-saving mission is the worst one of all.

Bring the troops home as soon as possible. Support the Gilman amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROHRBACHER], a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Gilman amendment.

Mr. Speaker, as we discuss Somalia today, I would like to take this opportunity to speak of an old family friend. In fact, my brother's best friend in those years that are memorialized on television as the happy days, the time before Vietnam, when patriotism was part of the landscape.

I remember Dwight Battle, whom we all called Davey, palling around with my brother, playing rough and tumble tackle football and hitting the pool on a hot summer's night. After high school, Davey immediately joined the Marine Corps, just like his dad before him.

Davey served two terms in Vietnam. Got married and was in the process of raising two kids. He had a 12-foot motorboat and when he was off duty he'd be out digging clams or oysters, or fishing in the North Carolina inlets near Camp Lejeune.

My family visited Davey shortly after Ronald Reagan was inaugurated President in 1981. He was a master gunnery sergeant then, only a couple of years left and he could retire, but he was planning to stay in a while. He was needed, and, now, with Reagan as

President, folks in the service were going to get a better deal.

I worked in the Reagan White House for 7 years. I remember vividly the day the marines relanded in Beirut. I searched in vain to find someone who could explain what our marines were supposed to accomplish. Their mission was to be a presence, I was told.

In reality they had no mission to accomplish and within a short time our forces had become enmeshed in local politics, which was a blood feud between heavily armed warring factions. Eventually, our marines, Davey Battle among them, were hunkered down in the low ground near the Beirut airport.

Sgt. Dwight Battle is the first name on the memorial in Camp Lejeune, a memorial to the 241 Americans killed when their barracks was obliterated by a carbomb. I could never look his wife or children, or his parents in the eye again. I have no answer to their unspoken question asking why Davey had to die.

Our country is free and prosperous today because men and women like Sergeant Battle have been willing to put their lives in harm's way to protect our national interests. The Marines have saluted and gone off to do many a dirty and dangerous job. Their sacrifice was for the country, for us, and all the Americans who will follow us.

These heroes are willing to go to places like Beirut, Iwo Jima, Belleau Wood, because they care about us and about our country. But we in Congress must hold up our end of the bargain. They have got to know that we don't take their lives for granted. That they are precious to us, that we will not put their lives in danger unless it is vital to the security of our country or paramount to our national interests. This was not the case in Beirut. It is not the case in Somalia.

Next month is the 50th anniversary of Tarawa, tomorrow is the Marine birthday, and it is Veterans Day on Thursday. This is when we remember Davey Battle and the marching parade of fallen heroes. We owe it to them to be courageous as they. We owe it to them, never to put the lives of those who serve in jeopardy, even for 60 days, unless it is incumbent on us to do so.

I am voting in support of the Gilman substitute. Semper Fi, Davey.

□ 1900

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EWING].

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this amendment.

Mr. Speaker, the longer American troops stay in Somalia, the more likely that more fighting will erupt and more Americans will be killed. Tensions in the capital city appear to be flaring again, and I say we ought to get out of Somalia as soon as possible, and January 31 is a reasonable time. General Aideed and his whole ragtag army are not worth one more American life.

Since 30 Americans were killed in Somalia last month, President Clinton still has not spelled out our objectives in Somalia, or explained clearly why we are there. When President Bush sent our troops to Somalia, the mission was clear: to provide humanitarian assistance and put an end to the famine, and then to get out. That mission has been accomplished.

I believe President Clinton should get our troops out of Somalia immediately. I strongly support the amendment offered by Mr. GILMAN, which calls for our troops to be out of Somalia by January 31, two months earlier than the committee recommends. I hope the President will get our men and women home in time to enjoy Christmas with their families here at home.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this debate revolves itself around one issue: the position of the House on the issue of bringing our U.S. forces home sooner rather than later. Nothing more. Nothing less.

Opponents of my amendment have suggested four reasons to prolong the exposure of our United States troops in Somalia for an additional 60 days: First, to continue humanitarian relief operations; second, to give the United Nations time to find troops to replace departing United States forces; third, to allow negotiations a chance to take hold; and finally, to end a divisive debate on United States policy on this issue.

Let me respond to these arguments. The United Nations does not need the U.S. military in order to continue humanitarian operations; in fact, it is unclear to me exactly how the United States is ensuring the delivery of relief supplies when our forces remain sequestered in vast protected enclaves connected with specially constructed bypass roads.

Second, we don't need to give the United Nations any more time to find more troops. Right now there are nearly 32,000 UNOSOM forces in Somalia. That's 3,000 more than the United Nations indicated it would ever need. And the United Nations predicts that on January 31, there will be over 22,000 non-U.S. forces in country.

Third, do my colleagues really believe that keeping our United States forces in Somalia for 60 additional days will make it any easier for us to negotiate a peace accord? Do my colleagues truly believe that the extra 60 days will be critical to Aideed's decision on whether to negotiate with us or wait us out until the Senate-adopted deadline of March 31.

And finally, I know that opponents of my amendment want to avoid a divisive debate. They want to avoid it because they know the President has had a failed policy in Somalia. But that is not any valid reason to avoid a debate; in fact it is exactly why we should be here this evening considering this amendment.

Indeed, each Member in this body should be distressed by the fact that the House has sat on the sidelines while the administration has negotiated the terms of United States involvement in Somalia with other countries, with the United Nations, with the other body, with Somali warlords, but not with us.

Now is the time to right that wrong. Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to vote for the Gilman amendment to bring our U.S. forces home.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], a senior member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, Santayana once said, "Those who do not read history are condemned to relive it." If we go past the Archives building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the building bears the words, "What is past is prologue." Do we never learn? We seem to have no institutional memory.

Democracy is marvelous, but we keep changing teams and people forget what happened in the recent past.

On October 23, 1983, 241 marines were killed in Lebanon. We should not have been there. And I offer my own mea culpa, because I voted to support our President then and send our troops there, and they all got killed. And we got out in a hurry, because we should not have been there in the first place. And we recognized our mistake and we left. We are enmeshed in Somalia, and it is another mistake, and we should leave now.

Unfortunately, the poor judgment of defining our mission as nation building, transforming it from humanitarian feeding of starving people was an exercise in terrible judgment. It was the United Nations, I take it, that motivated this change, but we acquiesced.

I might say, speaking of poor judgment, many Members in this Chamber or within the sound of my voice, when Desert Storm was being voted on and it was a question of supporting the President then, found their best judgment, the prudential vote was to vote no against the President. Nothing wrong with that. It is the American way.

Tonight American fighting men are thousands of miles away from home, engaged in a mission impossible of achievement, something for which they are not capable nor qualified; namely, nation building in a country run by six or seven clans and countless subclans.

Let those with cultural, political, and geographic ties with the region help the nation build, but let us bring our boys home with honor, with integrity. They have fed the hungry. They have seen the end of the famine, and it seems to me that we can now come home safely and with our heads up high.

I think we need to reestablish the notion that our national interest must control. GILMAN tells the American people, "Yes, we hear you."

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I think there are several reasons to vote against the Gilman amendment.

The first one simply is that the U.S. policy has been decided. We are not going to change that tonight. Let us not send a confused signal about what American policy is going to be. The President has decided March 31. He did that after consultation with Members of the Congress. He has set the date.

Tomorrow we are going to vote on the Defense Department appropriation bill. All of us will vote or almost all of us will vote for that bill. That bill provides for March 31.

We are going to say, tomorrow, and we are going to enact into law March 31.

Now, let us not come along tonight and say, advice to the President of January 31, that is not a clear signal at all.

U.S. policy has been decided. We are going to confirm it tomorrow, and there is no sense muddying the waters here and giving another date tonight.

The second reason we should vote against the Gilman amendment is, we ought not to micromanage. Now, in some ways this policy debate tonight approaches the ridiculous. We are arguing about 60 days, whether U.S. troops should come out January 31 or March 31.

The Congress of the United States has an appropriate role to play. We help the President formulate policy, and we have done that. But it is the President's responsibility to implement policy, and let us let the President implement the policy.

The policy is a policy of gradual disengagement. Let us not argue over January 31 or March 31. Let the President implement the policy.

Let us be clear, next, that the Gilman resolution will not bring our troops home sooner. It is a sense of Congress resolution. Members should be very clear about that point. This substitute does not change policy. It will only send a confused and a mixed signal around the world.

Next, the United States does have a mission in Somalia for these next several months. A U.S. presence there will give more time for negotiations. It will give more time for the political process to take root, and there are encouraging signs about that today. It will give us time for the humanitarian mission to be completed, and it will give the United Nations time to find troops to replace U.S. forces.

Nobody here can assure anybody that if we wait until March 31, all these things will be accomplished. All we are doing is trying to provide a reasonable chance for the Somalis, for the United Nations, for the negotiations to succeed.

□ 1910

By staying longer, we will leave Somalia pointed toward survival, rather than toward chaos.

Finally, we should support the Hamilton resolution and defeat the Gilman resolution, because the President has made a commitment to our U.N. partners to stay until March 31. The U.S. Senate now overwhelmingly has agreed to that commitment, and we will agree to it tomorrow in the Defense Department conference report.

I have heard it said here, "I want to send a signal to the President." The problem with that is when we vote tonight, we send a signal to a lot of other persons, not just the President. We send a signal tonight to the United Nations. We send a signal tonight to the factions in Somalia. We send a signal tonight to Ethiopia and to Eritrea, that are trying to help us in the peace negotiations.

If the Gilman resolution is approved, that message will be that the United States has lost hope for Somalia. Once we send that signal, our U.N. partners will withdraw at least as fast as we do. The conflict will resume, Somalia returns to chaos, and United States forces, I think, will be at greater risk. That is not the signal we want to send.

By supporting my resolution and rejecting the Gilman substitute, we will send a far better signal. That signal is that the United States will not be intimidated. That signal is that we cannot solve all of the problems of Somalia, but we will meet our commitments and we will give them a reasonable chance to succeed.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Gilman amendment. I approach this issue very cautiously because I believe foreign policy is an area where the President must be the leader of all Americans. I have defended a previous administration's right to formulate and enact policies designed to roll back Soviet expansion in our hemisphere. Too much intervention by Congress does weaken the President's ability to conduct foreign policy.

But in my tenure in Congress I have also never known a Secretary of Defense that would deny our troops the equipment they needed because he was more concerned with public opinion than his troops. I have also never worked with an administration that excuses its action by saying: "We inherited these problems." That's simply pathetic.

Let us put this miserable excuse behind us once and for all. George Bush never envisioned a long-term American presence in Somalia. George Bush resisted attempts by the United Nations to draw us deeper into rebuilding Somalia.

Does Somalia need to be rebuilt? Yes, it does. But George Bush realized that American troops are the wrong tool for rebuilding Somalia. He intended our forces to stabilize the terrible humanitarian situation and bring our troops home. And that is all.

The withdrawal of our troops from Somalia by March 31 has nothing to do with any strategic or logistical reality and everything to do

with the President trying to save face. Well Mr. President, I think the world has figured out our credibility in Somalia is zero, so let's bring our troops home as quickly as possible.

Let me just close by suggesting the President get himself some new foreign policy advisors. It's clear that his current ones are not up to the task of conducting a foreign policy in transition. After all, a President willing to hire a former Reagan administration official as a spokesman ought to be willing to get some competent foreign policy help no matter what party they might be.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 224, nays 203, not voting, 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 555]

YEAS—224

Abercrombie	Diaz-Balart	Inhofe
Allard	Doolittle	Istook
Andrews (NJ)	Dorman	Jacobs
Applegate	Dreier	Johnson (CT)
Archer	Duncan	Johnson (SD)
Armey	Dunn	Johnson, Sam
Bachus (AL)	Emerson	Kaptur
Baker (CA)	English (OK)	Kasich
Baker (LA)	Eshoo	Kildee
Ballenger	Evans	Kim
Barca	Everett	King
Barrett (NE)	Ewing	Kingston
Barrett (WI)	Fawell	Klecicka
Bartlett	Fields (TX)	Klink
Bateman	Fligner	Klug
Bentley	Fingerhut	Knollenberg
Bereuter	Fish	Kolbe
Bilirakis	Fowler	Kyl
Bliley	Franks (CT)	Lambert
Blute	Franks (NJ)	Lazio
Boehlert	Gallely	Leach
Boehner	Gallo	Levy
Bonilla	Gekas	Lewis (CA)
Brewster	Gilchrist	Lightfoot
Brown (OH)	Gillmor	Linder
Bunning	Gilman	Livingston
Burton	Gingrich	Machtley
Buyer	Goodlatte	Maloney
Byrne	Goodling	Manton
Callahan	Goss	Manzullo
Calvert	Grandy	Mazzoli
Camp	Green	McCandless
Canady	Greenwood	McCollum
Castle	Gunderson	McCrery
Clinger	Hall (TX)	McDade
Coble	Hancock	McHale
Collins (GA)	Hansen	McHugh
Combest	Hastert	McInnis
Condit	Hefley	McKeon
Cooper	Herger	McMillan
Costello	Hobson	McNulty
Cox	Hoekstra	Meehan
Crane	Hoke	Meyers
Crapo	Horn	Mica
Cunningham	Huffington	Michel
de la Garza	Hunter	Miller (FL)
Deal	Hutchinson	Minge
DeFazio	Hutto	Mink
DeLay	Hyde	Molinar
Derrick	Inglis	Montgomery

Moorhead	Ros-Lehtinen
Murphy	Roth
Myers	Roukema
Nadler	Royce
Nussle	Sanders
Ortiz	Santorom
Oxley	Saxton
Packard	Schaefer
Parker	Schiff
Paxon	Schroeder
Peterson (MN)	Schumer
Pombo	Sensenbrenner
Porter	Shaw
Portman	Shays
Poshard	Shepherd
Pryce (OH)	Shuster
Quillen	Skeen
Quinn	Slaughter
Ramstad	Smith (MI)
Ravenel	Smith (NJ)
Regula	Smith (OR)
Ridge	Smith (TX)
Roberts	Snowe
Rogers	Solomon
Rohrabacher	Spence

NAYS—203

Ackerman	Glickman	Pallone
Andrews (ME)	Gonzalez	Pastor
Andrews (TX)	Gordon	Payne (NJ)
Bacchus (FL)	Gutierrez	Payne (VA)
Baessler	Hall (OH)	Pelosi
Barca	Hamburg	Penny
Barlow	Hamilton	Peterson (FL)
Barton	Harman	Pickett
Becerra	Hastings	Pickle
Bellenson	Hayes	Pomeroy
Berman	Hefner	Price (NC)
Bevill	Hilliard	Rahall
Bilbray	Hinchey	Rangel
Bishop	Hoagland	Reed
Blackwell	Hochbrueckner	Reynolds
Bonior	Holden	Richardson
Borski	Houghton	Roemer
Boucher	Hoyer	Rose
Brooks	Hughes	Rowland
Browder	Insllee	Roybal-Allard
Brown (CA)	Jefferson	Rush
Brown (FL)	Johnson (GA)	Sabo
Bryant	Johnson, E. B.	Sangmeister
Cantwell	Johnston	Sarpallus
Cardin	Kanjorski	Sawyer
Carr	Kennedy	Schenck
Chapman	Kennelly	Scott
Clay	Klein	Serrano
Clayton	Kopetski	Sharp
Clement	Kreidler	Sisisky
Clyburn	LaFalce	Skaggs
Coleman	Lancaster	Skelton
Collins (IL)	Lantos	Slatery
Collins (MI)	LaRocco	Smith (IA)
Conyers	Laughlin	Spratt
Coppersmith	Lehman	Stark
Coyne	Levin	Stokes
Cramer	Lewis (GA)	Strickland
Danner	Lipinski	Studds
Darden	Lloyd	Swett
DeLauro	Long	Swift
Dellums	Lowe	Synar
Deutsch	Mann	Tanner
Dickey	Margolies-	Tejeda
Dicks	Mezvnisky	Thompson
Dingell	Markey	Thornton
Dixon	Martinez	Thurman
Dooley	Matsui	Torres
Durbin	McCloskey	Torricelli
Edwards (CA)	McCurdy	Towns
Edwards (TX)	McDermott	Tucker
Engel	McKinney	Unsoeld
English (AZ)	Meek	Valentine
Farr	Menendez	Velazquez
Fazio	Mfume	Vento
Fields (LA)	Miller (CA)	Visclosky
Flake	Mineta	Volkmer
Foglietta	Molohan	Washington
Foley	Moran	Waters
Ford (MI)	Murtha	Watt
Ford (TN)	Natcher	Waxman
Frank (MA)	Neal (MA)	Wheat
Frost	Neal (NC)	Whitten
Furse	Oberstar	Williams
Gejdenson	Obey	Wise
Gephardt	Oliver	Woolsey
Geren	Orton	Wynn
Gibbons	Owens	Yates

NOT VOTING—7

Grams	Morella	Wilson
Lewis (FL)	Petri	
Moakley	Rostenkowski	

□ 1931

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Grams for, with Mr. Moakley against.

Mr. VALENTINE changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. NADLER changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). Pursuant to the rule it is now in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part 2 of House Report 103-328.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, would the Chair explain to the House the procedure we are about to follow?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will reread his statement. Pursuant to the rule, it is now in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part 2 of House Report 103-328.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, am I correct—and I submit a rhetorical question—that if there is a vote against the Hamilton amendment, it would be perceived to be support for the Gilman amendment, is that correct?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot characterize the meaning of Members' votes.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. HAMILTON

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the rule I offer the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part 2 of the report to accompany House Resolution 293.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment in the nature of a substitute. The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. HAMILTON: Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM SOMALIA.

Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994 (unless the President requests and the Congress authorizes a later date), except for a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens and noncombatant personnel to advise the United Nations commander in Somalia.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, is it correct to say that a vote in favor of the Hamilton amendment will negate the Gilman amendment?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, if both amendments are adopted, only the last amendment will be finally adopted.

Mr. LINDER. Further parliamentary inquiry: So those 220 Members who voted to—

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman must state a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LINDER. My inquiry is, will the vote that we just had that passed by 220 positive votes to end the involvement in Somalia earlier be negated by a passage of a subsequent amendment?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has already stated the effect of the vote.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON].

Mr. GEJDENSON. I thank the chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask my colleagues to take this moment seriously. It is easy to pass this off as simply a decision that affects one country far off and not necessarily the central focus of the American public today.

There are moments when a country is tested as it enters a new era. And as we have, as a Nation, following World War II and Vietnam, tried to assess America's commitment to international diplomacy and international participation, this vote tonight and support for the Hamilton amendment may determine the ability of not just this President but future Presidents to marshal international efforts that have far-reaching consequences.

If you take a look at America's withdrawal from Somalia prior to the President's date of March 31, we could find America undercutting our involvement in all multilateral activities in the Middle East, in peacekeeping efforts there, not just in Africa, in Central America, in Asia, in every continent, as America tries to move from a single power placing its policies on the globe, to multilateral actions with multinational forces, today's actions will cripple not just this President but future Presidents as well.

What we do here today will send a signal: "If you want to end a multilat-

eral activity, shoot at Americans, because the Congress will pull the rug out from under the President in a matter of days." The debate here is not whether or not we stay in Somalia; the President has committed, and we, in law, have committed ourselves, to the removal of these troops by March 31.

□ 1940

What advantage to America's policy, to America's interest and to the lives that have already been lost to remove our troops 60 days earlier? Will there be an international effort where America will have credibility?

I can remember hearing in the well of this House Democrats and Republicans condemning our European allies for failing to support multinational efforts in Yugoslavia, standing by and watching citizens annihilated, men, women and children, the frustration in this body as well as in the White House for the failure of Europe to act.

Today the amendment of the gentleman from New York will put the same stamp on this Congress.

There are risks in every action. There are risks if we stay, but there are clear risks if we remove our troops prior to the date the President is committed to.

Frankly, the President may get us out there earlier, but we do not have the time to negotiate under the Gilman proposal.

Those who want to bring death and destruction back to Somalia simply need to wait until the 31st.

It seems to me not too much to ask to give the President of the United States 60 additional days for diplomatic effort. It is not too much to ask for those who have already perished while carrying out America's policy to give us some time to work.

Americans tend to respond quickly to scenes on television, children dying and starvation a short time ago gave a strong support to the American people to move into Somalia with a multinational force.

We have taken some casualties. There has clearly been a tragedy inflicted on American service personnel there.

But how do we serve those men who died under the American forces, how do we serve this country by taking away from the President of the United States 60 days of negotiations? How will this President or any future President convince our European and Asian allies to join with us if America's Congress pulls out from the President a matter of 60 days of additional negotiations time?

We have sent a message that Congress wants this policy over quickly. The last bill sent that message.

Now support the Hamilton amendment which will give the President the time he needs without undercutting us in every other international effort.

My generation learned a lesson in Vietnam. A previous generation learned a lesson when the Germans went into the Sudetenland, and everyone was silent.

In this new era of international diplomacy, let us not undercut the ability of America to participate in international efforts, and should they fail, the replacement will be American efforts.

We do not want to see America being the cowboy, the sole participant. Give this President a chance. Vote for the Hamilton substitute.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. McDERMOTT]. Is the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] an opponent of the amendment?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes, Mr. Speaker. I am an opponent of the Hamilton amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] will then control 15 minutes of debate time on this amendment.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, earlier today I met with about 17 people from fledgling democracies throughout Eastern Europe. It was Poland, it was Hungary, it was Czech and Slovakia, it was Rumania, it was Albania. They all said to a man, they want us to come in and help protect them from outside aggressors that would try to take away their sovereignty, but to a man and woman they said they do not want us interfering in their personal internal affairs.

Mr. Speaker, the Members were sincere when they voted to a man and woman to go on a humanitarian need into Somalia to help those starving people. That humanitarian effort ended 9 months ago. That is when we should have brought our troops home.

American foreign policy has always been to protect those sovereign nations against outside aggressors with our military intervention, never to interfere in internal affairs.

The Somali people are a nomadic people. They have never had a stable government there. We should not be there on a nation-building effort. We should bring our troops home. We can do it in 60 days.

Mr. Speaker, we should pass the Gilman amendment that we just voted for. We should not now renege and pass the Hamilton amendment. Please vote no on the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SKELTON].

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Hamilton amendment; however, I do so reluctantly because it

would be my wish that we have no date set forth toward the withdrawal of our troops.

Of course, it was a mistake to set a date in January. I think setting a date at the end of March merely tells Mr. Aided that all he has to do is hold out until then and he owns the place.

We could probably have withdrawn our troops before March 31, but since that option is not before us, I intend to vote for the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WELDON].

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Speaker, again I rise to applaud the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], for his foresight in offering this amendment, as I also applaud the chairman of this committee for having the guts to stand up and get this administration to respond to the concerns of the American people that we need to bring our troops home sooner, rather than later; as I have applauded the chairman of the Defense Appropriations for that same action.

Fifty-five of our Democratic colleagues joined with 160 Republicans to send a signal, not a binding resolution, but to send a signal that enough is enough.

Thirty-five young Americans dead; \$2 billion down the drain. We have done our job.

General Johnston before our committee 1 month ago said our mission was completed in May.

It is time to bring our troops home.

The Red Cross this week certified on November 4 that the famine has ended.

Mr. Speaker, this is our chance to stand up for those troops that are in Somalia, to let them know that we want them brought home as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, on this vote I ask our colleagues to do what they just did on the previous amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]: reject the Hamilton amendment.

Think of those families who lost their youngsters in September in that street in Somalia when that helicopter attack occurred.

I talked to Ben Pilla, the father of Dominick Pilla from Vineland, NJ, who asked me the question about what our mission was and why the proper support was not there.

We do not want to have to answer those questions in January, February, and March. This is our chance to send a signal that the time has come to pull our troops back home.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues who voted for the Gilman amendment to reject the Hamilton amendment. Stand up for the American troops. Bring them home as quickly as possible.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY].

□ 1950

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the world is a risky place.

Remember: Tonight it is not just Americans who are watching. Mr. Milosevic in Serbia is watching. The North Korean dynasty is watching. Do not send them the wrong message. Do not let them conclude, and do not let anyone else conclude, that the easiest way to change American policy is by simply killing an American soldier, or killing an American diplomat or killing an American tourist. Do not convey a sense of panic by what we do here tonight.

Yes, America needs to leave Somalia, but it needs to leave on America's terms. I ask my colleagues to vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton], and, I say to my colleagues, "When you vote remember the issue is not how good that vote looks tonight. The issue is how good that vote will look a year from now, 2 years from now, 5 years from now. Vote for the Hamilton amendment. It is the right vote for America."

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH], a senior member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], my friend, for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, one of the speakers on the other side of the aisle said that it does not make any difference whether we leave on January 31 or whether we leave March 31.

"Yes," I say to my colleagues, "it doesn't make any difference if you're the President of the United States sitting in the White House or if you're a Congressman sitting at home in the warmth of your home, but it does make a difference if you're serving over there because you're not home for Thanksgiving with your family, you're not home for Christmas, you're not home for New Year's. If you're not going to bring them home for Thanksgiving, New Year's or Christmas, at least bring them home in time for Valentine's Day."

Some people say, "What kind of a signal are you sending?" Hey, the signals have already been sent. We are leaving. Whether we are leaving March 31 or January 31, that is the question, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] is right by saying we should leave January 31.

The other involves third grade psychology. Make no mistake about it. If we vote tonight, it is a vote that we are going to look back on. On May 25, we had a vote in this body to leave by June 30. Had we left by June 30 instead of 127 votes, had we had 218 votes, those 18 American service people would be alive, those 85 in the hospital would not be in the hospital.

Yes, it does make a difference how we vote. It makes a big difference to the people who are wearing the American uniform.

Basically we have this age-old debate between the realists and the interventionists. By listening to the interventionists we not only stay there until January 31, March 31, but we would be there forever, we would be there for eternity.

One of the speakers on the other side of the aisle said it does not make much difference whether we are there until January 31 or March 31. It makes a big difference to the people who are serving there. An extra 60 days is an eternity in Somalia, and not one thing, not one thing, can be gained by staying that additional time.

Yes, this vote we cast tonight is important. It is most important for my colleagues, but it is much more important to the people who are serving in Somalia. Think of those people, my colleagues, when voting tonight.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON]. I say to my colleagues, be consistent. If you voted for Gilman, vote against Hamilton. Don't concern yourself with threats of tin pot dictators rising up against us. Saddam Hussein will serve as a reminder. If American interests are clearly at stake or if there is a clearcut humanitarian goal that can be accomplished quickly, I have a feeling that we will be there. Our mission in Somalia is complete. Bring our troops home. Remember their families and the American people support you.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA].

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, tonight we set a date, tonight we set a date. The question is: Is it January or is it March?

This is not a Republican issue. This is not a Democrat issue. This is not an issue of national security. This is an issue for many of my colleagues who, after the night that we saw the bodies of our servicemen dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, said, "I wish we had a vote, I wish we had the opportunity to fulfill the wishes of the American people that our troops should not be in Somalia. They don't want us there. We do not have a defined mission there. It is time we leave there."

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues asked for a vote. Tonight we have an opportunity for that vote. We will decide a date tonight that will be March 31 on January 31. I ask my colleagues to defeat the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlemen from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE], the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services and the cosponsor of our amendment to bring our troops out on January 31.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, as a private said one time, "Let us try to reason together."

All of us here tonight, I think, agree that the wrong policy in Somalia resulted in the death of our troops, many of them being wounded, others taken captive. We also agree that we should come home from Somalia either on January 31 or March 31. We agree on all that.

But something new has happened, and, as mentioned tonight, we have a new policy being enunciated now in Somalia. We are now putting our military people back into the streets, taking sides and in a general conflict which led to the death of our people before. We are getting ourselves right back into the same position that we have renounced before.

Mr. Speaker, let us take this way out and get out.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CUNNINGHAM].

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, 220 Members voted to get out of Somalia by January 31 in the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]. I laud those votes. What a great start it would be in the year of 1994 where we can start debates on issues like the other side of the aisle and the President wants to on health care and not be worried about Somalia. I say to my colleagues, take a look at why you voted, you voted not to risk the lives, the future lives, of our men and women, and again 220 votes voted for that.

□ 2000

Mr. Speaker, given a choice between the President's face or a Ranger's rear-end, I choose the Ranger.

Second, why did you support the Gilman amendment? Not to deplete the limited military equipment needed to support actual American interests. If the Members take a look at what the real threat is in North Korea, we are going to need that equipment in the near future.

The third reason that you voted for the Gilman amendment, that would be wiped out by the Hamilton amendment, is to save millions of dollars.

Mr. Speaker, it is time to let Africa resolve its own problems. It is time for Europe to resolve Bosnia. It is time for the Papa Docs and the Baby Docs to resolve Haiti. And it is time to withdraw our troops.

To those Members that say we cannot remove our troops, remember, two-thirds of our forces in Somalia are at sea on Navy ships. It would be very

easy to remove our troops. Those people on ships, they have a ticket to ride.

Mr. Speaker, we need to get our troops out and attend to domestic ideas.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. LANTOS], a subcommittee chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, the great moments of this House over two centuries have been real debates. This is not a real debate. This is a phony, sham debate. There is not a Member on that side who does not know that the troops will come out on March 31. This is a public relations amendment, and everyone knows it.

Mr. Speaker, I want this House to know that there is such a thing as bipartisanship in the Congress of the United States, and it is exemplified by the other body. I want to read the names of the majority Republicans who are standing with the majority of the Democrats and the President of the United States in speaking with a single voice: Senators BENNETT, BOND, CHAFEE, COCHRAN, COHEN, COVERDALE, DANFORTH—

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). The Chair would state that personal references to Senators are out of order.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I would merely like to suggest that the reason why this debate is so shabby and so perfunctory, because everybody in this House knows and everybody in the country should know, is that this is not a decision about when the troops come home. That decision has been made. This is an attempt to score political points, plain and simple. That is beneath the dignity of this House.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the House has just voted on the Gilman-Spence amendment to withdraw United States forces from Somalia by January 31, 1994.

The distinguished chairman of our Foreign Affairs Committee, my good friend from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], now calls upon the House to change its mind and vote for a withdrawal date of March 31.

The chairman's amendment would extend the exposure of U.S. troops in that troubled land for an additional 60 days, until March 31, 1994.

A majority of the House has voted not to put our U.S. forces to this unnecessary risk.

Mr. Speaker, this is not like votes on the budget resolution where the last measure adopted prevails and Members can vote for budgets they like, knowing that only the last vote counts—then go home saying they voted for budget cuts.

On this issue, the House cannot have its cake and eat it too. A vote in favor of the Hamilton amendment cancels a

vote in favor of my amendment and is a vote to keep American forces in Somalia and at risk for 2 additional months.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to think very carefully about the position in which the chairman's amendment would place United States forces in Somalia.

Before voting to reverse yourselves, I urge my colleagues to pose this question. What happens if, sometime after January 31, United States forces were in a firefight in Mogadishu and American personnel were killed or wounded in that firefight?

Will my colleagues then be able to tell the families and friends of those who were killed and wounded that their sacrifices were in the vital security interests of the United States?

I certainly would not—and I do not think any of my colleagues could either. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously noted, helping the authors of our failed policy in Somalia save face is not worth the life of one more American soldier.

A vote in favor of a March 31 withdrawal date may be a vote in support of our President, but it is not a vote in support of our men and women in the field in Somalia.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues—stay true to their convictions—and vote no on the Hamilton amendment—do not put our troops at risk for 2 additional months.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER], the distinguished deputy whip.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that the issue was characterized a moment ago in the way that it was, because it is a serious action that we take here this evening and it is not a sham. We are making a serious decision.

Earlier today there was a vote about whether we mean what we say in the votes that we cast. Many Members of Congress, under extreme pressure, decided to stick with where they had stood before. This is yet another vote just like the one before.

Mr. Speaker, a few minutes ago the House did the right thing on a bipartisan basis. Fifty-five Democrats joined with Republicans in voting the way the House decided to go a few moments ago. The House said in that vote that we should not put our soldiers in harm's way for any longer than necessary or for any purpose short of our national interests.

The question before us now could not be clearer: A few minutes ago we said our troops should come home from Somalia on or before January 31. Now we are being asked to change that date to March 31.

Mr. Speaker, do you believe our national interest will be served in the additional 2 months? If not, you must

vote no. Do you believe that our young men and young women should stand in harm's way for an additional 2 months, for a policy that does not exist? If not, you must vote "no." Mr. Speaker, I would ask Members, did their vote a few minutes ago mean something, or was it just another political action? If they want their vote to not count toward stopping our military action in Somalia, vote "no" on the Hamilton amendment.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of our time to the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY], the Speaker of the House.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, it ought to be clear what is transpiring tonight in this Chamber. We are not making a decision that is binding on the President. I think even the sponsors of the Gilman amendment recognize that since the Chadha decision of the Supreme Court, this has no binding effect, and they describe it as a nonbinding resolution.

What it does, however, if it is not followed by the adoption of the Hamilton amendment, is drive a public wedge before the world between the U.S. House of Representatives and the President.

I do not question the sincerity of any Member on the other side, but I am deeply troubled that on this issue, a virtually solid partisan vote has occurred on the Republican side, on an issue which has never occurred, never occurred, in my judgment, when it came to a foreign policy issue of a Republican President of the United States.

But, letting that aside for the moment, those who suggest that it is in the interest of the safety of our troops that we vote this breach between what the President has promised and what they now ask the House to state, is, I think, the greatest danger to the troops. There is no single danger to Americans abroad greater than the sense that by inflicting casualties, we can panic the Congress into immediate efforts to cut and run.

□ 2010

Our position will be vulnerable throughout the world if reckless dictators believe that by that kind of a tactic they can underpin their demands for American withdrawal.

We have a decision made by the President on October 7, which was based on military advice, military advice that it would require perhaps up until March 31 for an orderly withdrawal of our forces under conditions where they were protected and where the mission for which we went to Somalia could be continued in the meantime.

I do not think we should forget what American Forces have done in Somalia. They have saved the lives of somewhere between 500,000 and a million people. Americans can take some great

pride in that. We have acted to save the lives of upwards of a million people, who would be dead today. Three hundred thousand people starved in the 6 months before President Bush decided to intervene in Somalia. Now we would risk that, where we still feed 1 million people, by a signal that the United States was about to panic and leave, that the Congress was not going to support the President's orderly withdrawal. That would be, in my judgment, a tragedy. And it would go far beyond Somalia.

It would go into every place in the world where Americans stand, in Korea, for example, and in other places where it would be thought that if Americans will not stand to face the possibility of warlords in Somalia, after we have faced Hitler, and we have faced Stalin, and we have faced Saddam Hussein, it would be a tragic moment for American resolve, American principle, and American position around the world.

Do not do this to the President of the United States. We should not do this to any President, Republican or Democrat.

I hope the day will come when Republicans and Democrats will, for any President, stand to ensure that when he speaks for our country, he speaks with the authority of the Congress of the American people. Any other course is reckless and dangerous, most of all to the brave troops who serve our country around the world.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 226, noes 201, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 556]

AYES—226

Abercrombie	Browder	Darden
Ackerman	Brown (CA)	de la Garza
Andrews (ME)	Brown (FL)	DeLauro
Andrews (TX)	Bryant	Dellums
Bacchus (FL)	Cantwell	Deutsch
Baessler	Cardin	Dickey
Barca	Carr	Dicks
Barlow	Chapman	Dingell
Barrett (WI)	Clay	Dixon
Becerra	Clayton	Dooley
Beilenson	Clement	Durbin
Berman	Clyburn	Edwards (CA)
Bevill	Coleman	Edwards (TX)
Bilbray	Collins (IL)	Engel
Bishop	Collins (MI)	English (AZ)
Blackwell	Condit	English (OK)
Bonior	Conyers	Eshoo
Borski	Coppersmith	Farr
Boucher	Coyne	Fazio
Brewster	Cramer	Fields (LA)
Brooks	Danner	Filner

Flake	Long	Rostenkowski
Foglietta	Lowey	Rowland
Foley	Maloney	Roybal-Allard
Ford (MI)	Mann	Rush
Ford (TN)	Manton	Sabo
Frank (MA)	Margolies-	Sangmeister
Frost	Mezvinisky	Sarpallus
Furse	Markey	Sawyer
Gejdenson	Martinez	Schenk
Gephardt	Matsul	Schumer
Geren	McCloskey	Scott
Gibbons	McCurdy	Serrano
Glickman	McDermott	Sharp
Gonzalez	McKinney	Shepherd
Gordon	Meek	Siskis
Gutierrez	Menendez	Skaggs
Hall (OH)	Mfume	Skelton
Hamburg	Miller (CA)	Slattery
Hamilton	Mineta	Smith (IA)
Harman	Minge	Spratt
Hastings	Mink	Stark
Hefner	Mollohan	Stenholm
Hilliard	Montgomery	Stokes
Hinchey	Moran	Strickland
Hoagland	Murphy	Studds
Hochbrueckner	Murtha	Sweet
Holden	Nadler	Swift
Houghton	Natcher	Synar
Hoyer	Neal (MA)	Tanner
Hughes	Neal (NC)	Tejeda
Hutto	Oberstar	Thompson
Inslee	Obey	Thornton
Jefferson	Oliver	Thurman
Johnson (GA)	Ortiz	Torres
Johnson, E. B.	Orton	Torricelli
Johnston	Owens	Towns
Kanjorski	Pallone	Tucker
Kaptur	Parker	Unsoeld
Kennedy	Pastor	Valentine
Kennelly	Payne (NJ)	Velazquez
Klein	Payne (VA)	Vento
Klink	Pelosi	Visclosky
Kopetski	Penny	Volkmer
Kreidler	Peterson (FL)	Washington
LaFalce	Pickett	Waters
Lambert	Pickle	Watt
Lancaster	Pomeroy	Waxman
Lantos	Price (NC)	Wheat
LaRocco	Rahall	Whitten
Laughlin	Rangel	Williams
Lehman	Reed	Wise
Levin	Reynolds	Woolsey
Lewis (GA)	Richardson	Wynn
Lipinski	Roemer	Yates
Lloyd	Rose	

NOES—201

Allard	Cox	Greenwood
Andrews (NJ)	Crane	Gunderson
Applegate	Crapo	Hall (TX)
Archer	Cunningham	Hancock
Armey	Deal	Hansen
Bachus (AL)	DeFazio	Hastert
Baker (CA)	DeLay	Hefley
Baker (LA)	Derrick	Herger
Ballenger	Diaz-Balart	Hobson
Barcia	Doollittle	Hoekstra
Barrett (NE)	Dornan	Hoke
Bartlett	Dreier	Horn
Barton	Duncan	Huffington
Bateman	Dunn	Hutchinson
Bentley	Emerson	Hyde
Bereuter	Evans	Inglis
Bilirakis	Everett	Inhofe
Bliley	Ewing	Istook
Blute	Fawell	Jacobs
Boehlert	Fields (TX)	Johnson (CT)
Boehner	Fingerhut	Johnson (SD)
Bonilla	Fish	Johnson, Sam
Brown (OH)	Fowler	Kasich
Bunning	Franks (CT)	Kildee
Burton	Franks (NJ)	Kim
Buyer	Galleghy	King
Byrne	Gallo	Kingston
Callahan	Gekas	Klecza
Calvert	Gilchrist	Klug
Camp	Gillmor	Knollenberg
Canady	Gilman	Kolbe
Castle	Gingrich	Kyl
Clinger	Goodlatte	Lazio
Coble	Goodling	Leach
Collins (GA)	Goss	Levy
Combest	Grams	Lewis (CA)
Cooper	Grandy	Lightfoot
Costello	Green	Linder

Livingston	Porter	Smith (NJ)
Machtley	Portman	Smith (OR)
Manzullo	Poshard	Smith (TX)
Mazzoli	Pryce (OH)	Snowe
McCandless	Quillen	Solomon
McCollum	Quinn	Spence
McCrery	Ramstad	Stearns
McDade	Ravenel	Stump
McHale	Regula	Stupak
McHugh	Ridge	Sundquist
McInnis	Roberts	Talent
McKeon	Rogers	Tauzin
McMillan	Rohrabacher	Taylor (MS)
McNulty	Ros-Lehtinen	Taylor (NC)
Meehan	Roth	Thomas (CA)
Meyers	Roukema	Thomas (WY)
Mica	Royce	Torkildsen
Michel	Sanders	Traffant
Miller (FL)	Santorum	Upton
Mollinari	Saxton	Vucanovich
Moorhead	Schaefer	Walker
Morella	Schiff	Walsh
Myers	Sensenbrenner	Weldon
Nussle	Shaw	Wolf
Oxley	Shays	Wyden
Packard	Shuster	Young (AK)
Paxon	Skeen	Young (FL)
Peterson (MN)	Slaughter	Zelliff
Pombo	Smith (MI)	Zimmer

NOT VOTING—7

Hayes	Moakley	Wilson
Hunter	Petri	
Lewis (FL)	Schroeder	

□ 2031

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McDERMOTT). Pursuant to House Resolution 293, the previous question is ordered on the concurrent resolution, as amended.

The question is on the concurrent resolution, as amended.

The concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The title of the concurrent resolution was amended so as to read: Concurrent resolution directing the President pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from Somalia."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on House Concurrent Resolution 170, the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION WAIVING POINTS OF ORDER AGAINST CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3116, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994

Ms. SLAUGHTER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-340) on the resolution (H. Res. 301) waiving points of order against the conference report to

accompany the bill (H.R. 3116) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1025, BRADY HANDGUN VIOLENCE PREVENTION ACT

Ms. SLAUGHTER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-341) on the resolution (H. Res. 302) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1025) to provide for a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun, and for the establishment of a national instant criminal background check system to be contacted by firearms dealers before the transfer of any firearm, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 322, MINERAL EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT ACT

Ms. SLAUGHTER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-342) on the resolution (H. Res. 303) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 322) to modify the requirements applicable to locatable minerals on public domain lands, consistent with the principles of self-initiation of mining claims, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 288, FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1994

Ms. SLAUGHTER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-343) on the resolution (H. Res. 304) providing for consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 288) making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1994, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE CHARLES H. TAYLOR, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable CHARLES H. TAYLOR, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, November 5, 1993.

Hon. TOM FOLEY,
Speaker of the House, Washington, DC.

MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you pursuant to Rule L of the Rules of the

House that a member of my staff has been served with a subpoena issued by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

After consultation with the General counsel, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is consistent with the privileges and precedents of the House.

Sincerely,

CHARLES H. TAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

REPORT ON CONTINUED BLOCKING OF PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT ASSETS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 103-163)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, without objection, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report on April 21, 1993, concerning the continued blocking of Panamanian government assets. This report is submitted pursuant to section 207(d) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

On April 5, 1990, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12710, terminating the national emergency declared on April 8, 1988, with respect to Panama. While this order terminated the sanctions imposed pursuant to that declaration, the blocking of Panamanian government assets in the United States was continued in order to permit completion of the orderly unblocking and transfer of funds that the President directed on December 20, 1989, and to foster the resolution of claims of U.S. creditors involving Panama, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(a). The termination of the national emergency did not affect the continuation of compliance audits and enforcement actions with respect to activities taking place during the sanctions period, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1622(a).

Since the last report, \$400,000 has been unblocked by specific license. Of the approximately \$5.9 million remaining blocked at this time, some \$5.3 million is held in escrow by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York at the request of the Government of Panama. Additionally, approximately \$600,000 is held in commercial bank accounts for which the Government of Panama has not requested unblocking. A small residual in blocked reserve accounts established under section 565.509 of the Panamanian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR 565.509, remains on the blocks of U.S. firms pending the final reconciliation of accounting records involving claims and counterclaims between the firms and the Government of Panama.

I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on the exercise of authorities to prohibit transactions involving property in which the Government of Panama has an interest, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, November 9, 1993.

CHILD CARE AVAILABILITY INCENTIVE ACT

(Ms. PRYCE of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to introduce, with my friend, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROEMER], the Child Care Availability Incentive Act to increase access to child care for America's working parents.

Today, few parents have the luxury of sacrificing an income to stay at home with their children. The number of single-parent households has increased dramatically and dual income families have become the norm.

Unfortunately, the availability of child care has not kept pace with the demand, and many parents have difficulty finding safe, affordable care.

My bill addresses this crisis by offering tax incentives to businesses to provide licensed, on-site child care for their employees.

This approach benefit both employer and employee. Child care available at the work site improves productivity, cuts down on absenteeism, and makes for happier, healthier, less stressed parents and children.

This is not a mandate on business—it's simply a way our government can encourage business to appreciate and protect the importance of our families.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROEMER] and cosponsor this urgently needed legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD a statement of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROEMER].

Mr. Speaker, today I come before this body with my colleague, Ms. Pryce, to address an issue of deep concern to working Americans. For many people in our country, child care is a serious question that couples and single parents struggle with day-to-day. The Child Care Availability Incentive Act strives to address this problem.

Everyone of us knows constituents who struggle with the child care dilemma. Couples face the prospect of deciding whether the mother should work outside the home—and then watch as the bulk of her earnings go to pay for the daily care of their child—or remain at home with their child—and struggle to make ends meet on a single paycheck. For single parents, the prospects are more stark, since the alternative to work is to remain at home and draw on the welfare system.

The Child Care Availability Incentive Act addresses this "catch-22" by providing a tax

credit of up to 50% of the cost incurred for businesses willing to provide on-site or site-adjacent day care for their workers' children. It is a step toward fixing and reforming our welfare system. It is progress toward helping our middle-class families. And it is important toward assisting our children in keeping them in safe environments away from violence.

Mr. Speaker, studies have shown that when employers provide on-site care for their employees' children, the effects are overwhelmingly positive: worker productivity increases, days missed to illness are decreased, on-the-job stress is reduced, and company health care expenses go down.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is a firm step in the right direction and I urge my colleagues' support.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The Chair advises our Members not to characterize the Members of the Senate.

AMERICA BETTER OFF WITH NAFTA

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, something very interesting and unfortunate has been happening related to the NAFTA issue. It has become a lightning rod for everyone who has something that troubles them. We have Members of Congress who are, unfortunately, not looking at the agreement in the depth they should. We have misinformation about it that is almost incalculable. And what we need to have instead is a little leadership from Members of Congress who examine the issue and then try to avoid feeding the fears of those constituents who are understandably concerned about a potential loss of their jobs.

Many Americans simply do not like the way the world is going. They say "Stop the world, I want to get off." But each time, on each issue or provisions in NAFTA, we need to look at it and ask are you better off with the status quo or with the changes offered by NAFTA. Are we and the Mexicans better off with the Mexican human rights abuses that one gentleman talked about here a few minutes ago? Are we better off with the status quo with the declining trade balance mentioned by the gentlewoman from Connecticut a few minutes ago or with the improvements offered by NAFTA? Are we better off with the loss of those jobs at Zenith and other firms mentioned by the gentlelady from Illinois [Ms. COLLINS] under the status quo? Or are you better off with the reductions of Mexican tariffs under NAFTA?

Mr. Speaker, almost without exception, in fact, without exception, as far as I have been able to discern yet,

America will be better off with NAFTA instead of the status quo. You are better off making the changes.

We are said to have a reduced trade surplus with Mexico today under current tariffs. We need, for example, to eliminate it. To reduce those Mexican tariffs which are on average nearly three times as high as our own. Reducing those Mexican tariffs is a step in the right direction.

Mr. Speaker, opponents of NAFTA also say it is not an agreement on trade but an agreement on investment. In that regard, they are partially right; NAFTA is both an agreement on trade and investment.

Mr. Speaker, opponents of the North American Free-Trade Agreement claim that its rules on investment will send United States factories and jobs to Mexico. In that regard, they are not even half right; they are dead wrong. Apparently they are unhappy with the status quo and so am I. That is why we must grasp the array of positive changes offered by NAFTA.

Mr. Speaker, the biggest myth surrounding debate over the North American Free-Trade Agreement is that Congress or the President can stop the loss of U.S. jobs to the developing world. Mr. Speaker, Congress or even the President cannot and should not dictate where Americans invest their money, and if they choose to invest overseas, then that is where many jobs will be created.

Americans opposed to NAFTA might be surprised to find their pensions being invested in Southeast Asia, South America, or, yes, Mexico for that matter. Mr. Speaker, American companies are voting with their pocketbooks and their investing their retirement savings in the developing world.

Like it or not, Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Congress cannot stop the American public from investing their retirement savings in a shoe factory in China or a widget maker in Mexico. Once Congress and the American people understand that important reality, we can pass the North American Free-Trade Agreement and get to work on issues like taxes, regulation, infrastructure, and technology. In the meantime we must approve NAFTA to increase jobs by reducing Mexican trade barriers, tariffs, quotas, and nontariff barriers to open up large Mexican markets. These are proper actions America must take to keep jobs in the United States—not my defeating NAFTA.

TRANSFER OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order for the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] be allocated to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR].

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

REFORMING OUR WELFARE SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EWING] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I am here today to address one of the most pressing issues our country faces, the state of our welfare system and the immense need to reform it.

The current welfare system has failed. In many cases, it has not helped those in need, but has instead locked them in a cycle of long-term dependency.

At any one time, some 65 percent of welfare recipients have been on welfare for 8 years or more. Figures show that some 80 percent of illegitimate babies born to teenage mothers will be on welfare within 5 years.

In the 1992 campaign, President Clinton promised to end welfare as we know it. I want to go along with the Republican Members of the House of Representatives to help President Clinton achieve this goal.

Tomorrow, the Republican welfare reform proposal will be introduced.

The major aspects of the Republican welfare reform proposal include:

First, attacks one of the fundamental causes of welfare, non work. When fully implemented, the bill requires 63 percent of mothers who have been on AFDC for at least 2 years to work 35 hours a week for their benefits. The work can be done in either the public or the private sector depending on what programs have been established in the States.

Second, attacks a second major cause of welfare, illegitimacy. All mothers applying for welfare must identify the father or they will not receive benefits. Mothers receive a reduced benefit until paternity is established. In addition, deadbeat dads with children on welfare are required to pay child support or work.

Third, expands flexibility for States. They will have the ability to adapt welfare programs to their needs. Some of these include AFDC block grants, school attendance requirements, and refusing payments for additional children born to AFDC recipients.

Fourth, requires immunizations. Parents must certify that their children have been immunized before AFDC benefits can be paid.

Fifth, expands State waiver authority so States may implement innovative welfare reform programs.

Sixth, establishes a nationwide system to increase child support enforcement.

Seventh, restricts welfare benefits for noncitizens.

In addition to helping break the dependency of welfare, the Republican welfare reform proposal includes a net savings of \$19.5 billion over 5 years. The proposal efficiently uses the money which is already allocated to welfare programs.

Welfare reform must be undertaken by our Nation or we will never beat the poverty trap in which so many American families are stuck.

Welfare must be available for short-term assistance only, as it was originally intended. We can no longer allow the welfare state to worsen rather than improve the lives of needy Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that leadership will move quickly to bring forward legislation to reform the welfare system.

□ 2040

INDIAN HERITAGE MONTH AND INDIAN EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the house, the gentleman from American Samoa [Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, in support of November as National American Indian Heritage Month, I wanted to take a few minutes this evening to discuss education and the American Indian, its history, achievements, and problems.

The education of American Indians has gone through periods of varying emphases as the policies of the U.S. Government toward the Indians have changed. Between policies of recognition, termination, and assimilation of Indian tribes have been several efforts to educate American Indians. Real movement in providing higher education to American Indians did not begin until about 25 years ago.

Until 1969, there were no Indian-controlled colleges. On January 16 of that year, the Navajo Community College opened its doors for the first time, and began providing higher education for Indians. This institution has now grown to become an integral part of the education system of the Navajo Nation and is developing a role as a research facility with agencies such as the Department of Energy and the Department of Education.

On February 3, 1971, classes opened for the first time at Sinta Gleska College on the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. This college continued to flourish, and in February of last year the college celebrated its designation as the first American Indian university.

These accomplishments speak highly of the strength and commitment of these communities and of the American Indian people's desire to provide a quality education to their youth.

Mr. Speaker, another important date in the history of Indian education is January 4, 1975, when the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act became law.

The declaration of policy of this law states:

The Congress hereby recognizes the obligation of the United States to respond to strong expressions of the Indian people for self-determination by assuring maximum Indian participation in the direction of educational as well as other Federal services to Indian communities so as to render such

services more responsive to the needs and desires of those communities.

The declaration continues:

The Congress declares its commitment to the maintenance of the Federal Government's unique and continuing relationship with and responsibility to the Indian people through the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from Federal domination of programs for services to Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of those programs and services.

The Congress declares that a national goal of the United States is to provide the quantity and quality of educational services and opportunities which will permit Indian children to compete and excel in the life areas of their choice, and to achieve the measure of self-determination essential to their social and economic well-being.

Mr. Speaker, these words are as true today as they were in 1975, and Congress continues to provide funds to support this statement of policy. In 1975, funding for Indian education was \$42 million, and we have continued to increase this funding to \$83 million for fiscal year 1994. I urge my colleagues to remember these words and our previous support as we review our efforts for American Indians, and that we honor our obligations to the American Indian people.

But words alone, Mr. Speaker, are not enough. Despite this Nation's efforts over the past 30 years, we still have a long way to go. Even with these substantial improvements and years of effort on the part of hundreds of Indians and non-Indians, unrelated factors on reservations make further progress all the more difficult. The statistics speak for themselves: Over one-third, or 36 percent, of Native American students drop out of high school after the 10th grade. This compares to 28 percent for Hispanics, 22 percent for African-Americans, and 15 percent for Caucasians.

Reasons given for this poor statistic are: schools that discourage the use of native language in classrooms, weakening the students' cultural ties; curricula presented from a European perspective; and economic and social problems in families and communities including poverty, single-parent homes, and substance abuse.

Mr. Speaker, in response to statistics such as this, in 1991 the White House convened a conference on Indian education. I was 1 of 234 delegates selected nationwide, and I still consider it an honor to have participated in this conference. Based on this conference and other work, reports were completed in 11 areas, and these reports are the basis for continued improvements in Indian education. The action taken by the State of Oklahoma is a good example.

The Oklahoma Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sandy Garrett, adopted a statewide plan of education.

The elements of this plan included adding Native American history, literature, language, and culture to school programs to make the programs more relevant to Indian students. It is also hoped that Indian parents will also get more involved with the education of their children.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, let me say that while there is much good work going on in Indian education, there remains much, much more which needs to be done, and I hope my colleagues will renew their efforts in this area next year as we consider the fiscal year 1995 budget.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BILIRAKIS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. BILIRAKIS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

□ 2050

JANET RENO AND PARTISAN POLITICS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise reluctantly to address the House today about a very serious matter, one which is worrisome to me as an prosecutor at the Federal, the State, and the local levels, and that is the ever-increasing political nature by which our Justice Department and its chief, Janet Reno, conducts their business.

Even before Janet Reno assumed her duties as Attorney General, the Clinton administration put its partisan imprimatur on Justice Department policies by appointing Hillary Clinton's former law partner, Webster Hubbel, as the White House liaison to the Department of Justice. As we all may remember, Hubbel fingerprints were all over the Department of Justice's ill-advised and unprecedented interference in a jury trial on behalf of one of our Democratic colleagues, since acquitted. But the Department's heavyhanded attempt to have the jury dismissed led to the resignation of the Memphis U.S. attorney and two local prosecutors. The political manipulation was so transparent that the sitting judge harshly criticized the Justice Department in his written opinion.

Now, one might think that the White House would have learned from this debacle, and when they announced that their nominee for Attorney General would take the politics out of our Nation's leading law enforcement agency, I, for one, was encouraged. I was further encouraged by Mrs. Reno's remarks during her confirmation hearing when she said, "Let me try to be the

Nation's lawyer and stay out of politics." Instead, however, one of her first official acts was to fire all the various State U.S. attorneys, an act unprecedented in modern times, and which just happens to open the very many 50-plus, or actually hundreds perhaps of prime political appointments for the Clinton White House.

Incidentally, Mrs. Reno's act resulted in the firing of the U.S. attorney, John Stephens, who was in the midst of an investigation of misappropriation of funds by the House Postmaster and certain Members of Congress.

The grand jury impaneled by Mr. Stephens has now since expired, and it has expired without taking any action against any Member of Congress, even though the House Postmaster pled guilty to a charge of illegally exchanging stamps for cash for two unnamed Members of Congress.

Frankly, in what I consider to be incompetence, perhaps even bordering on malfeasance, the Justice Department then in July refused to identify the two Members of Congress in its Bill of Information and instead listed them as Congressman A and B. To this day, November 9, A and B have not been named; so virtually every single Member of Congress is sitting here with a cloud of suspicion over their heads as if we are A and B.

Now, that is incredible, and they let the Grand Jury expire. You would think they would take action. I would have thought they would have taken action a week after they accepted that charge. Here 5 months later they have not clarified it, and they let the Grand Jury expire. It is just beyond belief.

Furthermore, in direct violation of Justice Department regulations, Mrs. Reno has appeared at partisan political fundraisers, most recently for failed Democrat gubernatorial candidate Jim Florio and for the Women's Legal Defense Fund.

She has yet to respond to my letter asking for her interpretation of the regulation, the governing law, which states specifically, "The Attorney General shall not make speeches or otherwise lend her name or support in a prominent fashion to a fundraising event or similar event intended for the benefit of any person."

Mr. Speaker, most recently I am disturbed by the Justice Department's lackadaisical attitude toward the mounting evidence against Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, and his close association with Vietnamese officials. The Justice Department does not seem to be calling even the proper witnesses in. I am concerned about that.

This is obviously a situation which deserves much closer scrutiny by this Justice Department than it has received. However, if recent experience with the House Post Office scandal sheds any light and offers a precedent, the best we can expect is another par-

tisan whitewash by Mrs. Reno. I hope not.

THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE-TRADE AGREEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I would ask my colleagues if they could indulge me for a second until I receive word from the Speaker's Office with respect to the issue that we were discussing.

Mr. Speaker, I will move into the question of the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

May I ask if the gentleman could bring the charts up here and put the Wall Street Journal charts up first. That will be nice.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to my friend, the minority whip and the deputy minority whip, that we are making calls right now to our colleagues to see in fact if they cannot be here at 9:30, instead of 10 tomorrow, so we can get an earlier start during the day so Members can catch their planes at 4 or 5 o'clock to get back to their districts for the Veterans Day period.

I know our colleagues have Veterans Day events starting very early in the morning on Thursday. It would be advantageous for them to get a reasonably good start late tomorrow afternoon. The way the debate is structured tomorrow on the DOD appropriation bill, as well as the Brady bill rule and amendments, it could take us into late in the afternoon, which would inconvenience many Members and cause them to miss events back in their districts celebrating and honoring our men and women who served in the Armed Forces.

So we are making calls right now with the appropriate committee people to see in fact if we can get in touch with them so they could come in half an hour earlier.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, will my friend, the gentleman from Michigan, yield?

Mr. BONIOR. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. GINGRICH. It just occurred to me for people who are watching this who are sort of experts in how the Congress works and who watch C-Span regularly, this is a reminder a little bit, and I see my friend, the gentleman from Washington is here, that this is a continent wide country and that Washington, which is on the eastern extremity of the country, if you do not get done by certain times in order to get to airports, you literally cannot physically get to where you are going. So for a lot of Members, people may say, "Gee, I represent Atlanta and I can get to the Atlanta airport in about 1 hour and 40 minutes," but if you start moving beyond a nearby adjacent area, suddenly it becomes much more complicated.

I want to thank the Democratic leadership, because on a bipartisan basis, I know it is late in the evening, but we are trying to sort out how to maximize a chance for every Member from every part of the country to be able to get home for Veterans Day and to participate in the very important Veterans Day Memorial Day services around the country.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I have been advised that the subcommittee chairman on Appropriations says it is fine, coming in at 9:30, and that is not a problem on our side. Perhaps if the gentleman wants to make a unanimous consent agreement, we would be happy to agree to it. I know they are trying to contact the ranking minority member as well.

HOUR OF MEETING ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1993

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on the legislative day of November 9, 1993, it adjourn to meet at 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, November 10, 1993.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, the Speaker would retain the right to roll votes, so that those Members, we are going to try to reach the key Members who have to be in this debate on both sides, but other Members if they did not get this information if they are not at home watching C-SPAN right now, since this is a very important debate that may start soon, a lot of people will not be watching C-SPAN, they would be protected in their rights.

Mr. Speaker, as I leave the dialog, I would like to say to my friend, I think the gentleman would agree, it is nice to find some things we can work together on. I am delighted that on a bipartisan basis we can work this out, and I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we will find others, and I thank my colleague for his courtesies.

□ 2100

Mr. Speaker, this is not the only debate in town tonight obviously, but some of us who actually will be voting on this agreement in almost 1 week from today want to talk about the issue of NAFTA again.

Mr. Speaker, this NAFTA debate comes down, I think, to basically one simple question:

"Whose side are you on? Are you on the side of the Fortune 500, or are you on the side of the unfortunate 500,000 Americans who will lose their jobs if NAFTA is passed?"

That is the question.

Mr. Speaker, the White House, regrettably, has sided with the Fortune

500, but we are going to stand and fight for the 500,000 Americans who will lose their jobs if this deal goes through.

Mr. Speaker, one thing is clear about the effect of the last few days and the last few weeks. If NAFTA passes, Henry Kissinger would not be put out of work. The Fortune 500 executives would not lose their stock options. And Lee Iacocca would not lose his job. But 500,000 Americans will, and we cannot let that happen. We have got to dump this NAFTA.

A few weeks ago the Joint Economic Committee confirmed what we have known for a long time. In an analysis of 16 major NAFTA impact studies the J.E.C. found that in the United States, and I quote, NAFTA could result in gross job dislocation of 500,000 or more and downward pressure on U.S. wages. That is lowering the standard of living of those people who remain working in the United States.

Now this report is confirmed, and it is confirmed by business leaders. They have told us long ago as this ad from the Wall Street Journal points out—last year the Wall Street Journal asked business leaders what impact NAFTA would have on their business decisions. I think the headline here says about all one needs to say on this:

"Heading South U.S. Companies Plan Major Moves Into Mexico."

The study found that in a sign of American eagerness to expand in Mexico 40 percent of the respondents say it is very likely or somewhat likely that they will shift some production to Mexico in the next few years, and if my colleagues were to talk about companies with sales of a billion or more, the big companies, that number jumps from 40 percent to 55 percent of the executives who say that they are somewhat likely to move production or likely to move production to Mexico.

And what is more damning is what we hear about wages. Even if they do not move directly to Mexico, the poll found that about one-quarter of the executives surveyed say they are very likely, or somewhat likely, to use the trade accord as a bargaining chip to try to hold down wages in the United States.

Now what has business told us? They have told us that they are going to go and threaten us they are going to use this as a bargaining chip to keep our standard of living down low.

Now we know they have been invited. This ad here that we have been showing and I think bears repeating again indicates why working people in America today are sending a very clear message that we cannot and will not let NAFTA make jobs the No. 1 export.

This ad says, "I can't find a good loyal worker for a dollar an hour within a thousand miles from here."

Yes, they can, if they come down to Mexico, if they come down to Yucatan.

This is an ad put in trade publications in the United States that ran for

a good number of months which says in effect that they pay a dollar or less in wages and benefits and that if you come down here, you can save \$15,000 a year per worker, and you and your plant manager can live very well.

That is why working people are upset. They have been invited to come down and take their businesses away from this country by the Mexican Government. The business community says they are going to go. What do we expect working families and small people in communities that are dependent upon these industries—how do we expect them to feel? We have seen too many jobs lost. We have seen too many families uprooted, and we have seen too many communities destroyed in this past 12 years to let NAFTA do it all over again.

Even conservative economists say there will be a massive job dislocation if this deal goes through.

Do my colleagues know what happened to the 500,000 people who lost their jobs to Mexico in the last decade? Well, most of them did eventually find work, just as many of those who will lose their jobs, if NAFTA passes, will find work, but at dramatically, and I mean dramatically, reduced wages. One Department of Labor study concluded that many people who lost their jobs during the past decade took a 50-percent pay cut when they finally found work.

Last Saturday the New York Times had another story about some of these people. It was a story about the Zenith plant in Springfield, MO, and the 673 workers who lost their jobs in the plant moved on to Mexico. Now many of these workers are in the kind of job retraining programs that are supposed to help workers who lose their jobs to Mexico. But do my colleagues know what the New York Times found? They found that the jobs that hundreds of former Zenith workers have been training for often, most often in fact pay much less than their former jobs, simply do not exist at all. Nearly a third of the workers found new jobs that paid below \$15,000 a year, and many of the workers found new jobs earning less than \$6 an hour as nurses aides, as janitors, file clerks, hotel maids, and cashiers at Wal-Mart. Many have seen their wages literally cut in half, if they can find jobs at all, and others throughout this country are finding only temporary work with low wages, and no benefits and no future.

Are these the people who have gone through job retraining? What happened to the people who are not retrained?

Mr. Speaker, this is not theory. This is not just statistics. These are real people, and they bleed, and they hurt. This is real life. It is what happens when jobs move to Mexico, and NAFTA will only bring more of the same.

Now, months after this debate has commenced, the White House last week

finally submitted to Congress legislation that would implement this NAFTA. The legislation includes more slaps at the face of the American worker. Not only is the administration asking us to send our jobs to Mexico, they are asking us to raise our taxes to do it. Let me say that again. We are being asked to raise taxes in order to send our jobs to Mexico, and no wonder James Baker likes this NAFTA. It is a George Bush NAFTA with a tax increase, and for Members of Congress searching for a reason to oppose NAFTA this tax increase could be the straw that broke the camel's back.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think Members of Congress want to go back to their district and explain why they raised taxes in order to send United States jobs to Mexico. But the sad part is the tax increase the administration is proposing is only a drop in the bucket. It will only pay about 5 percent of the actual costs. It will only pay for part of the \$2.5 billion we will lose annually in tariffs if NAFTA passes. The administration has not even addressed how they intend to pay for the rest of it.

Well, today the Joint Economic Committee released another report, another report about the overall cost of NAFTA, and the J.E.C. found that the administration has seriously, seriously underestimated the cost of implementing NAFTA.

In fact, the J.E.C. found that the direct implementation cost over the next 5 years might nearly be a billion dollars more than the administration estimates. More importantly, the J.E.C. found that the overall NAFTA-related costs could reach at least \$20 billion over the next decade.

Now what does that include? \$8.8 billion for lost tariff revenues, \$3.9 billion for new spending needed for dislocated workers, and \$7.4 billion to pay for the environmental and infrastructure costs, \$20 billion, Mr. Speaker, and even the J.E.C. admits that their estimates are only for, and I quote, direct possible revenue losses or expenditures. They do not include the ripple effect of NAFTA on job loss, wages driven down, communities affected.

Now other studies that we have seen have shown that the costs could be much higher, in the neighborhood of \$40 to \$50 billion to pay for this NAFTA. The Sierra Club, for instance, estimates it will take \$21 billion to take care of the cleanup on the border. The Secretary of Commerce, our own Secretary of Commerce, has said it will take \$15 to \$20 billion to rebuild roads, and sewers and water projects. The State of Texas alone has requested \$10 billion for NAFTA. We have not even gotten requests yet from Arizona, New Mexico, and California. They are preparing their lists right now, and I say to my colleagues, "You can bet your bottom dollar it's going to exceed that \$18 billion request that came in from Texas."

□ 2110

Nobody has even talked about the billions it will take to pay for added unemployment benefits, increased agricultural supports NAFTA will force, and the need for more Customs inspectors to stop drugs from coming over the border. And that is not even counting the loss of revenue and the dislocation costs we experience when 500,000 Americans lose their job if this deal goes through.

Well, the question is how are we going to pay for this. Mr. Speaker, I remind my colleagues that the European Community took over 40 years and they spent over \$100 billion since 1989 to integrate their economies, much more similar than ours is to Mexico. Yet we are trying to rush through this in months, what it took the European Community years, and nobody knows how we are going to pay for it. That is the \$50 billion question that the administration cannot answer.

We could not even come up with \$1 billion to pay for extended unemployment benefits in this body over the last several weeks. We are going to be on the floor in the next week talking about additional budget cuts in the neighborhood of tens of billions of dollars, and many of those same people will be voting for those cuts and yet have no intention, no desire, to deal with the added \$50 billion budget costs that this NAFTA is going to be placing upon the American taxpayer.

These people ought to be accountable for how they are going to pay the bill on this. They could not come up with the \$16 billion in stimulus when we had it before us last spring, and now that we have a price tag of \$50 billion, they are running away from it and talking about other budget cuts.

The only thing the administration has proposed is a tax increase that will pay for less than 5 percent of the total cost. And how are we going to pay for the rest?

Well, this month Congress has struggled to come up, as I mentioned, with a bill to extend unemployment benefits for jobless workers. Where are we supposed to find this \$50 billion in order to send our jobs to Mexico? How many times will we be asked to raise our taxes to send our jobs to Mexico?

Will laid off auto workers in Michigan be asked to pay higher taxes to clean up environmental waste coming from Mexican factories that took their jobs? Will garment workers in North Carolina be asked to pay higher taxes to pay for new bridges carrying products from Mexico that used to be made in North Carolina? Will laid off furniture workers in California be asked to pay higher taxes to rebuild the roads that carry the trucks that took their jobs to Tijuana?

Where does it end? Well, I say it has got to end here, Mr. Speaker. The buck has got to stop here on the 17th of No-

vember. I say let the White House have the Fortune 500. We are going to stand and fight with the unfortunate 500,000, who will lose their jobs if this deal goes through. And we are going to fight for an agreement that will benefit the people, the workers, the small businessmen, the independent farmers of Mexico and Canada and the United States of America.

But this NAFTA will not do that. This NAFTA is nothing but a job stealing, tax raising, community destroying agreement. And we have got an obligation to do all that we can within the next week to make sure that it does not happen, that we go back to the bargaining table with a new Prime Minister in Canada, with a new President of the United States, Bill Clinton, who has been there for less than a year, and with a new Mexican President who will be elected and will take office a year from now. With the advancements we have had in the debate on this issue, for workers' rights, for human rights, for a decent wage, and all the things that we have fought for for years, that we have been in government for, and our fathers and grandfathers and grandmothers and grandparents have fought for, those are the standards we want for our friends and neighbors to the south. Those are the standards that some of the reformers in Mexico have worked so hard to get for their country.

If we say yes to this NAFTA, we say to those reformers in Mexico, you do not matter. We say to the corrupt government in Mexico, who have imprisoned journalists, who have assassinated opposition leaders, who have a corrupt judicial system, who have kept wages low, we reward them. We say to them that it does not matter. We will deal with you anyway.

When we do that, we send a terrible message to Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia, because we will be doing agreements with them and they will say to us, "Well, you did this thing with Mexico, and they are not free. Everybody knows they are not free. They subjugate their workers. They don't adhere to human rights. Look at the Amnesty International reports. Why should you hold us to those standards?"

When the President goes to Seattle in a little over a week and meets with leaders of China, what will he say to them? That human rights do not matter anymore. That all this bravo that I have been yelling about for the last year and during the campaign about most-favored-nation treatment only if you reform yourself on human rights and worker rights does not mean anything, because I pushed it aside when it came to Mexico? How is he going to justify himself at that meeting with the Asian and Pacific leaders?

This is a terrible, terrible agreement for workers, for business people, for the

small farmers in Mexico, the 3 million small independent farmers in southern Mexico who will be stripped of their land by large landowners, be forced to come to Mexico City or to the maquiladoras or even across the border to the United States. We will destroy their way of life. Can people not see the basic indecency of this proposals?

So I beg my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of all of our ancestors who stood by these principles that we hold so dear and fought so long for, to say no to this NAFTA, so we can go back and do a better deal, a deal in which workers and small farmers and small and independent businessmen will be at the table speaking English, French, and Spanish, and working out their differences in a harmonious way that will benefit the people of all three countries.

I yield to my good friend from Michigan [Mr. STUPAK], who has been vigilant and tenacious and is concerned about a variety of issues on this most important treaty. He has been a leader on the issue of worker rights, a leader on the issue of human rights. He has been there on the issue of the environmental stealing of our natural resources, including water. He wants to talk about extradition issues that matter to the people that we both represent. I thank him for sharing this evening with us tonight.

Mr. STUPAK. I thank the gentleman from Michigan. I appreciate again the opportunity to join with our colleagues. I see the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] has come in, the gentleman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD], and our friend, the gentleman from Michigan [Miss COLLINS], to join us in this special order as we attempt to educate our colleagues and the American people about NAFTA.

Every day in this Congress, somewhere in the buildings, there are subcommittee hearings on different aspects of NAFTA. The more I learn, the more I am convinced that with this NAFTA, and we have said it on the floor, we, the American people, get the shaft.

Mr. BONIOR speaks of cost. He speaks of the hidden costs, the cost in human values, the cost in our human standards. The American people are waiting for some answers that I outlined last week in our special order about Great Lakes water diversion.

I wrote to the President, because last week we talked about how under NAFTA our fresh water, Great Lakes water, could be diverted to NAFTA. It could be diverted under NAFTA to Mexico.

Why would Mexico want our waters? Twenty-five percent of the Mexican people do not have access to clean pure water. Fifty-five percent of the water found around Mexico is used for agriculture and industrial use. So the majority of the water will go for industrial purposes, not for their people.

Last week, when we discovered through some hearings and some other checkings that we had done, that Great Lakes water could be diverted under NAFTA, we wrote a letter to the President. We said that over the last decade Michigan leaders have been vigilant in protecting Great Lakes water resources. Since the early 1980's, Michigan has taken a number of important steps to protect Great Lakes water assets.

The Great Lakes Charter, which was signed in 1985, which is an agreement between the Governors of the Great Lakes States and the Premiers of Canada, calls for cooperation on any diversion or large-scale water consumption projects.

The United States Water Resources Act, which was enacted in 1986, gave the Governors of all of the eight Great Lakes States a veto power over any proposed diversion of Great Lakes water by any other State in this country, a veto power on any attempt to significantly increase the existing Chicago diversion of Great Lakes water downstream to the Mississippi River.

□ 2120

A recent analysis conducted by the Clean Water Fund of Michigan indicates that NAFTA could undermine the important achievements by severely constraining the ability of our regional State and local governments to regulate the export or the diversion of fresh water resources. Specifically, the clean water report stated significant weaknesses in NAFTA that could nullify the existing protections against any diversion of Great Lakes water.

Therefore, I respectfully requested the President to respond to a number of questions that I raised last week during our special order. Chapter 3 of NAFTA sets our blanket prohibitions against government regulation of the natural resource trade. No government is permitted to regulate or prohibit the flow of natural resources, including water.

Specifically, article 309 of NAFTA states, parties may not adopt or maintain any prohibition or restriction on the importation of any good of another party or the exportation of any good destined for another country.

The report indicates that there is no clause in NAFTA that exempts water exports from these provisions. It further notes that water is subject to the same requirements as other goods that are defined in Article 309, and the definition is not confined to bottled water. Water is listed as item 2201 in the NAFTA tariff headings, and they define water as "waters, including natural or artificial mineral waters and aerated waters, not containing added sugar or other sweetening matter, not flavored, ice or snow." But most importantly, when we talk of natural resources, raw logs, timber, raw logs are exempted

from the ban on export controls, suggesting to me and to many of my colleagues that the inclusion of water was deliberate. It was deliberate.

What assurances and safeguards exist in the NAFTA that could protect Michigan and the Great Lakes region against water diversion? We have yet to receive an answer.

The Clean Water Report also states that national treatment provisions of NAFTA prohibit governments from according foreign investors any less favorable treatment than is already provided domestic corporations. Would the NAFTA, my question to the President, would the NAFTA provide foreign corporations the same access to water resources that domestic consumers have? We believe it does.

The possibility of water diversion under NAFTA poses a great threat to the economy and the environment of the Great Lakes region. Tomorrow we have another subcommittee hearing, the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. We are going to have the Trade Ambassador there, at least they have been invited. We have invited the EPA chief, Ms. Browner. They have been invited, and we are going to ask these questions of Great Lakes water. And maybe we will get some answers. And the question was asked long before I did my special order, and it was sort of just brushed aside. It is no big deal. But you exempt raw logs or timber, but you do not exempt water.

I am concerned that with NAFTA is a 15- to 20-year agreement. This administration, if it serves two terms, plus another administration for two terms, then another administration for one term, about 20 years, will NAFTA, will our water, will our precious resources go with the whim of the current administration or the current Trade Representatives? Will we have a minimum of 3 different Presidents? How many Trade Representatives or Trade Ambassadors will we have in the next 15- to 30 years?

Mr. BONIOR. And how many Trade Representatives do you know that have come from the Midwest to represent the interests of this country or that resource of which you speak this evening, water, which is so vital?

Mr. STUPAK. I do not know of any. And I am afraid that even if they came, once this agreement is passed, Article 309 prevents us from putting any restriction on natural resources.

This NAFTA is a failure by this and past administrations to adequately address our concerns and the concerns of the American people. But we are not done yet.

We found another interesting thing today. I was a law enforcement officer for 13 years, being a local city police officer and a Michigan State police trooper. In my district, which is northern Michigan, I have five native American Indian tribes, recognized tribes with their own reservations.

As a police officer, when crimes occurred either on the reservation, which is a sovereign nation within our border, or off the reservation, we had cooperation and agreement between our native American friends and the State of Michigan. Or Canada, which borders my district and, of course, the State of Michigan, if a U.S. citizen committed a crime in the United States and then fled to Canada, we had an extradition law. If a Canadian citizen committed a crime in the United States, we had an extradition law, and we all worked together. Never a problem.

We would extradite. We used a provisional arrest procedure. But today, in the Government Operations Subcommittee, we had testimony from a mother whose 4½-year-old daughter was abducted out of their bedroom, raped by a Mexican citizen who went back to Mexico.

They know where the individual lives. They know where he is located. But despite requests to extradite under the provisional arrest procedures that we have in the 1978 agreement with Mexico, they refuse.

Or we heard from the father of another individual, a young lady that was at Loma Linda Medical Hospital in California. And as she walked out of the hospital, she was gunned down by her estranged husband who was a Mexican citizen. And he went into California for a while, and then he went back to Mexico.

We know where he is. We know he is wanted for this murder. We have witnesses, and they refuse to extradite.

Do you know, underneath the 1978 Extradition Act, how many people have been extradited from Mexico, Mexican nationals, to this country for crimes that have been committed in the United States?

Mr. BONIOR. How many?

Mr. STUPAK. None; not one Mexican national has ever been extradited to stand trial for their crimes here in the United States.

But what happened when we, and wrongfully so, went down and kidnapped a Mexican person who killed our DEA agent? The big uproar. You could not do that. And that individual was set free under our laws and went back to Mexico.

There were negotiations and promises that we would not do that. Why is not the same courtesy shown to the United States and its people?

This agreement, we talk about human rights. We have had a side agreement on the environment that did not include water. We have had side agreements on workers rights and human rights, and it does not take in extradition.

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] has tried to pressure the Mexican Government for extradition of the person who raped the 4-year-old little girl, and we are not getting anywhere.

And we have to use the threat of this NAFTA to try to bring people to justice. And I asked the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] and other Representatives, Representative BROWN and others who were there today, what happens come November 17? In this agreement, defeated or passed, what incentive is there to get the Mexican Government to cooperate in extradition?

There has been no incentive now. They do not expect these people to be extradited by November 17. Nothing. They said, "Honestly, Congressman, there is nothing we can do because they just refuse."

□ 2130

I asked how many cases of serious crime that we know of in Riverside County alone, and they figure there are 24 major crimes, murders, rapes, committed by Mexican nationals. After they commit their crime, they go to Mexico.

"How many down in the southern part of the United States," where our border is? They said, "Congressman, it is a hundred-fold." I do not mean to stand here and criticize or dump on the Mexican people, but you talked about human rights, you talked about American values, and we have an agreement. We are going to give them our jobs. We are going to pay \$50 billion so they can have our jobs, give them our jobs. We have to open up our wallets and pay for it, too.

However, the human, basic human dignity and rights of extradition, standing for crimes of murder and rape, and they will not even honor the agreement of 1978. What makes us think they are going to honor any type of agreement in NAFTA?

When we look at our natural resources, and hopefully we will have some more answers on the water issue tomorrow, and when we look at human basic dignity and crimes against mankind and one another, we cannot even get any cooperation. Is this the type of agreement we want? Is this going to be our economic partner, when we have close to 1 million people crossing back and forth between our borders? Where are our protections? Where are our safeguards? That is why, when we say "not this NAFTA," it is more than just jobs. It is more than just wages. It is more than even our precious environment. It is human rights. It is a right to know that we are secure, with a government that will work with us.

If we do not protect our natural resources, our water, if we do not protect our American people through extradition processes, as the gentleman said earlier, the Majority Whip, how can the President in 2 weeks after this vote deal with countries like China, with Tiananmen Square? What guarantees are there?

I would hope that our colleagues who are listening tonight and the American

people take these issues to heart and tell their representatives "not this NAFTA," at least for the grieving parents over a lost daughter, a lost child who was violated at the age of 4. Don't we have some responsibility here, other than to the almighty dollar, other than to corporate profits? Don't we have a responsibility to our own people and to our own moral sense and outrage? Not this NAFTA.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for a very eloquent statement on natural resources and human dignity and human rights. He said it very, very well. I do not think I could say it any better this evening.

Mr. Speaker, this goes much, much deeper than the economics or econometric models in Mexico and Canada and the United States. It really goes to the heart of what we are all about as a people, and what our grandparents have struggled for in terms of human dignity and human rights and decency, and the laws that we have that uphold those standards.

Some of my colleagues will say to me occasionally, as we discuss this issue, "Aren't you making too much of this? Really, it is not going to affect our economy that much. It is really not that important. Both sides are exaggerating the impact this will have."

I really, honestly, and I have been in public life, elected public life, for going on 22 years, I cannot think of another issue that rivals this in its overall importance to our people and to our standing within the international community. This is a very, very important issue for this country. It will say a lot, how people vote, on how they are viewed with respect to these issues of human dignity, these issues which our party has stood so gallantly for for so many years: for worker rights, for human rights, for judicial rights, for the issue that the gentleman talked about, the natural resources of our country, protecting them, as well as the extradition question that he raises so beautifully and eloquently this evening.

These are very basic things we are dealing with here. I thank the gentleman for shedding some light on them this evening, and for staying this late hour to express his views, and for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentlewoman from Washington, JOLENE UNSOELD, who has been with us and has been vigilant, has worked hard, and who I know shares some values we have just shared with each other this evening. Then I yield to my friend, the gentlewoman from Michigan, BARBARA ROSE COLLINS, as well as the gentleman from Ohio, SHERROD BROWN, who is with us this evening.

Mrs. UNSOELD. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues have so eloquently and passionately described today the costs to those who are living in these countries

today, but there are other costs, costs that would be paid by our posterity. It is for those future generations that we must ask: Will there be fish in the seas for their generations?

If NAFTA passes and GATT continues down the present path, the answer will be, "No."

With all the tug-of-war over jobs lost versus jobs gained and environmental destruction versus environmental protection, the frenzied debate on NAFTA has overlooked a primary mandate: We must manage this Earth's natural resources so that our children and their children will still have an abundance of renewable resources in the future.

In negotiating NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), the trade negotiators in the Bush Administration failed to understand this point, and President Clinton has inherited fatally flawed international agreements.

From my own experience as a representative of the Pacific Northwest and a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, the best way for me to illustrate this alarming shortcoming in our trade agreements is to look at three fisheries management issues: large-scale driftnet fishing, overfishing in the "Donut Hole," and shrimp fishing in the Gulf of Mexico.

After I was elected to Congress, fishermen from Southwest Washington alerted me to the problem of foreign large-scale monofilament driftnets—nets 20, 30, or more miles long—and the terrible devastation they were bringing to international marine resources as well as our native salmon and steelhead. I fought our own State Department and foreign driftnet nations to get legislation passed through Congress. Finally, the State Department came around and we got the United Nations to impose an international ban on driftnets that took effect January 1, 1993. Although I wasn't successful in getting an international enforcement provision adopted, I did help get sanctions established in U.S. law against driftnet violators.

But those sanctions aren't being used. Earlier this year our Coast Guard observed and intercepted four driftnet vessels, three of which were from China. I repeatedly urged the State Department—without success—to begin the process that could lead to sanctions. I have every reason to believe one of the principal reasons they would not budge is the near certainty that sanctions would have been found in violation of GATT.

If that were not enough to convince me our trade agreements are not satisfactory, another high-seas fisheries issue with consequences to the Pacific Northwest brought it home even more forcefully. In the Bering Sea, just beyond the 200-mile territorial limits of

the United States and Russia, there is a fishing area called the Donut Hole. Neither nation has been able to enact conservation measures even though fish caught in the Donut Hole originate in the waters of the two countries.

Fishing for pollock in the Donut Hole began in the mid-1980s and quickly expanded from a total harvest of about 360,000 metric tons in 1985 to a peak of roughly 1.4 million metric tons in 1988 and 1989. Both the United States and Russia imposed restrictions on their own fishing vessels to protect the stocks, but other nations continued their fishing frenzy. Eight international meetings have been held in a desperate attempt to stem the destruction of the fishery, but they came to nothing because our trade agreements simply will not allow for effective enforcement of any fisheries management scheme in international waters.

The result? By 1992 fishermen harvested only 10,000 metric tons of pollock. The fishery is decimated.

□ 2140

In the South Pacific, the tuna is nearly gone.

Mr. BONIOR. What does that mean in terms of jobs, if I may ask the gentlewoman from Washington?

Mrs. UNSOELD. It is more than just immediate jobs. It is how future generations are going to be fed, because once these fisheries are depleted, how we will replace them in the future for those generations is beyond our knowledge at this point. And we have no tool, no tool in any kind of international agreement that allows enforcement of an international agreement to protect the sustainability of those resources.

The final example is in the Gulf of Mexico, where five species of sea turtles are listed as endangered or threatened under the Endangered Species Act. To reduce incidental killings of these turtles in the Gulf of Mexico shrimp fishery, the National Marine Fisheries Service requires U.S. fishermen to use turtle excluder devices [TED's] in their nets.

After U.S. fishermen pointed out that TEDs made shrimp fishing less efficient and put them at a competitive disadvantage with Mexican fishermen who aren't required to use the devices, the Congress acted. We enacted a law prohibiting shrimp imports from Mexico until Mexico's fishermen reduced the number of turtles killed to levels comparable to those of U.S. fishermen. This tough law forced Mexico to negotiate with the United States and to begin to take responsible action.

But, under NAFTA, could U.S. laws prohibit importation of shrimp from Mexico caught in violation of our laws? NAFTA backers cannot provide assurances, and that would be worse than just ignoring an environmental issue—it would be a step backward.

Around the globe, we are destroying our marine resources and little can be done because trade negotiators don't seem to think such things are worthy of their attention. Well, we must get their attention.

I must vote no on this NAFTA and use this debate to highlight the issue of fisheries management for sustainable development. International sustainable management practices are crucial if our children and grandchildren are to enjoy the rich resources of the seas—and trade sanctions are the most effective enforcement tool we have.

Used correctly, trade agreements provide leverage we cannot afford to lose if we are to prevent the decimation of the world's natural resources. Used incorrectly, as in NAFTA and GATT, they will cause irreparable harm.

We must send our negotiators back to the bargaining table with instructions to get it right.

Mr. BONIOR. I thank the gentlewoman from Washington for her eloquent statement of concerns about the future of our resources and how it affects future generations. And you are absolutely right, we can do much much better at the bargaining table the next time around.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, the gentlewoman from Michigan [Miss BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS] who has been so diligent and so hardworking on this.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for allowing me to participate in this discussion.

I would like to discuss my many reservations about the North American Free-Trade Agreement and explain my major objections to the agreement. In just 8 days, House Members will cast historic votes for or against NAFTA, an issue that has captured the attention of this Congress and the American people.

Ross Perot and Vice President GORE will debate the agreement tonight. Their debate, like most of the discussions surrounding NAFTA for the past 2 to 3 years, will likely focus on the issues of the economy, jobs, the environment, national sovereignty and the Mexican export markets, to name but a few.

Unfortunately, throughout the nearly 3 years of debate on NAFTA, there is one issue of special importance to me that I believe has been given a back seat—the issue of NAFTA's impact on minority, particularly African-American, communities.

Earlier this year the Congressional Black Caucus officially took a position opposing the NAFTA agreement as it was negotiated, as did the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], as well as many of America's other elected African-American officials at State and local levels. However, in the voluminous and

sometimes turbulent public debate, little attention has been paid to the harm that NAFTA will spread to African-American communities. In fact, it almost appears that the NAFTA agreement was drafted without any sensitivity to minorities. Perhaps NAFTA's originators, the Bush administration, thought that we would stand back and stay silent, that because we had no interest in this agreement, we would give silent acquiescence. But now, as the Congressional Black Caucus swells its rank to some 40 strong, our voice is one that cannot be snubbed or ignored.

This fall, I have had the honor to chair the CBC NAFTA task force and to closely study this agreement's impact on the African-American community.

Mr. BONIOR. I want to thank my colleague for her leadership as the chair of the anti-NAFTA task force in the Congressional Black Caucus. She has done a fantastic job, and I think when we vote on this the result of those votes will indicate all of her hard work. We expect, as she probably knows, over 90 percent of the members of the Caucus to be opposed.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. Yes, at least.

This was no easy task, since as I mentioned previously, African-Americans were really not considered in the negotiating of NAFTA. Comprehensive and expensive studies abound on NAFTA's ramifications, from impacts on air quality to the effects on exports of ceramic tile. But little to no research or study has been done on the impact of NAFTA on minority communities. However, as I looked deeper into this issue, it became increasingly evident that the concerns of the majority of Americans with NAFTA are amplified when you consider African-American people. Those concerns shared by organized labor, environmentalists, and consumer advocates are all relevant to, but it is the economic consequences of NAFTA that are particularly devastating to African-American families.

A FAILED LEGACY

The 1992 election was a clear referendum on the failed Reagan/Bush economic "program". Over those 12 years, the American people endured serious economic stagnation and hardship. This NAFTA is another arm, perhaps a tentacle, of those failed policies, an approach I find impossible to support.

Mr. BONIOR. Will the gentlewoman yield just on that point, because I think you hit upon a very important point in this debate. It is an extension of the policies of the last 12 years of really trickle-down economics where the idea is you keep wages and benefits low for working people, and somehow you give everything to the top and it kind of trickles down.

The gentlewoman I know knows this, but I am sure some of our colleagues do

not know that 54 percent of the wealth in Mexico is controlled by 36 families working through 21 working groups. They control the telephone companies, the television companies, they control the trucking business, they control all of the avenues of power and resources within Mexico.

Mexico 2 years ago had 2 billionaires; in just 2½ years it has increased to 13. It is a very top-heavy society that earns its resources off the burdens of the laborers who suffer at slave wage-rate levels. Wages are incredibly low. They have been kept low, and they will be used to bring down our wages here in this country.

So the gentlewoman is absolutely correct. If you like trickle-down economics, over the last 12 or so years, then you might be attracted by the economic reality of this treaty.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. And that is not all. To expound on that, the land that has been farmed by Mexicans for many, many years, for centuries, under the NAFTA agreement that land will be appropriated by the Government and sold to the investors coming into Mexico seeking to build firms in Mexico.

In fact, to rush into an agreement while not fully understanding its economic effects on all of our people would be irresponsible, and a betrayal of the trust that my constituents placed in me through my election to the Congress. I would just like to point out that the three Presidents most aggressively promoting NAFTA, Ford, Carter, and Bush, were voted out of office because of questionable economic policies.

THE REAL REASON FOR NAFTA

I am not an economist; however, it seems to me that the idea for a NAFTA has its roots in the political circles of Mexico City. It is my understanding that the NAFTA concept has been brewing since the mid-1980's as an attempt to alleviate the massive debt crisis in Mexico. Mexican President Salinas, the man that so many people blindly label as a great reformer and visionary, opened Mexico's very closed markets to capital investment in the 1980's in an effort to cure his nation's anemic economy, while simultaneously devaluing the peso. But by 1986 or so, he realized that Mexico needed more foreign capital if they were to evolve into a modern economy. Enter free trade, or more appropriately, the concept of economic union, regardless of whether Mexico's economy was ready.

In my view, NAFTA was designed as an investment agreement to lure more American capital into Mexico. That is why American business interests are practically salivating at the doors that will open to new investment. But why? United States firms can invest in Mexico today, and in fact have operated in Mexico for more than 25 years with a large degree of success. General Mo-

tors, for example, which has its headquarters in my district, is Mexico's largest single private employer. So, since many companies are already there, NAFTA has to make the deal they have now even better; and it does.

NAFTA gives favored treatment to future U.S. investments. This point of critical importance. Up to now, the major United States investors in Mexico have been large businesses. However, with investment in Mexico as safe as investment in the United States, small- and medium-sized companies can now look to Mexico as well, no longer fearful of lost investments.

□ 2150

JOB LOSS FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS

NAFTA proponents believe Mexico to be (1) a great export market for U.S. goods and services, and (2) especially a great market for American consumer goods. NAFTA proponents argue that we will open up a market of 360 million people with a \$6 trillion economy. Closer scrutiny shows that more than \$5.6 trillion of that \$6 trillion total is from the United States. In reality, Mexico's buying power is only around 5 percent of U.S. gross domestic product [GDP]. With Mexican hourly compensation ranging from \$1 to \$3, which is a 30 percent decrease since 1980 and average yearly incomes between \$2,000 and \$3,000 annually, the purchasing power of the 86 million Mexican people is equal to that of African-Americans. In even more specific terms, it is equivalent to the GDP of the State of Michigan. In other words, the Mexican market for United States products is a mere speck in terms of real purchasing power.

So why are these manufacturers not investing in the urban communities and in the African-American communities, creating jobs for Americans?

Mr. BONIOR. Because the minimum wage is 58 cents an hour, because they can get away without paying benefits, because they do not have to worry about health care benefits, because they do not have to worry about health and safety benefits, because they do not have to worry about consumer protection. That is why. That is exactly what will happen if NAFTA passes, it will increase the exodus, it will roll out the red carpet, get rid of the additional impediments that they have now—tariffs. It will give them protection against nationalization, copyright protection, and of course they will ignore the communities in which they are now and leave people stranded, uprooted, and of course we have seen the devastation that has created in our own area.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. Absolutely. One thing I wanted to ask the big three car companies: Who will buy your cars?

Mr. Speaker, I have traveled pretty much around the world, and I have come to the conclusion that the only

ones who buy American cars are Americans. But if American cars are manufactured in Mexico and the people are put out of work here in America, who then will buy those cars?

Mr. BONIOR. Well, it certainly will not be the Mexicans because the Mexican workers, as good workers as they are, earning those types of slave wages, earn enough money in a week to buy a set of sparkplugs let alone an automobile. And if indeed we continue to send high-paying auto jobs south as we have and we will continue to—and it is not just the autos, it is, for instance, Hughes Aircraft Co. that moved out of Los Angeles, a thousand jobs at \$17 an hour that they were paying for sophisticated electrical circuitry work, they moved to Tijuana, \$6.90 a day—not an hour but a day—and getting good productivity because they are good workers down there. Where are people going to get the funds to purchase the commodities that need to be sold? Certainly they do not pay enough in Mexico for them to purchase. And in the United States we are, as we have talked about this evening, decreasing tremendously the buying power of people who lose their jobs and who on average get a job 50 percent less than what they were earning before.

It is a downward escalation in our standard of living, and it will accelerate tremendously, I believe, if this NAFTA passes.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, my constituents sent me to Washington to help create jobs, not destroy them. My constituents sent me to Washington to create hope, not extinguish it. My constituents sent me to Washington to reinvigorate the economy, not to drain it.

NAFTA is called a trade agreement. It certainly is. In my view, it trades away good American jobs at good wages. It trades away the aspirations of many hard-working Americans, and particularly African-Americans, to make life better for themselves and their families. And it gives back very little in return.

Before I close tonight, I would like to thank the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR], the distinguished majority leader and my very good friend, for his assistance and passionate leadership on this issue.

Mr. BONIOR. I thank my colleague from Michigan for her eloquent statement and leadership.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, Plymouth Salem High School, in my district, held a debate on the North American Free-Trade Agreement on October 20. The students researched and wrote arguments for and against NAFTA. I would like to read the speech that one of my constituents, Liz Ebersole, a 10th grader, delivered to that gathering. I think it makes the case against NAFTA as well as anything I have heard on this floor.

The speech follows:

Good evening ladies and gentleman. My name is Liz Ebersole. I am a sophomore at

Plymouth Salem High School. I am here as a representative for the Close-Up Class. Tonight I am here to give my opinion on NAFTA. My opinion on this is firmly negative.

I am a strong believer in my country. I believe that NAFTA will tear my country apart with the tremendous job loss. An estimated 350,000 jobs are supposed to be gained through NAFTA, but the job loss will be 500,000 to 1 million. Instead of helping our country, we will be sending our jobs down to Mexico.

Let me tell you a little bit about Mexico. You would think twice if you were to be moved down there after hearing this. In the last decade 52 members of the opposing political party have been killed, 26 journalists since 1988. Amnesty International has cited Mexico for "widespread use of torture" by law enforcement agents. Do you still think working with Mexico is such a good idea?

Not to mention the unfairness of our workers having to compete with Mexicans on a salary and standard of living basis. Do you know how much the average wage worker in America makes an hour? The lowest salaries are \$4-\$5, with the highest ranging from \$9-\$11 per hour. Do you know how much a Mexican worker makes per hour? In 1988 it was about \$1.50. In 1992 it was about 63 cents. Sixty-three cents in comparison to \$11 an hour? How can Americans keep their jobs when companies move to Mexico because it is cheaper? How can they compete?

People for NAFTA will argue that Mexico will buy more of our goods through the agreement. This is a demented truth. The truth is that 24 percent of the "goods" bought will be and currently are capital goods—which are manufacturing plants and equipment. A towering 61 percent are intermediate goods—parts to make final products—that are then shipped back to the U.S. Only 15 percent of the goods bought are consumer goods ready for sale, and how can Mexicans afford our products when they can barely live off of their salaries?

What about the environment? Are we willing to endanger much more to an already endangered environment? Under NAFTA several American environmental laws will be changed by Mexico. A few toppers are the Dolphin Act, Wildlife Preservation Act, Endangered Species Act, Wild Bird Protection Act, and there are so many more!

Did you know that Mexico uses 17 pesticides we don't allow? Seventeen! And under NAFTA they can challenge our environmental laws and beat them. What will happen is we will be importing Mexican fruits and vegetables, exporting cars to Mexico that on one can buy because they don't make enough money, and having serious health problems because people are eating poisonous pesticides on their food. Some trade off!

I mentioned before that 500,000 to 1 million jobs will be lost to NAFTA but, that isn't all. If NAFTA goes into effect, part-time jobs in America will be eliminated. Did you know that 70 percent of the workers in America are unskilled? Can we afford to feed that many more homeless? Do you know how many homeless we have already? About 13 million Americans are homeless, and how much of this does Michigan foot? Michigan doled out \$1,186,125,452 in assistance payments to the homeless and unemployed in the last year. The average monthly case load of people who need this assistance is 227,639. How many more hungry mouths can we afford to feed?

With part-time jobs eliminated and unfair competition between Mexico and America,

how do we stand a chance? Who will win? The big corporation raiders. But how many people own their own big company in comparison to how many people work for them? The middle class will lose. Let's not forget that this is the "me" generation we are dealing with here. A group of middle to upper-class middle-aged group of people who have been titled as only caring about themselves and not each other.

This country was founded under love, honor and protect they neighbor, and in turn will do the same for you. Why would we want to sacrifice our people for some cheap Mexican labor? Greed! That's what it is, plain and simple. But will the big businesses really win after they pay to retool and ship factories and retrain workers?

Workers we have here who are qualified to do the job. Our own Michigan Representative David Bonior is against NAFTA because he knows America, and Michigan especially (seeing as how this is a big car manufacturing state) will lose many jobs.

In the last decade many people were without jobs and suffered long periods of unemployment, with a 50 percent pay cut when they started work again; this was concluded by the U.S. Department of Labor. Are we willing to take such a risk when the economy is finally starting to lift again? Can we afford such a step? No, we cannot! Too many jobs and living standards are threatened by this agreement. It is very porous in that it lets key issues slip through it. There are too many things wrong with NAFTA for it too be a good idea.

"Fix it or nix it". This is my motto. Maybe eventually we will be able to work out a good NAFTA. But at this point, the one we have stinks. So this is what I say "Not this NAFTA, not now!"

SUMMING UP ON NAFTA OPPOSITION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to just add a few comments to what my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR], the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD], the gentlewoman from Michigan [Miss COLLINS], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. STUPAK] were talking about. During the last 8 or 10 or 12 perhaps 15 weeks that Majority Whip BONIOR has led us on the floor in these special orders in terms of defining the NAFTA debate, we have talked about everything from how NAFTA is a job-killer, how it is bad for small business, the problems with truck safety, food safety, human rights in Mexico, political assassinations, all of the problems of the North American Free-Trade Agreement. I think those have been summed up again tonight with Mr. STUPAK talking about water problems and environmental problems which Mrs. UNSOELD talked about, human rights, wage issues, how NAFTA depresses American wages in addition to encouraging American companies to move to Mexico to which Miss COLLINS and Mr. BONIOR referred.

I want to just summarize as we move into the last 8 days of this debate what the lobbying effort for this entire pro-NAFTA movement has been all about.

The Mexican Government, in a historical phenomenon, basically, has spent somewhere in the vicinity of \$30 million to \$35 million to lobby the American Congress to pass the North American Free-Trade Agreement. Thank about that for a minute.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BONIOR. It has been unprecedented.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Unprecedented. Mrs. UNSOELD. Would the gentleman repeat the statement?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Yes. The Mexican Government has spent in the vicinity of \$30 million to \$35 million of Mexican Government money, mostly the 36 families that control 50 percent of the wealth in that country; they spent \$30 million to \$35 million to convince American elected officials, this Congress, to pass the North American Free-Trade Agreement. Never in history has one country spent that kind of money to lobby another country.

Mr. BONIOR. And how have they done it?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. They printed up very fancy brochures, mailed them to everybody; they hired people all across this country. One of the things they did was try to identify people in every congressional district that they could hire and have them personally lobby their friend the Congressman or their friend the Congresswoman. We all know people like that who were hired to lobby some of us, any number of us, because they had so much money to throw around; not to mention television ads and things that none of us could figure out what they have done.

Mr. BONIOR. They have hired the best lobbyists in town, the best firms here, at least the ones that are considered the best. They hired the best and the biggest law firms in Washington, DC.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Public relations firms.

Mr. BONIOR. Public relations firms. They have spent millions of dollars on television. They have spent millions of dollars on other forms of information and propaganda throughout this country; radio time. They have run a full-scale assault in concert with our major American corporations, the same corporations, by the way, who have located along the maquiladora, who have poisoned those citizens, paid them slave wages, who have abused children and employed them in child labor; all the things we have fought against for so many decades and so many years they have just transferred over the border.

And now they have collected the profits of the toils and labors of those workers, sent them back across the

border to be used to try to influence the votes of Members of Congress to vote for this agreement so they can again increase the wealth, their independent wealth, and the wealth of those few families in Mexico.

□ 2200

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. That is exactly what happens, so you have the \$30 million or \$35 million the Mexican Government is spending. You add that to the money that USA NAFTA, that is a large corporation group that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] just mentioned that is lobbying hard for NAFTA, and that corporate group, as he said, by and large is the same group of people who have located plants in Mexico and have avoided American environmental regulations by going to Mexico and avoided American labor regulations, child labor laws and safety laws and minimum wage laws and all that so they could steal American jobs and not have to live under the kind of environmental good water quality and air quality standards that we as a society have, public health standards that we as a society in this country have put together by consensus, because we know it is good for our people. They have ignored that because they have gone to Mexico and been able to do that.

So USA NAFTA is spending the same kinds of tens of millions of dollars of money and that is all the biggest corporations that we all are familiar with in this country, any big corporation you can think of almost it seems is a member of USA NAFTA.

Something happened today that all of us saw. In our offices today there was a huge basket of food that showed up. I know the gentleman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD] got one and I am sure that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] did. All of us got this huge basket of food. We just figured it was again food from the food industries in this country who are lobbying for NAFTA. It was representative of every major company in this country that makes any food products.

We figured out the value of these, that they were giving to Members of Congress. It was somewhere around \$100 or \$110. We figured out how many hours would it take a Mexican worker, working in a plant that might make some of these things in Mexico, how many hours would it take for them to be able to buy a basket like this. Most of us had the sense, and I know all of us here did, to donate those baskets to somebody who could use it more than we needed it, frankly.

Mr. BONIOR. Let us assume those baskets were \$100 or \$150. According to this Mexican ad, they pay \$1 an hour in wage and benefits, so if someone worked 8 hours a day, that is \$8 a day, 5 days a week.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. It takes about a month.

Mrs. UNSOELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BONIOR. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mrs. UNSOELD. Mr. Speaker, while the monied interests in Mexico are spending these huge amounts lobbying this issue, what are they doing to their own workers in Mexico? What is happening to them?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Clearly what is happening, I say to the gentleman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD], as the gentleman knows and we have talked about over time, is that the 36 families in Mexico in concert with their puppet leaders, like Salinas and the President of this one party government, and this one party government has been in power longer than since the Bolsheviks fell in Russia, longer than any single party in the world, in concert with them and in concert with American companies and other foreign companies that have gone down there, they have exploited workers. They have polluted the environment. They have not paid people a living wage, and the country continues to have a very, very rich sliver at the top and poverty at the bottom.

Mrs. UNSOELD. Can those workers organize?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Those workers cannot organize.

Mr. BONIOR. Can they fight back in any way? What recourse do they have at the ballot box?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. They can vote and have their vote not count. They pretend to have this veneer of a free society because they have elections, but the President hand picks the successor. There is no real opposition party that has any real strong legal standing or any real power, and as a result you have a government that keeps wages down, that will make sure there is no middle class created in that country, and that is why they cannot buy American products. That is why NAFTA is a bad deal. If Mexico had a middle class, like Canada does, NAFTA would be a good deal for everybody, but it does not, and the Government will make sure it does not. That is why the Government is spending the kind of money they are spending to pass NAFTA in this country. That is why USA NAFTA is spending the kind of money they are for NAFTA in this country.

Mrs. UNSOELD. So the Mexican Government continues to exploit their workers in order to keep the wages down, in order to attract industries there?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Exactly.

Mrs. UNSOELD. And their workers are not going to have the benefit that is being advertised.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The Mexican workers do not like NAFTA, either. The people who like NAFTA are the elite in each country. They are the wealthy families in Mexico. They are

the people who own the TV stations, as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] said, the people that own the telephone companies, the people who run the Government, all those people, and in this country people who benefit from NAFTA are equally as obvious. It is the top executives and the top stockholders, the largest corporations. It is the major newspapers. It is people like former Secretaries of State, and former Secretaries of the Treasury, many of whom write articles, op-ed pieces in the Washington Post and also many of whom happen to have business interests in Mexico.

Mr. BONIOR. And may in fact be getting some of that \$30 million in lobbying money.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. And they are getting the money to lobby, so it is a nice little deal.

Mr. BONIOR. It is a nice arrangement.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. But the media, the Washington Post, loves to talk about how fair they are. We understand editorially they are all for NAFTA. That is OK, but the op-ed pieces, the page across from the editorial section, is supposed to be a forum for free thought and free thinking and exchange of ideas and the free flow of information. The Washington Post op-ed piece has had about a 6 to 1 ratio for NAFTA and against. The gentleman knows we have sent articles, he has and I have, and the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD] has.

Mr. BONIOR. I sent a letter to the editor in the Washington Post in response to an editorial they did and they called me up and they wanted to negotiate with me what I could include in my letter to the editor.

I finally got to the point where I told them to take it and—to take it.

The upshot of it was I told them, "Don't print my letter if you don't want to know what my ideas are and what I am suggesting."

I mean, it has been quite an interesting experience.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. If the gentleman's name were Henry Kissinger or Bob Strauss, it would have been on the op-ed page.

Mr. BONIOR. Let me tell you an interesting thing about Henry Kissinger. I have rarely seen this happen, but Henry Kissinger writes these op-ed pieces. They like to give him three times or twice as much space as they will give anybody else. It is almost a whole page.

Maybe it was about 5 months ago or 4 months ago, he had this huge piece in the Los Angeles Times. It was not but a day later or within the week, I do not recall exactly, the exact same piece appeared in the Washington Post.

Now, major newspaper publications of national importance like the Los Angeles Times or the New York Times and the Washington Post, they do not

deal with one author twice. Either you have your shop here or that is it. You do not get to publish in one, two, or three different major publications, but Henry Kissinger did.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. But the interesting thing about that is with all those elite being for NAFTA, with the newspaper coverage overwhelmingly pro-NAFTA in their content and in their excluding our side so often, with all the former Secretaries of State and all the business interests and all the kinds of things, all the information they have been able to get out, nonetheless the American public does not like it because the American public has a basic intuition that this is a bad idea. They do not get as much information because it has not been as available to them as with the pro-NAFTA people, but they have a basic understanding that Mexican workers are treated badly in this agreement. American workers are treated badly, that small business in this country will get hurt.

It is real clear that the more people in this country who know about NAFTA, the less they like it, to the point a Member of Congress not so long ago was quoted on a TV show as saying, "I hate weekends because on weekends all these Members of Congress go home back to their districts and all they hear about is all this anti-NAFTA stuff."

Mr. BONIOR. From workers, from farmers, and small business people.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. From real people. So what is going to happen, one of the great things for us is that right before the NAFTA vote is the Veterans' Day weekend. We are going out of session on Thursday and Friday, so we are all going to be home listening to veterans, people who have given themselves to their country. We are going to hear them on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. We are going to come back and vote. You can bet the people in this country are going to talk about, "We don't want this NAFTA. We want you to defeat it. It is a job killer. It is a small business killer. It devastates our community."

Mrs. UNSOELD. I was in a parade last Saturday, and it was coming from the sidewalks.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Except for the newspaper publishers, who were telling you no. I think it is clear, people are against it.

Mr. BONIOR. I think the gentleman has raised a very important point. I think the people of this country, they have 8 days left or 7 days left, whatever now before we vote on this, it really is to a large extent in their hands and they have remarkably put up a tremendous fight. It is a people issue. It is something in which the American people have said to their elected representatives, "Don't do this one. Don't do this."

They understand free trade. They understand the concept. They like the

concept. They want to make sure that things are balanced.

The bottom line I find for workers and small farmers and independent business people is that our standard of living has to remain high, not sink to their level. Theirs has to rise to our level. If we can come to an agreement and reach that goal, I think we can come together in this Congress. We will eventually come together on an agreement of that sort. If we do not, we set a terrible pattern with this agreement.

Mrs. UNSOELD. That would be a NAFTA we could support.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I think all of us, in conclusion, I think all of us want to support a free-trade agreement because we know Mexico is important. We care about both countries. We care about workers in both countries.

□ 2210

Both countries can win on this, not just the elite, but all people in both countries, or almost all people in both countries, would win if we negotiate a little bit more slowly in a fairer NAFTA. It uplifts both countries, the people in both countries, and then Mexican workers will be able to buy American products.

We were talking a minute ago about how in Mexico one of the distinctive things about a Mexican auto plant an American notices when he or she visits it is that they do not have parking lots because they cannot buy cars that they make, and does that not tell us something? That is something I want people to keep with them.

Mr. BONIOR. I remember that photo that the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] had of the plant along the border in Mexico, the automobile plant that is just as the gentleman described it, a huge plant with no parking lot, and there was a huge sign on the corner of where that plant was: Michigan and Ohio Boulevards.

Mrs. UNSOELD. What leverage does NAFTA give those workers so that they will in the future be able to have cars?

Mr. BONIOR. No leverage at all. Locks them into a corrupt system that exploits them.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate my 60 minute special order and address the House for 15 minutes instead.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER].

NAFTA

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Chair, and the staff and our very

distinguished friends here for indulging us. I have been watching in my office the Larry King Live program with Mr. Perot and Vice President GORE, and I wanted to take just a few moments as they enter into their last 15 minutes to respond to a number of things that have been said on the program, and during the commercials I happened to channel surf just a little and heard some of the things that were being said here on the House floor over the past hour or so, and I think that we really should respond to some of those things, too, because we have heard more than a few inaccuracies as to the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

One of the things that I was struck with, which was stated by Mr. Perot just a few minutes ago, was the fact that he continually has been saying over the past hour and 15 minutes that the people of Mexico are so poor that they cannot afford to buy anything, and I am struck with that, Mr. Speaker, because I last Sunday happened to go to a store that has been opened for 5 weeks. It happens to be the largest Wal-Mart in the world, and every American knows about the tremendous success of Sam Walton and Wal-Mart, and an amazing partnership has been put together in Mexico with Wal-Mart and a company called Sefra.

Well, what I witnessed on Sunday was certainly much different than anything that Mr. Perot has been talking about for the last hour and 15 minutes. What I saw in Mexico was a tremendous demand by the Mexican people, and I am not talking about those 36 families or 13 billionaires to which Mr. BONIOR referred a few minutes ago. I am talking about working Mexicans who desperately want American products.

Now, as we went into this store Sunday morning, our delegation, we moved throughout and saw people pushing carts, and it was jam packed. Again, the store has been opened for 5 weeks, and people came up to me, and they said, "Please send us more U.S. products."

Mr. Speaker, 55 percent of the products which are on the shelves in that Wal-Mart store are products manufactured right here in the United States, and, Mr. Speaker, the people of Mexico can afford and want to be able to purchase even more United States manufactured goods, and while we hear of the fact that there are so few who can afford these things, Mr. Perot should be made aware of the number.

There are between 20 and 25 million people in Mexico who are middle wage earners. That, Mr. Speaker, is the size of the entire population of Canada, and I think we need to point to the fact that, as the economy has improved, which Vice President GORE has pointed out on the program this evening, people have been able to afford more goods that are manufactured right here in the United States.

At this point I yield to my friend from Tucson, AZ [Mr. KOLBE].

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER] for yielding, and I think he makes a very good point. We have heard a lot of comments that have been made during the course of this debate and in a lot of the special orders on this floor which unfortunately have some very unfortunate tones of being paternalistic about Mexico, frankly some of them being in a very sub rosa manner kind of racist in their overtones.

Mr. Speaker, I heard one Member of the House was quoted in the Cleveland Plain Dealer as saying that Mexico was filled with scrawny little kids who sell Chiclets and that is what Mexico was all about. That is such a tragedy that this kind of misinformation and disinformation should be put forward, that we should have this kind of view of a country like Mexico that is struggling to make a better life for its people and, in the process, is trying to buy more products from the United States.

I say to my colleagues, you don't have to go just to the store that you mentioned in Mexico City. You can go to almost any city in the country. This summer I spent some time in the middle part of Mexico in the capital of one of the States, went to department stores there and saw the kinds of goods in those department stores that are being sold, almost all of them coming from the United States. There is a growing, as you say, and correct me, but there is a growing middle class all over Mexico that is buying our goods.

I think there is a fact that is little understood by many Americans. It is that Mexicans, despite the fact they have an income one-seventh as great as that of the European Community or of Japan, despite that they buy more consumer products per year per person than do either of those other areas I mentioned, let us say Germany and Japan.

So, here is a country that is not rich yet but is already buying more products from the United States per person than is either Japan or Germany. Imagine, just imagine, as that economy grows, and those people, as the gentleman pointed out, that 20 million middle class, becomes 30 million, and 40 million, and their income is not just one-seventh of the United States, but one-fifth, and one-third, and one-half of that of the United States. Imagine the opportunities for American businesses to sell our products down there.

Mr. DREIER. Of course, and I thank my friend for his contribution.

Of course the Vice President has talked on the program this evening about the fact that that tax exists for the consumers of Mexico on United States manufactured goods that are trying to get in there, and that tax is one which is being shouldered by consumers in Mexico.

We all know that at Wal-Mart and other department stores throughout the country they are paying a higher price for these goods made in the United States of America than Wal-Mart shoppers here in the United States, and the idea that has really stuck with me is that obviously these people, they are going to be able to buy even more when we bring that tariff barrier down. I mean we ought to really underscore again the fact that a tariff is a tax and that tax is going to come down to zero enhancing the chance for us to sell even more.

And moving throughout that store, Mr. Speaker, I think one important point that also needs to be made is that, as one looks at products that are there from Taiwan, from China, from Singapore which are on the shelves in department stores in Mexico, we have got to realize that we are going to create a tremendous advantage for United States manufacturers to provide goods in those stores on those shelves that are greater than from those countries in the Pacific rim, or Europe, or any other part of the world. Why? Because the tariff barrier that exists today for the United States and will come down under NAFTA will continue to exist for other countries that are seeking to get their products there. So, that 55 percent on the shelves in Wal-Mart today, and in other stores, will go up because there will a greater attractiveness for U.S. manufactured products to get down there than there will be those items from the Pacific rim.

Happy to yield.

□ 2220

Mr. KOLBE. You have said it as succinctly as anybody possibly could. Your comments bring to mind another illustration. Sometimes it is not just that it is more expensive for Mexico to get those products. Sometimes they cannot get them at all.

Automobiles is a very good example of that. We cannot produce an automobile in this country and take it to Mexico. It just cannot be done. There are not only tariff barriers, but absolute barriers that prohibit us from taking those automobiles down there.

The result, in Mexico this summer I was riding around with a young person who was an instructor in my Spanish language course. He had a little For Sale sign in his window of his 1983 or 1984 Mustang. The thing was a clunker, rusted out, stalling at every intersection.

I said, "What price are you asking for this thing?" And he said, "Oh, I think I'm going to get about \$9,500, \$9,800 for it."

I said, "\$9,500?" He said, "Oh, yea. That is what it is worth down here."

Of course, the reason was because they cannot get new cars, and no used cars can be brought into Mexico. If we had the ability under NAFTA, which

we will, to ship those cars down to Mexico, the prices for Mexicans will come down and they will be able to have choices and they will be able to buy it. They already have a market for new cars of 700,000, which has doubled in 5 years from what it was. It is estimated that it will double again in the next 5 years. Our opportunities for getting a larger share of that market with our Big Three auto producers, producing cars here in this country and taking them down there, will be tremendous. That will mean thousands of Americans are going to be employed making those cars.

Mr. DREIER. My friend makes a very good point. We have to look at the fact that there is one automobile for every 2½ Americans. In Mexico there is 1 automobile for every 123 Mexicans. That clearly demonstrates that there is a potential market down there that is great.

Now, one might surmise from that that we will see these partnerships like the ones that exist in the United States with Honda, Toyota, and other manufacturers in the Pacific rim, or in Western Europe. But we have to realize there is a great chance for that to take place, to see manufacturers in the Pacific rim and Western Europe join with Mexico, if we defeat NAFTA.

If we pass the North American Free-Trade Agreement, it is important to remember that there is a 62.5-percent North American content requirement that goes into the manufacture of those automobiles, underscoring the fact that there is a greater opportunity for us to sell U.S.-manufactured automobiles, U.S.-manufactured automobile parts, that are from this continent, rather than partnerships that we see developing with the Pacific rim and Western Europe. I think that that is often forgotten. I know that Vice President GORE has mentioned it this evening. But we have to underscore the fact that this is not a completely level playing field. This is a field which creates an advantage for the United States of America. It stands to reason that as we develop the largest market in the world, a growing market, we should be able to compete with the European Community and the Pacific rim. And that is very beneficial.

Mr. KOLBE. Following up on your comments, which I certainly think are accurate, you have to ask the question, or at least I find myself asking the question, this almost seems to be such a no-brainer to be for a free-trade agreement. You sound like Lee Iacocca there. It allows us to sell more products in Mexico, in a foreign country. You have to ask why is there this opposition? I think you have to look at and realize a lot of this opposition comes from people who think back into the old days at the end of World War II, when we were astride the world's economy and did not have to worry about competition from anybody else.

Those days are gone. We know that from our competition with Japan. Japan knows it, as they are finding from their competition with China and Indonesia. This is a global marketplace we are in. We stand to isolate ourselves totally as we watch the European Community form their alliance that allows them to share production in those countries, and as we watch Japan forming their alliance with other Asian countries.

We now have that alliance with Canada. We can bring in Mexico, and ultimately the rest of Latin America, into this alliance. We will have the strongest trading alliance of any of those blocs. But if we fail to do that, we are totally, utterly, completely isolated from the rest of the world, and we will fail because we cannot share our production, we cannot share our ability to produce things with other countries and compete in the world.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, my friend makes a very good point here. This issue of sharing is one that we need to address. I know my friend is well aware of this figure, but shared production is something that has created success in Europe and the Pacific rim.

Not everyone is aware of the fact that Japan's exports, 35 percent, consist of partnership arrangements with other countries. My friend knows, of course, what the percentage of partnership arrangements for U.S. exports is. It is only 5 percent today. Why? Because we do not have the kind of favorable arrangements that are made.

We have Japan dealing with maquiladoras in countries that are throughout the Pacific rim, Vietnam being just one of them. Yet, we, in the United States, have failed to put together the kinds of partnerships that NAFTA will give us the opportunity to create.

Thirty-five percent of Japan's exports come from partnership arrangements. Only 5 percent in the United States. The NAFTA will allow us to greatly enhance that so we can get the best aspect of each of the countries involved in our exports.

Mr. KOLBE. If I could just take one more moment of the remaining time to talk about one of those partnerships, and in fact the Vice President tonight alluded to it. I hope maybe he got the example from me. But not long ago I had a chance to visit a factory that was under construction down in Hermosillo, which is the capital of the State directly to the south of me. This is a factory that makes products under license for Mattel toys. They are going to bring all the Barbie doll production, now done in the People's Republic of China, and move that over to Hermosillo, because they are going to be closest to the biggest market, the United States.

You say what is the advantage to the United States of that? the answer is 85

percent of the value of that Barbie doll is in the plastic. Right now all that plastic comes from Japan. Under this change, all that plastic will come from the United States.

There will not be any sign up or anybody that puts out a sign that says "We are hiring jobs to produce jobs for Mexico." But the reality is, scores of people in the United States will get their jobs because we are going to be producing those hundreds of millions of dollars worth of plastic production that is going to be going down there.

Why are we doing that? Because the tariffs have come down as much as they have, which makes it possible for them to do this production in Mexico, and do it in a cost effective way.

Mr. DREIER. My friend is absolutely right. As we close here, I would simply like to thank my friend for contributing to this hastily arranged special order and do so by saying, once again, I would say, and I know I am not going to address anyone else other than you, Mr. Speaker, but if I were talking to Mr. Perot, I would say Mr. Perot, please, go to the department stores in Mexico. I would say go to that 5-week old Wal-Mart store. You will see that we have the people of Mexico, 20 to 25 million strong, who are middle-income wage earners and want to have the opportunity to purchase U.S. goods.

We try to send milk down. Milk trucks go to this one store that I visited on Sunday. They cannot keep the shelves filled with enough milk that is coming from the United States. Loads of other products are there.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me we have to realize, we are not just dealing with poor Mexicans who cannot afford to purchase anything. Passage of the North American Free-Trade Agreement is the single most important thing that we can do for our economy, the people of this hemisphere, and consumers throughout the world.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. LEWIS of Florida (at the request of Mr. MICHEL) for today, on account of a death in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TORKILDSEN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. WELDON, for 60 minutes, on November 15.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LIVINGSTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KINGSTON, for 60 minutes today, in lieu of 5-minute special order previously agreed to.

Mr. DORNAN, for 5 minutes today, in lieu of 60 minutes previously ordered.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KENNEDY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. VENTO, for 60 minutes, on November 15, 16, and 17.

Mr. DEAL, for 30 minutes, on November 18.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 15 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TORKILDSEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PACKARD, in 3 instances.

Mr. DORNAN.

Mrs. MORELLA in two instances.

Mr. POMBO.

Mr. CRANE in two instances.

Mr. LIGHTFOOT.

Mr. SCHAEFER.

Mr. GILLMOR.

Ms. MOLINARI.

Mr. DOOLITTLE.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KENNEDY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. NATCHER.

Mr. HAMILTON in two instances.

Mr. HOYER.

Mr. DE LUGO.

Mr. BROOKS in two instances.

Mr. REED in two instances.

Mr. STARK.

Mr. WAXMAN.

Mr. TORRICELLI in two instances.

Mr. TOWNS.

Mr. ENGEL.

Mr. ORTIZ in three instances.

Mr. TRAFICANT.

Mr. SWIFT.

Mr. MORAN.

Mr. BOUCHER.

Ms. KAPTUR.

Mr. PICKLE.

Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey.

Mr. COSTELLO.

Mr. CLEMENT.

Mr. STUDDS.

Mr. BACCHUS of Florida.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BONIOR) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BACCHUS of Florida.

Ms. MOLINARI in two instances.

Mr. FRANKS of Connecticut.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills and a joint resolution

of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 836. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to provide for a study of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (The Royal Road of the Interior Lands), and for other purposes.

S. 983. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to study the El Camino Real Para Los Texas for potential addition to the National Trails System, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 139. Joint resolution to designate the third Sunday in November of 1993 as "National Children's Day."

ADJOURNMENT

Mrs. UNSOELD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, November 10, 1993, at 9:30 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2130. Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Secretary's determination and certification regarding Government actions to terminate chemical weapons proliferation activities of foreign persons, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. app. 2410c(b)(2); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2131. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, transmitting copies of the report of political contributions by Edmund T. DeJarnette, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Angola, and members of his family, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 3944(b)(2); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MILLER of California: Committee on Natural Resources, H.R. 322. A bill to modify the requirements applicable to locatable minerals on public domain lands, consistent with the principles of self-initiation of mining claims, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 103-338). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MURTHA: Committee of Conference. Conference report on H.R. 3116. A bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes (Rept. 103-339). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FROST: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 301. Resolution waiving points of order against the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 3116) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and

for other purposes (Rept. 103-340). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DERRICK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 302. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1025) to provide for a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun, and for the establishment of a national instant criminal background check system to be contacted by firearms dealers before the transfer of any firearm (Rept. 103-341). Referred to the House Calendar.

Ms. SLAUGHTER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 303. Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 322) to modify the requirements applicable to locatable minerals on public domain lands, consistent with the principles of self-initiation of mining claims, and for other purposes (Rept. 103-342). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BEILENSEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 304. Resolution providing for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 288) making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1994, and for other purposes (Rept. 103-343). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HAMILTON (for himself and Mr. GILMAN):

H.R. 3471. A bill to authorize the leasing of naval vessels to certain foreign countries; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Ms. PRYCE of Ohio (for herself, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. BLUTE,

Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. DORNAN, Ms. DUNN, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. FINGERHUT, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. GALLO, Mr. GILCHREST, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. HYDE, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. KIM, Mr. KLUG, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. KYL, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. LIGHTFOOT, Mr. LINDER, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. MCKEON, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. PETRI, Mr. QUINN, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. TORKILDSEN, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mrs. VUCANOVICH):

H.R. 3472. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow employers a credit for a portion of the expenses of providing dependent care services to employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. PRYCE of Ohio (for herself and Mr. FINGERHUT):

H.R. 3473. A bill to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to provide an alternative disclosure procedure for institutions that are not federally insured with respect to customers who are already depositors on the effective date of section 43(b)(3) of such act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 3474. A bill to reduce administrative requirements for insured depository institutions to the extent consistent with safe and sound banking practices, to facilitate the establishment of community development financial institutions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. PORTER, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mrs. MALONEY):

H.R. 3475. A bill to prohibit all United States military and economic assistance for

Turkey until the Turkish Government takes certain actions to resolve the Cyprus problem and complies with its obligation under international law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BOUCHER (for himself, Mr. BROWN of California, and Mr. BOEHLERT):

H.R. 3476. A bill to amend the National Science and Technology Policy, Organization, and Priorities Act of 1976, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

By Mrs. MALONEY:

H.R. 3477. A bill to prohibit defense contractors from being reimbursed by the Federal Government for certain environmental response costs; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MANTON:

H.R. 3478. A bill to provide for the death penalty for homicides involving firearms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTINEZ (for himself, Mr. OWENS, Mr. VENTO, Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Mr. BAESLER):

H.R. 3479. A bill to reauthorize certain programs under the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act; to the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs.

By Mrs. MORELLA (for herself, Mr. BACCHUS of Florida, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. COPPERSMITH, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CONNIT, Ms. DUNN, Mr. FINGERHUT, Mr. MOLLOHAN, and Mr. ROHRBACHER):

H.R. 3480. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Apollo 11 Moon landing; to the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. ROEMER (for himself, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. OBERSTAR):

H.R. 3481. A bill to provide participants in private pension plans which were terminated before September 1, 1974, the nonforfeitable pension benefits which were lost by reason of the termination, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RUSH (for himself, Mr. CLAY, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. FOGLIETTA, Ms. NORTON, and Mr. RANGEL):

H.R. 3482. A bill to establish a system for regulating the possession and transfer of handguns and handgun ammunition, and for other purposes; jointly, to the Committees on the Judiciary and Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. SCHAEFER:

H.R. 3483. A bill to establish a Mandatory Spending Control Commission to determine appropriate methods to limit the growth of mandatory spending; jointly, to the Committees on Government Operations and Rules.

By Mr. STUDDS (for himself and Mr. DINGELL):

H.R. 3484. A bill to abolish the Council on Environmental Quality and to provide for the transfer of the duties and functions of the Council; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. NATCHER:

H.J. Res. 288. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1994, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Miss COLLINS of Michigan (for herself, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. BLACKWELL, Mrs. BENTLEY, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. BYRNE, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. CLAY, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. DANNER, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr.

FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. FOGLIETTA, Mr. FLAKE, Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. FROST, Ms. FURSE, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. KOPETSKI, Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mrs. LLOYD, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mrs. MORELLA, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mrs. MEEK, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mrs. MINK, Ms. MOLINARI, Ms. NORTON, Mr. OWENS, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey, Mr. QUILLEN, Mr. QUINN, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. DE LUGO, Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. RAVENEL, Mr. SISISKY, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. STOKES, Mr. TORRES, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. TEJEDA, Mr. TUCKER, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. VALENTINE, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. WASHINGTON, Ms. WATERS, Mr. WHEAT, Mr. WILSON, and Mr. WYNN):

H.J. Res. 289. Joint resolution designating May 6, 1994, as "African-American Women Positive Role Model Day"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.J. Res. 290. Joint resolution designating June 17, 1994, as "African-American Men Positive Role Model Day"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey (for himself and Mr. ZELIFF):

H. Res. 300. Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3266) to provide for automatic downward adjustments in the discretionary spending limits for fiscal year 1994 set forth in the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 equal to the amount of rescissions contained in this act; to the Committee on Rules.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 69: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.
H.R. 93: Mr. PETRI, Mr. EWING, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. BUYER, Mr. ROGERS, Mrs. VUCANOVICH, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. NUSSLE, Mr. CANADY, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. TALENT, Mr. MCINNIS, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. GALLO, Mr. CAMP, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. FISH, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. DELAY, Mr. DICKS, Mr. KASICH, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. SMITH of Texas, and Mr. LEACH.

H.R. 145: Mr. CANADY.
H.R. 212: Mr. UPTON.
H.R. 216: Mr. DIAZ-BALART.
H.R. 326: Mr. TORRES, Mr. BLUTE, Mr. NEAL of North Carolina, Mr. KOPETSKI, and Mr. BUYER.

H.R. 429: Mr. KASICH.
H.R. 441: Mr. UPTON and Mr. SHARP.
H.R. 509: Mr. CRAPO.
H.R. 656: Mr. PASTOR.
H.R. 662: Mr. ZELIFF.
H.R. 672: Mr. McDERMOTT.
H.R. 688: Mr. SMITH of Texas and Mr. SWETT.

H.R. 702: Mr. BONILLA.
H.R. 723: Mr. ZELIFF.
H.R. 739: Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming and Mr. ZELIFF.

H.R. 823: Mr. REED.
H.R. 846: Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. EWING, Mr. KLEIN, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, and Ms. SNOWE.
H.R. 1078: Mrs. LOWEY.

H.R. 1080: Mr. ALLARD.
H.R. 1082: Mrs. LOWEY.
H.R. 1089: Mr. MINGE.
H.R. 1126: Mr. STEARNS.
H.R. 1128: Mr. STEARNS.
H.R. 1129: Mr. STEARNS.
H.R. 1209: Mr. ZELIFF.

H.R. 1286: Mr. EMERSON, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. SWETT, Mr. MCHALE, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. JACOBS, and Mr. ZELIFF.

H.R. 1295: Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. FROST, and Mr. BAKER of California.

H.R. 1322: Mr. FIELDS of Texas, Mr. MINGE, Mr. WHITTEN, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.
H.R. 1392: Mr. ZELIFF.

H.R. 1596: Ms. SHEPHERD.
H.R. 1604: Mr. UPTON.

H.R. 1608: Ms. MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. STUMP.

H.R. 1738: Ms. MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY.
H.R. 1801: Ms. FURSE.

H.R. 2019: Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.
H.R. 2043: Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin.

H.R. 2093: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey and Mr. WILSON.

H.R. 2221: Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas and Mr. POMEROY.

H.R. 2443: Ms. LONG, Mr. HOAGLAND, Ms. MCKINNEY, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. KASICH, Ms. MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY, Mr. ZELIFF, Mr. LAUGHLIN, Mr. FOGLIETTA, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. HAMBURG, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. DORNAN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. FARR, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. DARDEN, Mr. HERGER of California, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. DE LA GARZA, Mr. ROWLAND, Mr. ROEMER, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Mr. COLEMAN, Mr. WILSON, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

H.R. 2467: Mr. BAKER of California, Mr. CRANE, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. HOYER, Mr. KOPETSKI, Mr. KREIDLER, Mr. LEWIS of Florida, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. REED, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. SWETT, and Mr. SWIFT.

H.R. 2469: Mr. TORRES and Mr. REGULA.
H.R. 2488: Mr. PASTOR.

H.R. 2573: Mr. MCHALE, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. WYNN, and Mr. SCOTT.

H.R. 2623: Mr. STUMP.
H.R. 2662: Mr. DIXON and Mr. VENTO.

H.R. 2663: Mr. RAHALD and Mr. PASTOR.
H.R. 2666: Mr. STUDDS, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, and Mr. MANN.

H.R. 2697: Mr. LEWIS of Florida, Mr. GORDON, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. FROST, and Mr. ENGEL.

H.R. 2710: Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. VENTO, Ms. PELOSI, Mrs. UNSOELD, Mr. GUTIERREZ, and Mr. FILNER.

H.R. 2712: Mr. JEFFERSON.
H.R. 2759: Mr. HINCHAY and Mr. MORAN.

H.R. 2837: Mr. SPRATT.
H.R. 2886: Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, and Mr. GEKAS.

H.R. 2890: Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. STUDDS, Mr. LAFALCE, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. FURSE, Mr. BARCA of Wisconsin, and Mr. GUTIERREZ.

H.R. 2898: Mr. FILNER and Mr. FISH.
H.R. 2921: Mr. WATT.

H.R. 2950: Ms. LONG.
H.R. 2975: Mr. HOLDEN.

H.R. 3017: Mr. SLATTERY.
H.R. 3023: Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mrs. LLOYD, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. LEWIS of Florida, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. COLEMAN.

H.R. 3086: Mr. BAKER of Louisiana and Mr. STEARNS.

H.R. 3097: Mrs. UNSOELD, Ms. BYRNE, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. LEVY, Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER, Mr. FROST, Mr. FILNER, and Mr. SCHUMER.

H.R. 3182: Ms. VELÁZQUEZ.

H.R. 3224: Ms. HARMAN, Mr. HEFLEY, and Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey.

H.R. 3246: Mr. BARLOW, Mr. BARTON of Texas, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. ENGLISH of Oklahoma, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Ms. LONG, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. STUMP, Mr. WALSH, Mr. WILSON, and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.

H.R. 3372: Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. FISH, Mrs. UNSOELD, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. DE LA GARZA, Mr. GORDON, Mr. HUTTO, Mr. SARPALIUS, Mr. MURTHA, Ms. FURSE, Mr. MOAKLEY, and Mr. EVANS.

H.R. 3386: Ms. DANNER, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mr. ROTH, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. COBLE, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. SLATTERY, and Mr. BATEMAN.

H.R. 3392: Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. DARDEN, Mr. MONTGOMERY, and Mr. CAMP.

H.R. 3440: Mr. TUCKER, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. THOMAS of California, and Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey.

H.R. 3458: Mr. GOODLING.

H.J. Res. 90: Mr. PAYNE of Virginia, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. GORDON, Mr. BACHUS of Ala-

bama, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Ms. WATERS.

H.J. Res. 113: Mr. INHOFE and Mr. TORRICELLI.

H.J. Res. 131: Mr. ROGERS, Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. SABO, and Mr. HANSEN.

H.J. Res. 165: Mr. HUTTO, Miss COLLINS of Michigan, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. PORTER, Mr. BACCHUS of Florida, Mrs. LLOYD, Mr. FINGERHUT, Mr. WHEAT, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. GRAMS, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. MCKEON, and Mr. KANJORSKI.

H.J. Res. 197: Mr. BARCA of Wisconsin, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. GORDON, Mr. HOAGLAND, Mr. HUTTO, Mrs. LLOYD, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. RUSH, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. STUDDS, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. UPTON, Mr. WHEAT, Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. WILSON, Mr. GALLO, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. FOGLETTA, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BAKER of California, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. NADLER, Mr. RAMSTAD, Ms. DANNER, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. WASHINGTON, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. ZIMMER, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana, Ms. ENGLISH of Arizona, and Mr. HOEKSTRA.

H.J. Res. 209: Mr. MORAN.

H.J. Res. 211: Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey.

H.J. Res. 216: Mr. SKEEN, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. FAWELL, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. KING, Mr. KLUG, Mr. LEVY, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. MCKEON,

Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. MYERS of Indiana, Mr. PAXON, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. WELDON, Mr. YATES, Mr. MINETA, and Ms. PRYCE of Ohio.

H.J. Res. 240: Mr. HINCHEY.

H.J. Res. 246: Mr. BLACKWELL, Ms. BYRNE, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. FAWELL, Mr. HILLIARD, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. LEACH, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. OWENS, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. SOLOMON, and Mr. WAXMAN of California.

H.J. Res. 257: Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. FISH, Mr. GORDON, Mr. TEJEDA, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. EWING, Mr. WYNN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, and Mr. KLINK.

H.J. Res. 274: Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. SERRANO, and Mr. SOLOMON.

H. Con. Res. 107: Mr. TORRICELLI and Mr. HOAGLAND.

H. Con. Res. 110: Ms. DUNN, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. FILNER, Ms. SHEPHERD, Mr. GEJDESON, and Mr. MACHTLEY.

H. Con. Res. 111: Mr. LEACH and Mr. GILMAN.

H. Res. 38: Miss COLLINS of Michigan and Ms. WATERS.

H. Res. 202: Mr. GORDON.

H. Res. 234: Mr. HAMBURG, Mr. VALENTINE, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. DELAY, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. PORTMAN, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. SWIFT, Mr. ROGERS, and Mr. SYNAR.

REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

In compliance with Public Law 601, 79th Congress, title III, Regulation of Lobbying Act, section 308(b), which provides as follows:

(b) All information required to be filed under the provisions of this section with the

Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall be compiled by said Clerk and Secretary, acting jointly, as soon as practicable after the close of the calendar quarter with respect to which such information is filed and shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate jointly submit their report of the compilation required by said law and have included all registrations and quarterly reports received.

REGISTRATIONS

The following registrations were submitted for the third calendar quarter 1993:

(NOTE.—The form used for reporting is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective headings. This page (Page 1) is designed to supply identifying data.)

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OFFICE OF RECORDS AND REGISTRATION, 1036 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS, 232 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th

(Mark one square only)

IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

NOTE on ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

☐ CHECK IF ADDRESS IS DIFFERENT THAN PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

Is this an Amendment?

☐ YES ☐ NO

NOTE on ITEM "B".—Reports by Agents or Employees. An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (a) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (b) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE on ITEM "C".—(a) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(b) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(c) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have

terminated, place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the specific legislative interests by reciting: (a) Short titles of statutes and bills; (b) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (c) citations of statutes, where known; (d) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (a) description, (b) quantity distributed, (c) date of distribution, (d) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed.)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and, if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out items "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report."

STATEMENT OF VERIFICATION

[Omitted in printing]

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Edward L. Abner, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, #306 Arlington, VA 22202	Spartan Corporation
Pamela Abney, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn
Daniel C. Adcock, 1533 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036-1279	National Assn of Retired Federal Employees
Advanced Strategies, One International Place 45th Floor Boston, MA 02110	Kendall Square Research Corp
Advocacy Group, 1350 I St., NW Suite 680 Washington, DC 20005	Intel Supercomputing Division
Do	National Fuel & Energy, Inc
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, L.L.P., 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Kendall Square Research Corp
James J. Albertine, 1899 L Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Albertine Enterprises, Inc (For:Jerome Levy Economics Institute)
John M. Albertine, 1899 L Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Albertine Enterprises, Inc (For:Jerome Levy Economics Institute)
Albertine Enterprises, Inc, 1899 L Street, NW, # 500 Washington, DC 20036	Jerome Levy Economics Institute
Alcalde Rousselet & Fay, 2111 Wilson Blvd., #850 Arlington, VA 22201	Elekta Instruments, Inc
Do	Port of Palm Beach
Do	Summa Corp
Marco A. Alcantara, 227 East Ontario Street #11-177 Chicago, IL 60611-0177	Cooney & Rans
Margaret Alessi, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn
David L. Allison, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation
Morris J. Amityak P.C., 444 N. Capitol Street, NW, #712 Washington, DC 20001	Kollmorgen Corp
Timothy Anson, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:U.S. Multinational Corp Tax Policy)
Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036-5339	American Amusement Machine Assn
Do	Children's Health Fund
Arter & Hadden, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives
Do	Girling Health Care
Do	Nintendo of America
Do	US Long Distance Corp
Bob Asztalos, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Health Care Assn
John S. Autry, 1825 Eye Street, NW, S-400 Washington, DC 20006	JSA-1, Inc
APCO Associates, Inc, 1155 21st St., NW Washington, DC 20036	AEC Forest Products
Do	Center for Excellence in Education
Do	Northeast Public Power Assn
Do	Source Northwest, Inc
Kelli Back, 1227 25th Street, NW, Suite 610 Washington, DC 20037-1156	American Managed Care & Review Assn
Michael G. Bader, P.O. Box 8731 Missoula, MT 59807	Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Inc
William W. Bailey, 1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)
Baker & Hostetler, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Rochester Healthcare Coalition
Baker Worthington Crossley Stansberry & Woolf, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004	Fairchild Aircraft
Do	Martin Marietta Corp
Balzano Associates, 1730 North Lynn Street Arlington, VA 22209	Northrop Corp
M. Graeme Bannerman, 888 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
David M. Barrett, 2550 M Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20037	Truck Rental & Leasing Assn
Virginia Bartlett, Sony Drive Park Ridge, NJ 07656	Sony Electronics
Kristin Bass, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062-2000	U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Scott Bass, 1200 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Nutritional Foods Assn
Bayh Connaughton Fensterheim & Malone, P.C., 1350 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	SPI
Bayless Boland Madigan & Barrett, Inc, 1072 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Intermedia Partners
Do	Parsons Corp
Beacon Consulting Group, Inc, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002-5703	Rubber Pavements Assn
Dorothy A. Beam, 1510 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Harbor Dredging)
Elizabeth J. Bedient, 1700 Lincoln Street, Suite 4100 Denver, CO 80203	Holme Roberts & Owen (For:Navigators Overseas Missionary Fellowship)
Catherine A. Belter, 700 Rush Street Chicago, IL 60611-2571	National Congress of Parents & Teachers
Joan Kovalic Bernard, 2100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #755 Washington, DC 20037	Tenneco, Inc
Cynthia Berry, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn
Mary P. Bierle, 1015 15th Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005-2605	Bechtel Group
Karin Bierstein, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn
William P. Binzel, 1401 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	MasterCard International, Inc
Wayne V. Black, Keller and Heckman 1001 G Street, NW, #500 West Washington, DC 20001	Tea Assn of the USA, Inc
Black Manafort Stone & Kelly, Inc, 211 North Union Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	Equity Assets Management, Inc
Do	Magal Security Systems, Ltd
Do	Parking Authority
Do	United Parcel Service
Julia M. Blankenship, 2715 M Street NW, #150 Washington, DC 20007	Electric Generation Assn
S. Alexander Bohler, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work committee
Christina Moser Bolton, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Societe Nationale d'Etude et de Construction de Moteurs
John E. Bonitt, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn
Diane K. Bowers, P.O. Box 182 Port Jefferson, NY 11777	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR)
Bracewell & Patterson, 2000 K St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Union Texas Petroleum Energy Corp
Brand & Lowell, 923 15th Street, NW, Fifth Fl. Washington, DC 20005	Gerald Crispino
Karen L. Braunstein, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Cox Enterprises, Inc
Wilbur E. Brewton, 225 South Adams Street, Suite 250 Tallahassee, FL 32302	Taylor Brion Buker & Greene (For:PRIDE of Florida)
B. Jeannie Brocato, 2301 Main Street Kansas City, MO 64113	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Kansas City
Brother Industries (USA), Inc, 2950 Brother Boulevard Bartlett, TN 38133	Pegasus Gold Corp
R. Stephen Browning, P.O. Box 1697 Helena, MT 59624	Asset Investors
Brownstein Hyatt Farber & Strickland, P.C., 410 17th Street, 22nd Floor Denver, CO 80202	ORND
Do	US West
Do	Vail Associates, Inc
Hayden G. Bryan, 1326 North Lynnbrook Drive Arlington, VA 22201	Advocacy Group
Bryan Cave, 700 13th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Air Transport Assn
Robert Buckler, 225 East 6th Street, Suite #230 St. Paul, MN 55101	American Professional Pet Distributors, Inc
Do	Pheasants Forever
Robert Leon Buckner, 30420 Revells Neck Road Westover, MD 21871-3368	Inmate Underground Intelligence Organization
Barbara G. Burchett, 1615 L Street, NW, #1220 Washington, DC 20036	Wiley Rein & Fielding
April L. Burke, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 585 Washington, DC 20001	Lewis-Burke Associates (For:U.S. Committee for UNICEF)
Mary J. Burt, 1090 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Mortgage Brokers
Butera & Andrews, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Del Webb Corp
Do	Towers Perrin
Jeanne Campbell, Campbell-Raupe, Inc 1010 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Electronic Space Systems Corp
Capitol Associates, Inc, 426 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Alliance for Eye & Vision Research
Do	Parking Authority of Camden
Andrew H. Card Jr., 1620 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn, Inc
Patricia B. Carlen, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
Carmen & Muss, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 365 Washington, DC 20037	Ralvin Pacific Properties, Inc
Do	120 Church Street Associates
Jot David Carpenter Jr., 6 East Nelson Avenue, #302 Alexandria, VA 22301-2054	Telecommunications Industry Assn
Cassidy and Associates, Inc, 700 13th St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	ARCO Chemical Americas Co
Do	Bentley College
Do	City of Fairfield, CA
Do	Dowling College
Do	Elliott Homes
Do	Energy Partners
Do	Evergreen Airventure Museum
Do	Federal Express
Do	Florida Power Corp
Do	Lahey Clinic
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp
Do	Medicon
Do	Philip Crosby Associates, Inc
Do	Smokeless Tobacco Council
Do	Unified Industries, Inc
Chadbourne & Parke, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	ATA Environmental Cleanup Group
Robert E. Chapman, 2300 M Street, NW, Suite 910 Washington, DC 20037	Police Executive Research Forum
Evelyn B. Cherry, P.O. Box 256 Simpsonville, MD 21150	National Wildlife Federation
Sidonie Chiapette, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Concrete Masonry Assn
Jeri L. Chittick, 2302 Horse Pen Road Herndon, VA 22071-3406	
Michael J. Cino, 140 County Road Tenafly, NJ 07670	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Donald A. Clarey, 112 South West Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Greater New York Hospital Asn)
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:MicroGeneSys, Inc)
Kimberly M. Clennan, 14157 Rahill Court Woodbridge, VA 22193	American Assn of Preferred Provider Organizations
Elizabeth Clifford, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Monsanto Company
W. J. Michael Cody, Burch Porter & Johnson 130 North Court Memphis, TN 38103	International Assn of Machinists & Aerospace Workers
Coet Combs, 9000 Machinists Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772	Guardian Industries Corp
Coldwater Corp, 2001 Commonwealth Blvd, Suite 202 Ann Arbor, MI 48105-1568	Western Farmers Electric Cooperative
Collex & Associates, 2775 South Quincy Street, #520 Arlington, VA 22206	National Pork Producers Council
Collier Shannon Rill & Scott, 3050 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20007	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc
Dianne A. Colvin, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036	
Compressed Gas Assn/Industrial Gas Manufacturers Council, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Suite 1004 Arlington, VA 22202-4102	
Conney & Rane, 227 East Ontario Street #11-177 Chicago, IL 60611-0177	
Copeland Hatfield & Lowery, 601 13th Street, NW, #710 North Washington, DC 20005	California League of Savings Institutions
Do	JAYCOR
Do	Nomura Enterprises, Inc
Do	South West Marine
George F. Cormen Jr., 25 South Charles Street/Banc 121 - 013 Baltimore, MD 21203	First Maryland Bancorp
Council for Marketing & Opinion Reserach (CMOR), 28 North Country Road, Suite 102 Mt. Sinai, NY 11766	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR)
Christopher D. Coursen, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Allen Organ Co
Do	Allnet Communication Services, Inc
Do	Transmedia Network, Inc
Do	White Pine Renaissance
Covington & Burling, P.O. Box 7566 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20044	Ad Hoc Coalition on Intermarket Coordination
Do	Bacardi Corp
Do	Bankers Trust Co
Do	Columbia Capital Corp
Do	Corporate Governance Task Force of the Business Roundtable
Do	Kansas City Royals
Do	State of Missouri
Do	State of New Jersey
Do	State of New Mexico
Victoria C. Craig, 112 S. West Street, #400 Alexandria, VA 22314	Council for Affordable Health Insurance
Daniel M. Crane, 1010 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Algonquin Gas Transmission Company
Do	American Assn of Advertising Agencies
Do	American Fiber Manufacturers Association
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council
Do	Invest to Complete Alliance
Do	Securities Industry Association
Do	Campbell-Raupe (For:Stone and Webster Engineering Corporation)
Deborah T. Crouse, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Westinghouse Electric Corporation
Crowell & Moring, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2595	Center for Marine Conservation
Barry Cullen, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Endangered Species Coordinating Council
Dennis P. Culleton, 233 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, IL 60601	American Forest & Paper Assn
Philip Cummings, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Health Care Service Corp
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For:Clean Water Act Reauthorization Coalition)
Edward J. Daly III, 1436 U Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For:Massachusetts Water Resources Authority)
Davis & Harman, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Greenspace
Delchamps/Capitol Link, P.O. Box 9183 Arlington, VA 22219	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn
Mary Dewhurst, 2104 North Scott Street, #30 Arlington, VA 22209	Elevator-Escalator Safety Foundation, Inc
Brian E. Dixon, 1400 16th Street, NW Suite 320 Washington, DC 20036	America's Public Television Stations
Rose M. DiNapoli, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20004	Zero Population Growth
Nancy J. Donohoe, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp
Ducheneaux Taylor & Associates, 1155 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc (For:Interim Services, Inc)
Francis J. Duggan, 1150 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Gila River Farms
Dutko & Associates, 412 First St., SE, #100 Washington, DC 20003	Mullenholz & Brimsek (For:American Shooting Sports Council)
Do	Arizona Affiliated Tribes, Inc
Do	Medallion Knitwear, Inc
Do	National Ground Water Assn
Do	San Xavier Indians Project
Dyer Ellis Joseph & Mills, P.C., 600 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20037	Todhunter International, Inc
Do	National Maritime Alliance, Inc
Do	Panhandle Eastern Corp
Do	Schnitzer Group
Do	Shell Oil Co
Echo Group, P.O. Box 647 Forest Hill, MD 21050	Specialty Equipment Companies
Edelman Public Relations, 1420 K Street, NW 10th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Fresno United School District
Education Legislative Services, Inc, 5855 Stadium Way San Diego, CA 92122	Center for Marine Conservation
Tim Eichenberg, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Davis Wright & Tremaine (For:EG&G)
Roy L. Eiguren, 702 West Idaho Street, #700 Boise, ID 83702	American Assn of Homes for the Aging
Dina E. Elani, 901 E Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20004-2037	
Electric Generation Assn, 2715 M Street, NW, Suite 150 Washington, DC 20007	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn
Susan Emmer, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	McGuinness & Holch (For:American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business)
Markham C. Erickson, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:MetaNetworks)
Anita R. Estell, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	American Managed Care & Review Assn
Ellen Evans, 1227 25th Street, NW, Suite 610 Washington, DC 20037-1156	Edison Electric Institute
Kelley A. Eversole, 4434 Indigo Lane Harwood, MD 20776	Zeneca, Inc
Do	Koch Industries, Inc
Janice O. Faiks, 1401 I Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Capitol Consulting & Management, Inc
Marcus G. Faust, 332 Constitution Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Bayh Connaughton Fensterheim & Malone (For:Alliance for Radon Reduction)
Joseph T. Findaro Jr., 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20037	Bayh Connaughton Fensterheim & Malone (For:Hutchinson Kansas)
Do	RF Filippo & Associates, Inc (For:Ad Hoc Coalition to Preserve Stock-for-Debt Excep-
Ronnie G. Filippo, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004	tion)
Do	RG Filippo & Associates, Inc (For:Huntsville-Madison County Airport Authority)
Do	RG Filippo & Associates, Inc (For:State of Alabama, Dept of Economic & Community Affairs)
Florida Business Associates, 1825 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Florida Community College at Jacksonville
Richard T. Foltin, 1156 15th Street, NW, Suite 1201 Washington, DC 20005	American Jewish Committee
Michael Fortier, 1227 25th Street, NW, Suite 610 Washington, DC 20037-1156	American Managed Care & Review Assn
Nancy E. Foster, 1300 L Street, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20005-4107	American Dietetic Assn
W. Frank Fountain Jr., 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20036	Chrysler Corp
Leslie C. Francis, 1000 Potomac St., NW, #401 Washington, DC 20007	American Consulting Engineers Council
Do	Environmental Products Corp
Do	McDonnell Douglas Space Systems Co
Jocelyn C. Frye, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20009	Women's Legal Defense Fund
Gerald Davis Fuller, 150-973 Revells Neck Road Westover, MD 21871-3368	
Daniel J. Funsch, P.O. Box 7613 Missoula, MT 59807	Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Inc
Colleen Furukawa, 1801 K Street, NW, Floor 8 Washington, DC 20006	Coalition for Employment through Exports
Kathleene E. Gallegos, 1925 N. Lynn Street., #502 Arlington, VA 22209	Global Environmental Solutions
L. Thomas Galloway, 7110 Broxburn Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Galloway & Associates
Joan Galvin, 8607 Westwood Center Drive Vienna, VA 22182	Ringling Bros & Barnum & Bailey
Reginald R. Garcia, 216 South Monroe Street, #300 Tallahassee, FL 32301	Taylor Brion Baker & Greene (For:PRIDE of Florida)
Robert Garcia, 301 SE Harbor Point Drive Stuart, FL 34996	Puerto Rico Federal Affairs
Sara G. Garland, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Association of America's Public Television Stations
Do	Children's Television Workshop
Do	Earth Sciences & Resources Institute
Do	Red River Trade Corridor
Do	Swope Parkway Health Center
Garvey Schubert & Barer, 1000 Potomac Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	USX
Warren S. George, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO
Judy Gifford, 1840 Wilson Blvd., 4th Floor Arlington, VA 22201	National Milk Producers Federation
Mary Ann Gillece, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Gadsby & Hannah (For:Dyncorp)
Brad Gilman, 2300 Clarendon Blvd., #1010 Arlington, VA 22201	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Lunds Fisheries, Inc)
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Pacific States Marine Fisheries Cons)

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Do	Robertson Monagle & Easthaugh (For:Seafreeze)
Angela Giroux, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Assn of Independent Television Stations, Inc
Andrew M. Glick, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)
Global USA, Inc, 2121 K St., NW, #550 Washington, DC 20037	Advocates for Fertility Treatment
Do	ABC Home Health Care
Do	Gold & Leibengood
Do	Southwestern Bell Corp
Gold & Liebgood, Inc, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #950 Washington, DC 20004	Afin Casa De Bolsa, SA de CV
Do	Bridgeport Regional Business Council
Do	James Capel & Co
Do	Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Health Care Orgs
Howard Goldblatt, 1511 K Street, NW, Suite 622 Washington, DC 20005	Coalition Against Insurance Fraud
Deborah K. Goodell, 1315 Nueces Austin, TX 78701	Polan-Ingram Advocacy Group (For:Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp)
Amanda L. Goodmand, 1401 New York Ave., NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	National Cooperative Business Assn
Anna Pegler Gordon, 2030 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause
Todd Gray, P.O. Box 100262 Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33310	Audio Track, Inc
Scott H. Green, 3159 N. Quincy Street Arlington, VA 22207	DARE AMERICA
Rod Greenough, 150 South 600 E., #5C Salt Lake City, UT 84102	National Parks & Conservation Assn
Jim Greenwood, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1240 Washington, DC 20005	Valero EnergyCorp
Griffin Johnson & Associates, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	American Red Cross
Do	Eli Lilly & Co
Do	Fluor Corp
Do	Precision Co
Riley Grimes, 6410 Rockledge Drive, #203 Bethesda, MD 20817	Association of American Cancer Institutes
Hale and Dorr, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Boston Area Mutual Fund Group
Gregory V. Haledjian, 444 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 711 Washington, DC 20001	Keele Company (For:Radiofone, Inc)
Timothy M. Hammonds, 800 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute
Robert C. Harrison, 6641 Wakefield Drive, #514 Alexandria, VA 22307	Browning Kaleczyk Bery & Hoven
William J. Harte Ltd, 111 West Washington Street, Suite 1000 Chicago, IL 60602	Gammas of Illinois, Inc
Robert Hartwell, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Health Care Assn
Scott D. Hatch, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Us Chamber of Commerce
HealthPlus, Inc, 7601 Ora Glen Drive, Suite 200 Greenbelt, MD 20770	
David S. Hess, 3900 University Boulevard South Jacksonville, FL 32215	Citizens & Business for D'Dench Duhme Reform
Cara Hesse, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause
Sarah M. Hildebrand, 8634 Vernon Avenue Alexandria, VA 22309	American Forest & Paper Assn
Margaret A. Hill, 1400 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Hoover Group
Do	Nalco Chemical Co
Hill and Knowlton, Inc, 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Carpet & Rug Institute
Do	Louisiana Pacific
Anne Hingeley, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Beirut University College)
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of the United Arab Emirates)
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of Egypt)
Paul J. Hirsch, 1130 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	City of Norwalk
Do	Webb Group
Mary Jo Hoeksema, 519 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Assn for Home Care
Judith L. Hofmann, 919 18th Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	WR Grace & Co
Hogan & Hartson, 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004-1109	Advanced Tissues Sciences
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn
Do	Genentech, Inc
Do	General Mills, Inc
Do	Monsanto Co
Do	Retail Confectioners International
Do	Southeast Peanut Assn
Do	Taco Bell Corp
Niels C. Holch, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	McGuinness & Holch (For:National Assn of Health Underwriters)
Timothy J. Holeman, 1625 Broadway, Suite 1800 Denver, CO 80206	City of Broomfield
Holland & Hart, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20004	FMC Corp
Holland & Knight, 888 17th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	American Life Resources Corp
Do	United Bus Owners of America
Jessica J. Holliday, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 240 Washington, DC 20001-2109	Peabody Holding Co, Inc
Stewart E. Holm, 1875 Eye Street, NW, Suite 775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp
Hooper Hooper Owen & Gould, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #730 Washington, DC 20004	Catellus
Hopkins & Sutter (Chicago), Three First National Plaza, #4200 Chicago, IL 60602	Chicago Board of Trade, Commodities Exchange
Do	Chicago Mercantile Exchange, Commodities Exchange
Hopkins & Sutter (Washington), 888 16th Street, NW, 6th floor Washington, DC 20006	Council for Affordable Health Insurance
Do	Puerto Rico Bankers Assn
Do	Puerto Rico Savings Bank Assn
Lorraine Howerton, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707	Air Transport Assn
Howrey & Simon, 1299 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004	GE Aircraft Engines
Do	Hughes Aircraft Co
Do	Litton Industries, Inc
Do	Rockwell International Corp
Walter D. Huddleston, P.O. Box 456 Elizabethtown, KY 42702	Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co
Thomas H. Hudson, P.O. Box 2787 Baton Rouge, LA 70821	Molten Metal Technology, Inc
Jessica Hunter, 1600 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc
Hunton & Williams, 2000 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #9000 Washington, DC 20036	Metallgesellschaft Corp
John A. Hurson, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)
Michele Isele, 1250 H Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Citizens for a Sound Economy
Suzanne Iudicello, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation
Erik S. Jaffe, 725 12th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Williams & Connolly (For:Sentara Norfolk General Hospital)
Thomas M. James, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1020 Washington, DC 20006	Furman Group
Charles W. Jarvis, 11240 Waples Mill Rd., #101 Fairfax, VA 22030	Rust International, Inc
Steve Jarvis, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Pulpwood Assn, Inc
Jefferson Group, 1341 G Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	AEG/Westinghouse Transportation Systems
Do	City of Tampa
Do	College of Medical Technologists of Puerto Rico
Do	Dallas Area Rapid Transit
Do	Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University
Do	Greater Orlando Aviation Authority
Do	Inter American University of Puerto Rico
Do	Municipality of Barceloneta
Do	Municipality of Carolina
Do	Municipality of Cayey
Do	Municipality of Mayaguez
Do	Municipality of San Juan
Do	Municipality of Trujillo Alto
Do	Seminole Tribe of Florida
Do	University of Miami
David M. Jenkins II, 1125 Basil Rd. McLean, VA 22101-1803	Council for Responsible Nutrition
Carl T. Johnson, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy, #1004 Arlington, VA 22202-4102	Compressed Gas Assn/Industrial Gas Manufacturers Council
Michael S. Johnson, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006-1301	Arter & Hadden (For:U.S. Long Distance Corp)
Susan E. Johnson, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #3100 Washington, DC 20006	Sears Mortgage Banking Group
Jones Day Reavis & Pogue, 1450 G Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2088	Barnes & Tucker
Do	Coalition for the Fair Treatment of Environmental Cleanup
Do	Mountain Laurel Resources, Inc
Cheryl C. Kagan, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Zeneca Pharmaceuticals Group
Jack Kalavritinos, 1015 15th Street, NW, Suite 802 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc
Susan Kamp, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	American Consulting Engineers Council
Carolyn Kazdin, 815 16th Street, NW, #507 Washington, DC 20006	Software Publishers Assn
Keck Mahin & Cate, 1201 New York Ave., Penthouse Washington, DC 20005	Amalgated Clothing & Textile Workers Union
Andrew R. Kelley, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	Monsanto Co
Thomas J. Kelley, One Central Park Plaza Suite 1400 Omaha, NE 68102	National Right to Work Committee
	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz (For:Nebraska Catholic Conference)

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Do	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz (For:Septemberfest Salute to Labor, Inc)
John A. Kelly, 1025 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #105 Washington, DC 20007	Overlook Hospital
James J. Kenney, 4647 Forbes Blvd Lanham, MD 20706	AMVETS
Kilpatrick & Cody, 700 13th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005-3960	Kiewit Construction Group, Inc
Do	Kimberly-Clark Corp
Do	Mercer County Improvement Authority
Do	National Cardiovascular Network
Do	Upper Duck River Development
Kimmit Coates & McCarthy, Inc, 1730 M Street, NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036	Alliant Techsystems, Inc
D. Lance King, 7272 Wisconsin Avenue Bethesda, MD 20814	American Society of Hospital Pharmacists
Steven Kingsley, 845 Ninovan Road, SE Vienna, VA 22180	Citizens Scholarship Foundation of America
Do	National Computer System
Kathleen D. Kunka, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 650 Washington, DC 20004	Digital Equipment Corp
Peter C. Kissel, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1225 Washington, DC 20005	Grammer Kissel Robbins & Skancke (For:Touluome Utilities District)
Drew A. Kleibrink, 1300 Spring Street, Suite 120 Silver Spring, MD 20910	Florida Solar Energy Center
Stephan O. Kline, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union
Kogovsek & Associates, Inc, 1801 Broadway, #1420 Denver, CO 80202	Central Arizona Water Conservation District
Do	Upper Yampa Water Conservancy
Nicholas P. Koskores, P.O. Box 763 North Andover, MA 01845	Lau Technologies, Inc
Peter M. Kravitz, One Thomas Circle, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20005	Independent Bankers of America
David Kwong, P.O. Box 8000-1B Bradford, PA 16701	NTS Contractors Assn
Paul Laxalt Group, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #750 Washington, DC 20004	Career College Assn
Barbara Leach, 750 First Street, NE, #900 Washington, DC 20002	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Save the Greenback Assn)
Kathleen A. Leonard, 1000 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, #609 Washington, DC 20007	Price Waterhouse (For:Ad Hoc Group to Preserve the Deduction for Advertising)
Jeff Levey, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:US Multinational Corp Tax Policy Coalition)
Do	Northern States Power Company
Bill Libro, 601 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 600N Washington, DC 20004	Williams & Connolly (For:Sentara Norfolk General Hospital)
Eric N. Lieberman, 725 12th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	AEA Industrial Technology
Lipsen Hamberger & Garrett, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1160 Willard Office Building Washington, DC 20004	British Ministry of Defense
Do	Martin Marietta Corp
Do	Rolls Royce, Inc
Do	Vickers Shipbuilding & Engineering, Ltd
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp
W. Timothy Locke, 499 S. Capitol Street, SW, #507 Washington, DC 20003	Digitran Systems Inc
Timothy J. Lockhart, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For:Nintendo of America)
Thomas G. Loeffler, 555 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004	Arter & Hadden (For:Girling Health Care)
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:US Long Distance Corp)
Kenneth M. Ludden, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
Marshall L. Lynam, 101 D Street SE Washington, DC 20003	Medical Matrix, Inc
Edward R. Madigan, 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	State Farm Insurance Co
R. Gary Magnuson, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation
Christopher J. Mailander, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)
Cornel Martin, 300 Robin Street Wharf New Orleans, LA 70130	Delta Queen Steamboat Co
Teresa Martin, 150 South 600 E., #5C Salt Lake City, UT 84102	National Parks & Conservation Assn
Theodore W. Mastroianni, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	Proctor & Gamble
Alexander S. Matthews, 1700 North Moore Street, Suite 1600 Arlington, VA 22209	American Meat Institute
Mayer Brown & Platt, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #6500 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn
McAuliffe Kelly & Raffaelli, 1341 G Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Conservation Trust Fund of Puerto Rico
Do	Crystal Holdings Corp
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas
Do	Jones Intercable
Do	National Cable Television Assn
James R. McCarthy, 1801 K St., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Telecommunications Industry Assn
Venita McCollon-Allen, P.O. Box 21106 Shreveport, LA 71156	Price Waterhouse (For:Bitor America Corp)
McClure Gerard & Neuwischwander, Inc, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #820 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Southwestern Electric Power Co
Do	Euro-Nevada Mining Corp, Inc
Mark L. McConaghy, 1801 K St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Franco-Nevada Mining Corp, Inc
McDermott Will & Emery, 1850 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Ad Hoc Group to Preserve the Deduction for Advertising)
Do	Crop Protection Coalition
Roland McElroy, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Genesis Eurasia Corp
Iola McGowan, 5839 West Midway Park Chicago, IL 60644	American Forest & Paper Assn
Joseph M. McGrail, 52 Washington Ave. Williamstown, NJ 08094	Small Business Alliance on Communication
Jack V. McGrann, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 810 Washington, DC 20005	NYMA, Inc
Kevin S. McGuinness, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	Johnson & Johnson
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business)
McKenna & Cuneo, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	McGuinness & Holch (For:RJR Nabisco)
Patrick M. McLain, 1000 Vermont Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	DSE Industry Coalition
Laure C. McLaughlin, 555 13th Street, NW, Suite 430 West Washington, DC 20004	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For:National Alliance for Infusion Therapy)
Roger E. McManus, 4019 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20011	Transco EnergyCo
Vanda B. McMurry, 151 Farmington Avenue, RC6A Hartford, CT 06256	Center for Marine Conservation
McNair & Sanford, P.A., 1155 15th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Aetna Life & Casualty Co
Do	Food Lion, Inc
Myron Meche, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004	Harnischfeger Industries, Inc
Mehl & Pickens Associates, Inc, 1400 L Street NW Suite 625 Washington, DC 20005	National Retail Federation
John Melcher, 230-B Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, DC 20002	Syscon Corp
Mark Menezes, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006-1301	Monsanto Co
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Girling Health Care)
J. Roger Mentz, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Arter & Hadden (For:US Long Distance Corp)
Peter R. Merrill, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For:Amway Corp)
Christina A. Metzler, 1383 Piccard Drive P.O. Box 1725 Rockville, MD 20849-1725	Price Waterhouse (For:US Multinational Corp Tax Policy Coalition)
Brian M. Meyer, 7272 Wisconsin Avenue Bethesda, MD 20814	American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc
Stephen Michael, 1337 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Hospital Pharmacists
Michigan Biotechnology Institute (MBI), 3900 Collins Road Lansing, MI 48909	ACT UP SAC
Claude W. Miller Jr., 410 Middle Street New Bern, NC 28560	Software Publishers Assn
Douglas Miller, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation
Thomas M. Miller, 1005 Elm Avenue Tacoma Park, MD 20912	Federal Savings Bank of Rogers, AR
Miller & Chevalier, Chtd, 655 15th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005-5701	Leighton Parks Roper
Do	O'Connor & Associates
Do	Toy Manufacturers of America
Denny Miller Associates, Inc, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #363 Washington, DC 20001	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
William Miner, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Clark Atlanta University
Minority Asset Recovery Contractor's Assn, 200 L Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Worldspace, Inc
Brian C. Mitchell, 18715 Martins Landing Germantown, MD 20874	Chemical Manufacturers Assn
Do	Michelin Tire Corp
Morgan Lewis & Bockius, 1800 M St., NW, #800 N. Washington, DC 20036	Committee for Equitable Compensation
James C. Morton Jr., P.O. Box 19001 Greenville, SC 29602	Dean Witter Discover & Co
Kate Moss Company, 2550 M Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20037	National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider
Do	NationsBank, Inc
Do	Southwestern Bell Corp
Do	Trans Union Corp
Thomas S. Mullikin, 1315 Monument Square P.O. Box 745 Camden, SC 29020	Mullikin Law Firm (For:Blue Cross Blue Shield)
Mark Nebergall, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn
Neill & Company, Inc, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	State of Bahrain
New York Capitol Consultants, Inc, 120 Washington Avenue Albany, NY 12210	Sidney Frank Importing Co, Inc
Julia J. Norrell, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	UNUM Life Insurance Co
O'Bannon & Gibbons, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Florida Citrus Mutual
Do	Harris Corp
Do	Naturan Disaster Coalition
Coleman C. O'Brien, 1709 New York Ave., NW, #801 Washington, DC 20006	Savings & Community Bankers of America
Do	Transportation Brokers Conference of America

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
O'Brien Calio, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 690 Washington, DC 20005	Allied-Signal, Inc.
Do	Anheuser Busch Co
Do	Health Insurance Assn of America
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co
O'Connor & Hannan, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Institute of International Bankers
Do	Little Six, Inc
Do	O'Sullivan Graev & Karabell
John O'Donnell, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council
O'Melveny & Myers, 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004	Transamerica HomeFirst
Paul O'Palka Jr., Fifth Avenue Place, Suite 1924 Pittsburgh, PA 15222	Blue Cross of Western Pennsylvania
Ohio Forestry Resource, P.O. Box 696 Mt. Vernon, OH 43050	
Oldaker Ryan & Leonard, 818 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006	Aetna Life & Casualty
Do	American Airlines, Inc
Do	Ford Motor Co
Do	General Electric Co
Do	Proctor & Gamble Co
Olsson Frank & Weeda, 1400 16th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036-2220	ConAgra, Inc
Do	Ross Laboratories
Jose A. Ortiz-Daliot, 1341 G Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Jefferson Group, Inc (For Municipality of Vega Baja)
Kathleen Galhier Ott, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2700 Arlington, VA 22209	TRW, Inc
Pagonis & Donnelly Group, Inc, c/o Rogers & Wells 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Leslie A. Parmelee, 12 Cynthia Court Ravena, NY 12143	American Train Dispatcher Assn
Caren Pasquale, 3000 K Street, NW, Suite 620 Washington, DC 20007	Merrill Lynch & Co
Charles R. Patton, 1050 17th Street, NW, Suite 1250 Washington, DC 20036	Houston Industries, Inc
Patton Boggs & Blow, 2550 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	DuPont-Merck
Do	FAG Kugelfischer Georg Schager KGaA
Do	Major League Baseball Players Assn
Do	Manor Care
Do	Mashantucket Pequot Tribe
Do	Mitchell Energy & Development Corp
Do	Pacific Lumber Co
Do	Travelers
Do	TANO Marine Systems
Do	US Surgical Corp
Paul Weiss Rifkind Wharton & Garrison, 1615 L Street, NW, #1300 Washington, DC 20036	Americable International, Inc
Kerry Pearson, 700 13th Street, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20005	Pearson Group
John D. Pellegrin, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 606 Washington, DC 20036	Trend Star Continental, Ltd
Pepper Hamilton & Scheetz, 1300 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Compuware Corp
Thomas J. Petrizzo, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004	National Retail Federation
Lisa Phillips, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn
Pittle Morisset Schlosser & Ayer, 1815 H Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20006-3604	Organized Village of Kake
Do	Sitka Tribe of Alaska
Do	Yakutat Native Assn
Jon Plebani, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For US Long Distance Corp)
Margaret B. Podlich, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation
Kraege Polann, 1315 Nueces Austin, TX 78701	Polan-Ingram Advocacy Group (For Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp)
Kathryn Pontzer, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc
Preston Gates Ellis Rouvelas & Meeds, 1735 New York Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Business Software Alliance
Do	Empire Cruise Line Ltd.
Patricia Pride, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Wildlife Federation
Curtis A. Prins, 5101 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20016	Adams Cohen Securities, Inc
Proskauer Rose Goetz & Mendelsohn, 300 Park Avenue New York, NY 10022	Healthcare Imaging Services
Ward L. Quaal, 401 North Michigan Ave Chicago, IL 60611	Ward L. Quaal Company
Joel R. Quine, 2401 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 350 Washington, DC 20037-1718	Assn of Reproductive Health Professionals
Zvi Rafiah, Asia house 4 Weizman Street Tel Aviv, 64239 Israel	Rabintex Industries, Ltd
Timothy L. Raftis, 6410 Rockledge Drive, Suite 203 Bethesda, MD 20814	Contrade Agri USA
Robert H. Ragan, 1015 15th Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005-2605	Bechtel Group
Lisa J. Raines, 1020 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Genzyme Corp
Charles R. Ranson, 215 South Monroe Street, Suite 804 Tallahassee, FL 32301	USA NAFTA
Robert A. Rapoza Associates, Inc, 122 C Street, NW, # 875 Washington, DC 20001	Assn for Enterprise Opportunity
Do	Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corp
Do	Bethel New Life
Do	Chicanos Por la Causa
Do	Community Development Corp of Kansas City
Do	Delta Foundation
Do	Eastside Community Investments, Inc
Do	Kentucky Highlands Investment Corp
Do	National Cooperative Bank
Do	New Community Corp
Do	Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Inc
Do	TEIACU
John W. Rauber Jr., 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Chadbourne & Parke (For American Forest & Paper Assn)
Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, 1200 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Paging Network, Inc
Martin A. Regalia, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Law Offices of Paul S. Reichler, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006	Embassy of the Republic of Uganda
Do	United Republic of Tanzania
Julia Renjilian, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Associated Builders and Contractors
Steve Repp, 1001 Los Molinos Way Sacramento, CA 95864	
Mark E. Rey, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn
Jeffrey Ricchetti, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn
E. Allen Richardson Jr., 1513 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Air Conditioning Contractors of America (ACCA)
Liz Robbins Associates, 522 8th St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Assn for Governmental Leasing & Finance
Do	Chicago Department of Aviation
Do	Chicago Educational Television Assn
Do	Consolidated Rail Corp
Do	CO2 Coalition
Do	Forest City Ratner
Do	Gibson Dunn Crutcher
Do	Harvard Corp
Do	HJ Heinz Company
Do	Intergro Insurance Co
Do	Itel Corp
Do	Katten Muchin Zavis... (for Saginaw Community Hospital)
Do	Merrill Lynch & Co
Do	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities
Do	National Council of Health Facilities Finance Authorities
Do	Natural Gas Vehicle Coalition
Do	New York State Medical Care Facilities Finance Agency
Do	North American Vaccine, Inc
Do	Town of Avon
Do	World Cup USA
Do	Writers Guild of America, West, Inc
George Roberts, 1201 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	
Lara E. Robillard, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 380 Washington, DC 20001-2109	National Family Planning & Reproductive Health Assn, Inc
Gail Robinson, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc
Peter D. Robinson, 1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For Unisys Corp)
Rogers & Wells, 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Major League Baseball Players Assn
James C. Rosapepe, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc (For Interim Services, Inc)
Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Interim Services, Inc
Larry M. Rosenstein, 1130 17th Street, NW, #314 Washington, DC 20036	Levin Rosenstein & Kudon, P.C. (For National AG Underwriters, Inc)
Irene Rosenthal, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn
Charlotte Rush, 1401 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Mastercard International, Inc
Lawrence E. Sabbath, 1023 15th Street, NW, 7th Fl Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Security Companies
Sacks Tierney & Kasen, 2929 North Central Avenue, 14th Floor Phoenix, AZ 85012-2742	USA Group, Inc

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Frank Max Salinger, 650 Naamans Road Claymont, DE 19703	ADVANTA Corp
Robert S. Salomon, 1300 Group 1300 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Cancer Society/Missouri Division
Babette P. Salus, 600 S. Second Street, Suite 1100 Springfield, IL 62704	Central Midwest Interstate Low-Level Radioactive Waste Comm
Wendy B. Samuel, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Fannie Mae
Laura Saul-Edwards, 2021 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Academy of Family Physicians
Sheldon L. Scheiberg, 1300 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	J&B Management Corp
Marc J. Scheineson, 1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)
Schnader Harrison Segal & Lewis, 1111 19th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	Lafargo Corp
Leah Webb Schroeder, 1030 15th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	American Academy of Physicians Assistants
Schwabe Williamson & Wyatt, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #570 Washington, DC 20037	Grant County PUD, Chelan County PUD, Douglas County PUD
Seward & Kissel, 1200 G Street, NW, #350 Washington, DC 20005	Ship Finance Assn, Inc
Seyfarth Shaw Fairweather & Geraldson, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Twin City Pipe Trades Welfare Trust
Do	Unisys Corp
Bernard M. Shapiro, 1801 K Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Tenneco, Inc)
Shaw Pittman Potts & Trowbridge, 2300 N Street, NW, #5121 Washington, DC 20037	Schnell-Bruter-Kernkraftwerksgesellschaft MbH
Do	Southeastern Star, Inc
L. Philip Sheldon Jr., 1071 Snapper Dam Road Landisville, PA 17538	Child Protection Lobby
Shendian Group, 1775 I Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	Campaign for Military Service
Mollie Shields, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, 1500 North Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers
William A. Signer, 1625 K Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20006	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Marriott Corp)
Curtis Silvers, 888 16th St., NW, #606 Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom, 1440 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Angelo Brothers Corp
Do	Prudential Insurance Co of America
Kerry A. Walsh Skelly, 850 Dixie Highway Louisville, KY 40210	Brown-Forman Corp
Edward Del Smith, 905 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	E. Del Smith & Co (For:ASCA Treatment Centers)
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For:City of Newport Beach)
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For:Deskin Research Group)
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For:Disproportionate Share Hospitals of L.A. County)
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For:Wickland Oil Co)
Peter N. Smith, 700 13th Street, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20005	Raychem Corp
Robert B. Smythe, 4807 Wellington Drive Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Center for Marine Conservation
Jack Sobel, 654 E Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Trek Bicycle Corp
Software Publishers Assn, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)
Sonnenberg Anderson O'Donnell & Rodriguez, 200 South Wacker Dr. 33rd. Floor Chicago, IL 60606	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Oregon
Tasha Soudah, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Insurance Assn
Barney H. Speight, 200 SW Market, Suite 1200 Portland, OR 97201	Mitsubishi Motors America, Inc
Law Offices of Deborah Steelman, Columbia Square 555 13th Street, NW, #1220 East Washington, DC 20004-1109	National Center for Housing Management
Anna-Maria Stephens, 1250 Eye Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Co
Gordon Stevens, 1275 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005	Douglas County Oregon
W. Martin Strauss, 700 14th Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Sodak Gaming, Inc
Jay R. Sullivan, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20007	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Harbor Dredging)
Do	City of San Liandro
Richard J. Sullivan, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX)
Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Intel Government Affairs
Sutherland Asbill & Brennan, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Intermedia Communications of Florida, Inc
Elliot Swan, 888 17th Street, NW, Suite 850 Washington, DC 20006	Metropolitan Fiber Systems Communications Co, Inc
Swidler & Berlin, Chtd, 3000 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	Cigarrera La Moderna
Do	US Chamber of Commerce
SJS Advanced Strategies, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	AMGEN, Inc
Taxpayers Against Fraud, Inc, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 220 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc
Lonnie P. Taylor, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Adria Laboratories)
Technical Group, Inc, 1300 I Street, NW, Suite 100 West Washington, DC 20005	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Carter Footwear, Inc)
Peter B. Teley, 502 Summers Court Alexandria, VA 22301	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:US Shoe)
Laura I. Thevenot, 1350 Eye Street, NW, #1030 Washington, DC 20005-3305	Jerome Levy Institute
Cindy Thomas, 1990 M Street, NW, #340 Washington, DC 20036	National Bareboat Charter Assn
Do	Matsushita Electric Corp of America
Kenneth W. Thompson, 1899 L Street, NW #500 Washington, DC 20036	Beer Institute
Do	Beneficial Management Corp
Kirstin D. Thompson, 1819 L Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	McCaw Cellular Communications, Inc
Tracy L. Thompson, 1225 I Street, NW, #825 Washington, DC 20003	Seniors Coalition
Robert B. Thomson III, 453 New Jersey Avenue Washington, DC 20003	Aetna Life & Casualty Co
Paula Pleas Timmons, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 401 Washington, DC 20036	Electronic Publishing Group
Tobacco Consumers Assn, Inc, P.O. Box 25711 Washington, DC 20007	Software Publishers Assn
Victor Todd, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	American Academy of Family Physicians
Jonathan M. Topodas, 151 Farmington Avenue Hartford, CT 06156	Burger King Corp
Charles H. Tower, 1026 16th Street, NW, #503 Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn
Trade Partnership, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20004	USA Healthnet, Inc
Mark Traphagen, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn
Leslie Anne Tucker, 2021 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Dakota
Shannon B. Tuel, 1200 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Kelly Anderson
Jane L. Turner, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Trooper Coalition (NTC)
U.S. Strategies Corp, 1055 N. Fairfax Street, #201 Alexandria, VA 22314	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Regis Retirement Plan Services)
Philip J. Uffholz, 1615 L Street, NW, #1210 Washington, DC 20036	Bulova Technologies, Inc
Daniel Ulmer, 2000 Schafer Street P.O. Box 2657 Bismarck, ND 58502	Fischer Imaging Corp
Mark Valente III, 7055 Leestone Street Springfield, VA 22151	E. Bruce Harrison
Ellen Valentino-Benitez, 12 Francis Street Annapolis, MD 21404	Magnavox Government & Industrial Relations Co
Laura Van Etten, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #875 Washington, DC 20006-4604	Martin Marietta Corp
Van Fleet Metzner & Meredith Corp, 499 S. Capitol Street, SW, #520 Washington, DC 20003	Omni-TECH Medical
Do	Southern California Gas
Do	Southern Maryland Naval Alliance
Do	Vanguard Research, Inc
Do	City of Tacoma, WA
Do	GE Industrial & Power Systems
Do	Simpson Paper Co
Van Ness Feldman & Curtis, P.C., 1050 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20007	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:MetaNetworks)
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Regis Retirement Plan Services)
H. Stewart Van Scoyoc, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee
Do	Coalition to Preserve Self-Insurance
Sophia Stratas Varlas, 1730 K Street, NW, Suite 1005 Washington, DC 20006	CliniCorp, Inc
Vedder Price Kaufman Kammholz & Day, 919 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Assn
Verner Lipfert Bernhard McPherson & Hand, Chtd, 901 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2301	Mennonite Mutual Aid Assn
Patrice Vincent, 1440 New York Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Direct Marketing Assn
Walter D. Vinyard Jr., Vinyard and Associates 555 13th St., NW, #800 East Washington, DC 20004	Venable Baetjer Howard & Civiletti (For:USA Networks)
Ian D. Volner, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	International Union of Electrical Workers
Do	National Club Assn
Kurt Vordran, 1126 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Nuclear Energy Council
VALOR, P.O. Box 6393 Arlington, VA 22206-0393	NEDARORA Project
Kelley Walker, 3050 K Street, NW, Suite 330 Washington, DC 20007	Pacific Lumber Co
WalkerFree Associates, Inc, 1730 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Environmental Transportation Assn, et al.
Do	Alabama Power Co
Do	American Assn of Preferred Provider Organizations
R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc, 601 13th Street, NW, #410 South Washington, DC 20005	Michael D. Walsh
Wallace & Edwards, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Handgun Control, Inc
Anne Marie Walsh, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Airports Council International - North America
Michael d. Walsh, P.O. Box 591 Parishville, NY 13672	Societe Nationale d'Etude et de Construction de Moteurs
Helen Ward, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities
Ann D. Warner, 1220 - 19th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn
Ernest R. Warner Jr., 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	
David L. Warren, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20001	
Kenneth Wasch, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client
Washington & Christian, 805 15th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Government of Sao Tome & Principe
Do	National Fertilizer Co of Nigeria (NAFCON)
Do	Republic of Cameroon
Waterman & Associates, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	American Metalcasting Consortium (AMC)
Margaret L. Webber, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn
Robert K. Weidner, 2300 M Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20037	Envirocare of Utah
Do	National Assn of Counties
Kathleen Weiss, 200 Park Avenue New York, NY 10171	Westvaco Corp
Wexler Group, 1317 F Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Air Conditioning & Refrigeration Institute
Do	American Dental Assn
Do	Fleischman & Walsh
Do	Guardian Industries Corp
Do	OIS Optical Imaging Systems, Inc
David W. Whitehead, 6200 Oak Tree Boulevard Independence, OH 44131	Centerior Energy Corp
Wiley Rein & Fielding, 1776 K Street, NW, 12th Fl. Washington, DC 20006	McGraw, Inc
Do	Mtel
Williams & Jensen, P.C., 1155 21st Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	California Independent Mortgage Brokers Assn
Willkie Farr & Gallagher, 1155 21st Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Hispanic Information & Telecommunications Network
Scott A. Wilson, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Lifschultz Fast Freight, Inc
John P. Winburn, 50 E Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Ewing Kauffman Foundation)
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:National Assn of Urban Critical Access Hospitals)
Winston & Strawn, 1400 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-3502	American Airlines
Do	D.E. Shaw & Co, L.P.
Do	Entergy Corp
Do	Financial Guaranty Insurance Co
Do	Fire Island Assn
Do	Great Northern Insurance Annuities, Inc (GNA Annuities, Inc
Do	GNA Corp
Do	Hearst Corp
Do	Mayflower Contract Services, Inc
Do	McClure Gerard & Neuenchwander, Inc
Do	Newport News Shipbuilding
Do	Corporate Health Care Coalition
Do	Monsanto Co
Do	Schering-Plough Corp
Do	MAGMA Power Co
Winthrop	Lawyers for Civil Justice
Do	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR)
WinCapitol, Inc, 2300 N Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20037	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co
Samuel B. Witt III, 500 Shepherd Street, Suite 200 Winston-Salem, NC 27103	Karsten Manufacturing Co
Terry R. Woodard, One Suffolk Square, Suite 500 Islandia, NY 11722-1543	Neurology Center
William H.L. Woodyard III, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20005	Holme Roberts & Owen (For:Navigators Overseas Missionary Fellowship)
Wunder Diefenderfer Cannon & Thelen, 1615 L St., NW, #550 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Nurse Practitioners in Reproductive Health
Do	Center for Marine Conservation
John R. Wylie, 90 South Cascade Avenue, #1300 Colorado Springs, CO 80903	Nuclear Fuel Services, Inc
Susan Wysocki, 2401 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 350 Washington, DC 20037-1718	
WALAR Group, Inc, P.O. Box 40187 Nashville, TN 37204-0187	
Nina M. Young, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	
Richard A. Zavadowski, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 902 Washington, DC 20036	

QUARTERLY REPORTS*

*All alphanumeric characters and monetary amounts refer to receipts and expenditures on page 2, paragraphs D and E of the Quarterly Report Form.

The following quarterly reports were submitted for the third calendar quarter 1993:

(NOTE.—The form used for reporting is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective headings. This page (Page 1) is designed to supply identifying data, and Page 2 deals with financial data.)

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OFFICE OF RECORDS AND REGISTRATION, 1036 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS, 232 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th

(Mark one square only)

IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

Is this an Amendment?
☐ YES ☐ NO

NOTE on ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

- (i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)
- (ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".
- (b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:
 - (i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.
 - (ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

☐ CHECK IF ADDRESS IS DIFFERENT THAN PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

NOTE on ITEM "B".—Reports by Agents or Employees. An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (a) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (b) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER —State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE on ITEM "C".—(a) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(b) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(c) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have

☐ terminated, place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the specific legislative interests by reciting: (a) Short titles of statutes and bills; (b) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (c) citations of statutes, where known; (d) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (a) description, (b) quantity distributed, (c) date of distribution, (d) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed.)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and, if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out items "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly Report." ♦

STATEMENT OF VERIFICATION

[Omitted in printing]

NOTE on ITEM "D."—(a) IN GENERAL. The term "contribution" includes anything of value. When an organization or individual uses printed or duplicated matter in a campaign attempting to influence legislation, money received by such organization or individual—for such printed or duplicated matter—is a "contribution." "The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution"—§ 302(a) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYER.—(i) In general. Item "D" is designed for the reporting of all receipts from which expenditures are made, or will be made, in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) Receipts of Business Firms and Individuals.—A business firm (or individual) which is subject to the Lobbying Act by reason of expenditures which it makes in attempting to influence legislation—but which has no funds to expend except those which are available in the ordinary course of operating a business not connected in any way with the influencing of legislation—will have no receipts to report, even though it does have expenditures to report.

(iii) Receipts of Multi-purpose Organizations.—Some organizations do not receive any funds which are to be expended solely for the purpose of attempting to influence legislation. Such organizations make such expenditures out of a general fund raised by dues, assessments, or other contributions. The percentage of the general fund which is used for such expenditures indicates the percentage of dues, assessments, or other contributions which may be considered to have been paid for that purpose. Therefore, in reporting receipts, such organizations may specify what that percentage is, and report their dues, assessments, and other contributions on that basis. However, each contributor of \$500 or more is to be listed, regardless of whether the contribution was made solely for legislative purposes.

(c) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE.—(i) In general. In the case of many employees, all receipts will come under Items "D 5" (received for services) and "D 12" (expense money and reimbursements). In the absence of a clear statement to the contrary, it will be presumed that your employer is to reimburse you for all expenditures which you make in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) Employer as Contributor of \$500 or More.—When your contribution from your employer (in the form of salary, fee, etc.) amounts to \$500 or more, it is not necessary to report such contribution under "D 13" and "D 14," since the amount has already been reported under "D 5," and the name of the "employer" has been given under Item "B" on page 1 of this report.

D. RECEIPTS (INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS):

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "NONE" in the space following the number.

Receipts (other than loans)

1. \$.....Dues and assessments
2. \$.....Gifts of money or anything of value
3. \$.....Printed or duplicated matter received as a gift
4. \$.....Receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter
5. \$.....Received for services (e.g., salary, fee, etc.)
6. \$.....TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "5")
7. \$.....Received during previous Quarters of calendar year
8. \$.....TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "6" and "7")

Loans Received—"The term 'contribution' includes a . . . loan . . ."—§ 302(a).

9. \$.....TOTAL now owed to others on account of loans
10. \$.....Borrowed from others during this Quarter
11. \$.....Repaid to others during this Quarter
12. \$....."Expense Money" and Reimbursements received this Quarter.

Contributors of \$500 or More (from Jan. 1 through this Quarter)

13. Have there been such contributors?

Please answer "yes" or "no":

14. In the case of each contributor whose contributions (including loans) during the "period" from January 1 through the last day of this Quarter, total \$500 or more:

Attach hereto plain sheets of paper, approximately the size of this page, tabulate data under the headings "Amount" and "Name and Address of Contributor"; and indicate whether the last day of the period is March 31, June 30, September 30, or December 31. Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	Name and Address of Contributor ("Period" from Jan. 1 through....., 19.....)
\$1,500.00	John Doe, 1621 Blank Bldg., New York, N.Y.
\$1,785.00	The Roe Corporation, 2511 Doe Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
\$3,285.00	TOTAL

NOTE on ITEM "E."—(a) IN GENERAL. "The term 'expenditure' includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure"—§ 302(b) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE. In the case of many employees, all expenditures will come under telephone and telegraph (Item "E 6") and travel, food, lodging, and entertainment (Item "E 7").

E. EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING LOANS) IN CONNECTION WITH LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS:

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "NONE" in the spaces following the number.

Expenditures (other than loans)

1. \$.....Public relations and advertising services
2. \$.....Wages, salaries, fees, commissions (other than Item "1")
3. \$.....Gifts or contributions made during Quarter
4. \$.....Printed or duplicated matter, including distribution cost
5. \$.....Office overhead (rent, supplies, utilities, etc.)
6. \$.....Telephone and telegraph
7. \$.....Travel, food, lodging, and entertainment
8. \$.....All other expenditures
9. \$.....TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "8")
10. \$.....Expended during previous Quarters of calendar year
11. \$.....TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "9" and "10")

Loans Made to Others—"The term 'expenditure' includes a . . . loan . . ."—§ 302(b).

12. \$.....TOTAL now owed to person filing
13. \$.....Lent to others during this Quarter
14. \$.....Repayments received during this Quarter

15. Recipients of Expenditures of \$10 or More

If there were no single expenditures of \$10 or more, please so indicate by using the word "NONE".

In the case of expenditures made during this Quarter by, or on behalf of, the person filing: Attach plain sheets of paper approximately the size of this page and tabulate data as to expenditures under the following heading: "Amount," "Date or Dates," "Name and Address of Recipient," "Purpose." Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	Date or Dates—Name and Address of Recipient—Purpose
\$1,750.00	7-11: Roe Printing Co., 3214 Blank Ave., St. Louis, Mo.—Printing and mailing circulars on the "Marshbanks Bill."
\$2,400.00	7-15, 8-15, 9-15: Britten & Blaten, 3127 Gremlin Bldg., Washington, D.C.—Public relations service at \$800.00 per month.
\$4,150.00	TOTAL

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Ann Hadley vom Eigen, 1828 L Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	American Land Title Assn	3,725.00	
Robert J. Aagre, 1835 12th Street, NW Washington, DC 20009-4421	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers	340.55	
Ande M. Abbott, 2722 Merilee Drive, #360 Fairfax, VA 22031	American Bakers Assn		
Paul C. Abenante, 1350 I Street, NW, #1290 Washington, DC 20005	Spartan Corporation	16,250.00	103.57
Edward L. Abner, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, #306 Arlington, VA 22202	Handgun Control, Inc	13,975.00	
Richard M. Aborn, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	National Stone Assn	4,000.00	500.00
Adele L. Abrams, 1415 Elliot Place, NW Washington, DC 20007	CANAMCO (For:Aerospace Industries Assn of Canada)		
Matthew J. Abrams, 1220 19th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	CANAMCO (For:Canadian Shipowners Assn)		
Do	Oryx Energy Company		
Adrian Acevedo, P.O. Box 2880 Dallas, TX 75221-2880	Flonist's Transworld Delivery Assn	2,000.00	
Elaine Acevedo, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE #403 Washington, DC 20003	CNG Producing Company	2,200.00	878.00
Rodney J. Ackerman, 1450 Poydras Street New Orleans, LA 70112-6000	American Public Power Assn	1,000.00	
Charles A. Acquard, 2301 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037	Ethyl Corporation		
John J. Adams, 2000 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #5000 Washington, DC 20006	Retired Enlisted Assn	2,153.00	1,489.00
John M. Adams, 909 N. Washington Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	UNUM Life Insurance Co		
Kenneth R. Adams, 2211 Congress Street Portland, ME 04122	Food Marketing Institute		
Wayne W. Adams, 501 Park Avenue Belleair, FL 34615	Cohn & Marks (For:Association of American Publishers, Inc)	500.00	
Robert O. Aders, 1750 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Cohn and Marks (For:Direct Marketing Assn)		
Allan Robert Adler, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Cohn and Marks (For:Maclean Hunter Cable TV)		
Do	Southern California Edison Co	6,831.00	5,700.00
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Nintendo of America)		
Terrance M. Adihock, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #450-N Washington, DC 20004	Kendall Square Research Corp	500.00	3.00
Michael B. Adlin, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006		7,271.00	7,271.00
Advanced Display Manufacturers of America, 3050 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20007	American Chiropractic Assn		
Advanced Strategies, One International Place 45th Floor Boston, MA 02110	Arizona State University		
Advertising Mail Marketing Assn, 1333 F Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004-1108	Border Trade Alliance		
Advocacy Group, 1350 I St., NW Suite 680 Washington, DC 20005	Brown & Root, Inc		
Do	City of Tempe		
Do	Florida Board of Regents Foundation, inc		
Do	Georgia Southern University		
Do	Intel Supercomputing Division		
Do	National Fuel & Energy, Inc		
Do	New Mexico State University		
Do	Port of Brownsville, Texas		
Do	Sam Houston State University		
Do	University of Utah	5,651.90	5,651.90
Aerospace Industries Assn of America, Inc, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	DGA International, Inc (For:Zenith Data Systems)		
Samuel J. Agger, 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	National Food Processors Assn	4,000.00	100.00
John Aguirre, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Baxter	2,000.00	280.00
David J. Aho, 1667 K Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	American Petroleum Institute	35.52	
Patricia W. Aho, P.O. Box 2739 Augusta, ME 04338	Steel Tank Institute		
Judith A. Ahrens, 326 19th Street, NE Cedar Rapids, IA 52402	Pinnacle West Capital Corp	15,000.00	81.53
Robert S. Aiken, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20006	Sandoz Corp		325.00
Herbert Allen Ailsworth, 1615 L Street, NW, #420 Washington, DC 20036		13,500.00	
Air Conditioning Contractors of America, 1513 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		147,793.00	118,786.00
Air Products & Chemicals, Inc, 805 15th Street, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20005		800.00	15.00
Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn, 421 Aviation Way Frederick, MD 21701	Sears Roebuck & Co		19,514.25
Randolph H. Aires, 633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	A.E. Staley Manufacturing		
Airports Council International - North America, 1220 19th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Air Transport Assn of America	16.75	
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, L.L.P., 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Allegheny River Mining Company	9,670.00	171.00
Do	Alliance of American Insurers	752.25	16.00
Do	Amerada Hess Corp	300.00	
Do	American Airlines, Inc	3,540.00	57.00
Do	American Financial Corp	16.75	
Do	American Share Insurance Corporation	2,300.00	38.00
Do	American Telephone & Telegraph Co	3,770.00	57.00
Do	Bank of America National Trust & Savings Assn	590.00	
Do	Bank of Nova Scotia		
Do	Bechtel Group, Inc	16.75	
Do	Bolt Beranek & Newman, Inc		
Do	Chiquita Brands International, Inc		
Do	City of Houston	1,060.00	19.00
Do	Columbia Government Trade Bureau (PROEXPO)	3,160.00	57.00
Do	Consumers Power Company		
Do	Cotton Bowl Athletic Assn	500.00	
Do	Disabled American Veterans		
Do	Dow Jones & Co	4,720.00	76.00
Do	Fremont Group, Inc	16.75	
Do	Fujitsu America, Inc		
Do	Government of Norway	7,680.00	133.00
Do	W. R. Grace & Co	230.00	
Do	Guardian Industries		
Do	GTECH Corp	5,430.00	95.00
Do	International Bank of Commerce	100.00	
Do	Kendall Square Research Corp	370.00	
Do	Ladies Professional Golf Assn		
Do	Loral Corp		
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc	100.00	
Do	Management Compensation Group		
Do	Mazda (North America), Inc		
Do	Medical Protective Company	810.00	
Do	Mesa, Inc	250.00	
Do	Metropolitan Transit Authority of Harris County	7,715.00	144.00
Do	Miller Brewing Company		
Do	Money Store		
Do	Morgan Stanley & Co, Inc	1,795.00	19.00
Do	Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Corp	16.75	
Do	Mortgage Insurance Cos of America	1,875.00	19.00
Do	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	1,940.00	38.00
Do	MAXXAM, Inc	13,400.00	247.00
Do	MCA, Inc		
Do	National Football League		
Do	Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company	234.50	
Do	Natural Gas Vehicle Coalition	10,550.00	190.00
Do	New York Public Library	480.00	
Do	Ongard Systems, Inc		
Do	Riggs National Corp	110.00	
Do	Robert Mondavi Winery	2,700.00	38.00
Do	Ryder System, Inc	1,025.00	19.00
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc		
Do	Southern California Edison Co	615.00	
Do	Time-Warner	115.00	
Do	Upjohn Company		
Do	USA Group, Inc	8,400.00	132.00
Do	Warner-Lambert Co		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	665.00	
Do	International Fed of Professional & Technical Engineers		
Do	Albers & Company (For:May Department Stores Co)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc (For:ARCTICO, Inc)		
Julia L. Akins, 8701 Georgia Ave., #701 Silver Spring, MD 20910			
William E. Albers, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036-1207			
James J. Albertine, 1899 L Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Beckman Instruments, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises (For: Castle-Harlan Delaware Management, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Council for Superfund Fairness, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Exide Electronics)	6,300.00	210.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises (For: Fruit of the Loom, Inc.)	10,500.00	455.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce)	1,155.00	53.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Itron and Amplus Partners)	2,772.00	45.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Jerome Levy Economics Institute)	3,300.00	105.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Lenox, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: National Bareboat Charter Assn)	1,260.00	53.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Polaris Industries, LP)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Potomac Capital Investment Corp)	1,750.00	53.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Primark Corp (TASC))	1,167.00	53.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: SMS Corp)	5,250.00	525.00
John M. Albertine, 1889 L Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: ARCTICO, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: AST Research, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Beckman Instruments, Inc.)		72.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Castle Harlan, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Council for Superfund Fairness, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Exide Electronics)	11,700.00	390.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Fruit of the Loom, Inc.)	19,500.00	845.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises (For: Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce)	2,145.00	98.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Itron and Amplus Partners)	2,166.00	82.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Jerome Levy Economics Institute)	3,300.00	230.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Lenox, Inc.)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: National Bareboat Charter Assn)	2,340.00	97.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Polaris Industries, LP)		
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Potomac Capital Investment Corp)	2,145.00	92.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: Primark Corp)	2,166.00	97.00
Do	Albertine Enterprises, Inc. (For: SMS Corp)	9,750.00	975.00
Albertine Enterprises, Inc., 1889 L Street, NW, # 500 Washington, DC 20036	ARCTICO, Inc.		
Do	AST Research, Inc.		
Do	Beckman Instruments, Inc.		
Do	Castle Harlan, Inc.		
Do	Council for Superfund Fairness, Inc.		
Do	Exide Electronics	18,000.00	600.00
Do	Fruit of the Loom, Inc.	30,000.00	1,300.00
Do	Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce	3,300.00	150.00
Do	ITRON and AMR	3,333.00	125.00
Do	Jerome Levy Economics Institute	10,000.00	300.00
Do	Lenox, Inc.		
Do	National Bareboat Charter Assn	2,000.00	150.00
Do	Polaris Industries, LP		
Do	Potomac Capital Investment Corp	4,999.98	150.00
Do	Primark Corp		
Do	SMS Corp	15,000.00	1,500.00
Virginia S. Albrecht, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Beveridge & Diamond, P.C. (For: Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, Inc.)	650.00	
Alcalde Rousselot & Fay, 2111 Wilson Blvd., #850 Arlington, VA 22201	Alliance for Responsible CFC Policy	15,000.00	
Do	Alliance for Sound Atmospheric Policy	3,000.00	
Do	Associated Industries of Florida Property & Casualty Trust	7,500.00	
Do	Cargill Fertilizer, Inc.	7,500.00	
Do	Center for Applied Engineering	3,750.00	
Do	City of Jacksonville	15,600.00	
Do	City of Virginia Beach	15,000.00	
Do	Computer Sciences Corp	3,000.00	
Do	Concrete Technology Corp	3,000.00	
Do	Consolidated Freightways	12,750.00	
Do	Jack Eckerd Corp	3,000.00	
Do	Hillsborough County	7,500.00	
Do	Home Shopping Network	27,000.00	
Do	International Council of Cruise Lines	31,500.00	
Do	Jim Walter Corp	3,000.00	
Do	Marin County	6,750.00	
Do	Metropolitan Dade County - Seaport Department	6,750.00	
Do	National Refrigerants, Inc.	7,500.00	
Do	Palm Beach County	19,500.00	
Do	Port of Jacksonville	6,600.00	
Do	Port of Palm Beach	15,000.00	
Do	Regular Common Carrier Conference	7,500.00	
Do	Research to Prevent Blindness	6,250.00	
Do	State Road 7 Association, Inc.	16,800.00	
Do	Summa Corp	12,000.00	
Do	Tampa Electric Co	6,000.00	
Do	Tampa Port Authority	6,000.00	
Do	Walter Industries	5,312.50	
Do	Washington Workshops	4,500.00	
Margaret Alessi, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	2,250.00	69.24
Arthur J. Alexander, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Japan Economic Institute of America	500.00	
Donna K. Alexander, 1875 Connecticut Ave. NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20009	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: Federal Employees Tax Group)		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: Feibel-Garek)		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: Groom & Nordberg (for: Chevron))		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: Mirage Resorts, Inc.)		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: National Assn of Chem Recyclers (NACRI))		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For: Physicians Insurers Assn of America)		
Fay S. Alexander, 4155 F Sullyfield Circle Chantilly, VA 22021	Taxpayers Education Lobby, Inc.	21,000.00	
Ronald A. Albee, P.O. Box 9205 South Burlington, VT 05407	Arter & Hadden		
Pamela J. Allen, 3601 Vincennes Road P.O. Box 68700 Indianapolis, IN 46268	National Assn of Mutual Insurance Companies	2,650.00	116.33
Alliance of American Insurers, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036			172,994.13
Alliance of Nonprofit Mailers, 2001 S Street, NW, #301 Washington, DC 20009		2,447.31	11,098.57
Robert F. Allnutt, 1100 15th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	1,000.00	
David W. Almy, 1200 18th Street, NW Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	National Business Aircraft Assn	1,000.00	42.00
Michael J. Altier, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	National Retail Federation	5,000.00	29.00
Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016			5,000.00
America for Worldwide Balanced Trade Agreement, Inc., 2236 Java Plum Avenue Sarasota, FL 34232			35.00
American Academy of Family Physicians, 8880 Ward Parkway Kansas City, MO 64114		46,557.74	46,557.74
American Advertising Federation, 1101 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005			
American Amusement Machine Assn, 450 East Higgins Road Elk Grove Village, IL 60007-1417		42,261.00	42,261.00
American Apparel Manufacturers Assn, Inc., 2500 Wilson Blvd., #301 Arlington, VA 22201			6,164.00
American Assn for Respiratory Care, 11030 Ables Lane Dallas, TX 75229		44,718.00	44,719.31
American Assn of Airport Executives, 4212 King Street Alexandria, VA 22302			44,285.89
American Assn of Boomers (AAB), 2621 W. Airport Frwy, #101 Irving, TX 75062			
American Assn of Meat Processors, P.O. Box 269 Elizabethtown, PA 17022		74.45	50.00
American Assn of University Women, 1111 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			369.92
American Automobile Assn, 1440 New York Ave., NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20005			
American Automobile Manufacturers Assn, 7430 Second Avenue, #300 Detroit, MI 48202			
American Bankers Assn, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036		178,771.11	178,771.11
American Cemetery Assn, 5201 Leesburg Pike, #1111 Falls Church, VA 22041		170,656.92	170,656.92
American Council for Capital Formation, 1750 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006			5,199.00
American Council of Life Insurance, Inc., 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004		3,087.00	43,149.00
American Farm Bureau Federation, 225 Touthy Ave Park Ridge, IL 60068		43,149.00	43,149.00
American Feed Industry Assn, 1501 Wilson Blvd., #1100 Arlington, VA 22209		171,633.00	181,173.00
American Fiber Manufacturers Assn, Inc., 1150 17th St., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20036		3,240.00	3,240.00
American Financial Services Assn, 919 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			1,000.00

Organization or Individual Filings	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
American Frozen Food Institute, 1764 Old Meadow Rd., #350 Mclean, VA 22102		11,500.00	11,500.00
American Grain Inspection Institute, 1629 K Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006		2,104.02	1,473.40
American Health Care Assn, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005		364,400.00	12,368.67
American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee, Inc, 1730 K Street, NW, #1005 Washington, DC 20006			
American Home Products Corp, 1726 M Street, NW, Suite 1001 Washington, DC 20036			7,798.50
American Hotel & Motel Assn, 1201 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005		23,343.44	12,548.06
American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1000 16th Street, NW, #511 Washington, DC 20036			3,443.00
American Insurance Assn, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036		7,366.00	7,366.00
American International Automobile Dealers Assn, 99 Canal Center Plaza, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314		270,708.00	146,502.00
American International Group, Inc, 70 Pine Street New York, NY 10270			63,950.00
American Israel Public Affairs Comm, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001		129,431.00	178,746.46
American Land Title Assn, 1828 L St., NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036			3,945.00
American League for Exports & Security Assistance, Inc, 122 C St., NW, #740 Washington, DC 20001			11,214.64
American Library Assn, 50 E. Huron St. Chicago, IL 60611		1,251.00	11,909.00
American Life League, Inc, Box 1350 Stafford, VA 22655		25,000.00	1,387.54
American Maltin Barley Assn, Inc, 735 North Water Street, #508 Milwaukee, WI 53202		11,111.60	3,487.86
American Meat Institute, 1700 N. Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209		292,833.14	38,381.38
American Medical Association, 515 North State Street Chicago, IL 60610			144,069.72
American Methanol Institute, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006		25,200.00	24,976.00
American Motorcyclist Assn, P.O. Box 6114 Westerville, OH 43081		23,137.48	23,137.48
American Movers Conference, 1611 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314			8,982.00
American Nuclear Energy Council, 410 1st St., SE Washington, DC 20003			114,025.86
American Nurses' Assn, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571		110,069.06	110,069.06
American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc, 1383 Piccard Drive P.O. Box 1725 Rockville, MD 20849-1725		9,776.95	9,776.95
American Optometric Assn, 1505 Prince Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314			32,917.00
American Orthotic and Prosthetic Assn, 1650 King Street, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314-1885		250,000.00	405,954.26
American Petroleum Institute, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005		11,399.08	382,009.46
American Physical Therapy Assn, 1111 N. Fairfax St. Alexandria, VA 22314			11,399.08
American Podiatric Medical Assn, 9312 Old Georgetown Road Bethesda, MD 20814-1621			23,392.61
American Portland Cement Alliance, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005			65,832.69
American Public Transit Assn, 1201 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005		49,653.00	49,653.00
American Pulpwood Assn, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005			
American Re-Insurance Co, 555 College Road, East Princeton, NJ 08543			12,000.00
American Retreaders' Assn, P.O. Box 37203 Louisville, KY 40233		200.00	200.00
American Short Line Railroad Assn, 1120 G Street NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005			35.00
American Soc for Clinical Laboratory Science, 7910 Woodmont Avenue, #1301 Bethesda, MD 20814			13,696.99
American Soc of Anesthesiologists, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW, #606 Washington, DC 20005			44,199.06
American Society of Clinical Oncology, 750 17th Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005			
American Trucking Assns, Inc, 430 First Street Washington, DC 20003		13,000.00	93,375.00
American Tunaboat Assn, 1 Tuna Lane San Diego, CA 92101			
American Veterans of World War II, Korea & Vietnam (AMVETS), 4647 Forbes Boulevard Lanham, MD 20706			20,400.00
American Veterinary Medical Assn, 1101 Vermont Ave. NW Suite 710 Washington, DC 20005-3621		10,741.40	241.40
American Wind Energy Assn, 777 North Capitol St. NE, #805 Washington D.C., DC 20002		68,375.00	48,065.65
Americans for the High Frontier, 2800 Shirlington Road, #405A Arlington, VA 22206		11,920.79	31,912.46
Americans for Immigration Control, Inc, 725 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002		13,042.50	13,042.50
Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights, 2530 San Pablo Ave., #J Berkeley, CA 94702		2,739.00	2,739.00
Amie Amiot, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20815	American Speech Language Hearing Assn		
Morris J. Amity, P.C., 444 N. Capitol Street, NW, #712 Washington, DC 20001	American Assn of Pharmaceutical Distributors	5,000.00	
Do	Kollmorgen Corp	10,000.00	
Do	Northrop Corp	9,000.00	
Do	Rand Eye Institute	5,000.00	
Do	Tenneco, Inc	8,000.00	
Do	Thompson Medical Co	3,000.00	
Anadarko Petroleum Corp, 17001 Northchase Drive Houston, TX 77251-1330			
Toney Anaya, 200 W. DeVargas, #7 Santa Fe, NM 87501		67,500.00	15,578.58
Jeffrey M. Anders, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005		4,000.00	42.00
Bette B. Anderson, 1020 19th St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn		
Byron Anderson, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #460(N) Washington, DC 20004-2505	KCI (Kelly, Anderson & Associates) (For-U.S. Banknote Corp)		
Carl A. Anderson, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004	New York Life Insurance Company	300.00	35.43
Cynthia C. Anderson, 750 17th Street, NW 4th Floor Washington, DC 20006-4607	Knights of Columbus	550.00	
David J. Anderson, One KeyCorp Plaza P.O. Box 88 Albany, NY 12201-0088	Enron Corp	3,000.00	
Debra J. Anderson, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #900 Washington, DC 20004	KeyCorp	1,730.77	510.00
Frederick M. Anderson, Box 2000 - 18 White Deer, PA 17887	Reinsurance Assn of America		
John A. Anderson, 1333 H St., NW, The West Tower, 8th Flr Washington, DC 20005			
Margo L. Anderson, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 901 Arlington, VA 22202	Electricity Consumers Resource Council (ELCON)		
Philmore B. Anderson, 412 1st Street, SE, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20003	Alliant Techsystems, Inc	4,061.50	
Steven Anderson, 1764 Old Meadow Rd, #350 Mclean, VA 22102	Independent Insurance Agents of America	11,369.00	
Toby J. Anderson, 601 Thirteenth Street, NW, #320 South Washington, DC 20005	American Frozen Food Institute	6,600.00	
Elaine Andrews, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2599	National Independent Energy Producers	4,293.40	
William Robert Andrews, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	American Council of Life Insurance	500.00	
Andrews & Kurth, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	Rockwell International Corp	3,000.00	1,268.07
Do	Association of Battery Recyclers	276.50	276.50
Do	GNB, Inc		
Do	RSR Corporation		21,295.66
Animal Health Institute, 501 Wythe Street P.O. Box 1417-D50 Alexandria, VA 22313-1480	Price Waterhouse (For-U.S. Multinational Corp Tax Policy)	600.00	8.00
Timothy Anson, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Michigan National Corp		
Ernest Antczak, 27777 Inkster Road Farmington Hills, MI 48334	Apartment & Office Building Assn		
Apartment & Office Building Assn of Metropolitan Washington, 1050 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Southwest Gas Corporation		
James J. Apperson, P.O. Box 52075 Phoenix, AZ 85072	National Multi Housing Council	2,300.00	
James N. Arbury, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036	Retired Officers Assn	9,184.00	
Paul W. Arcan, 201 N. Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	American Automobile Assn		
John Archer, 1440 New York Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	693.00	
William T. Archey, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062-2000	Occidental Chemical Corp		
R. M. Julie Archuleta, 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, 3rd Fl, Washington, DC 20005	American Public Transit Assn	1,695.00	
Carolyn Arczynski, 1201 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Amusement Machine Assn		365.82
Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036-5339	American Assn of Bioanalysts	31,374.86	2,696.91
Do	American Assn of Occupational Health Nurses	21,053.87	1,016.26
Do	Jean-Bertrand Anstide	122,500.00	684.68
Do	Central States SE & SW Areas Health Welfare & Pension Funds	49,886.77	166.58
Do	Children With Attention Deficit Disorder (CHADD)		
Do	Children's Health Fund		33.59
Do	Guardian Life Insurance Co of America	42,166.13	93.71
Do	Independent Federation of Flight Attendants	1,600.00	70.00
Do	International Society for Clinical Laboratory Technology	3,015.69	2.69
Do	Mercy Hospital of Des Moines, Iowa	5,653.00	327.82
Do	National Parking Association		
Do	Navajo Nation		
Do	SO-PAK-CO, Inc		320.90
Do	Video Software Dealers Assn	1,132.74	10.90
John G. Arlington, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn	425.00	800.00
David C. Armijo, 401 Coors Boulevard, NW Albuquerque, NM 87121	Westland Development Co, Inc		1,207.67
Angela J. Arnett, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance	1,000.00	
Luther Glenn Arnette, 125 N. West Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2754	Fleet Reserve Assn		
Carl F. Arnold, P.O. Drawer 7170 Mclean, VA 22106	Ashland Oil Co	240.00	
Do	Corporate Property Investors	1,666.67	
Arnold & Porter, 1200 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Institute of Certified Public Accountants		
Do	American Red Cross		
Do	ACPC		
Do	AFL-CIO		
Do	Building and Construction Trade Department, AFL-CIO	4,382.50	63.55
Do	Caribbean International News Corporation		
Do	City of Reading	3,242.28	236.48
Do	Commissioner, Dept of Telecommunications City of New York		
Do	Computer Sciences Corp		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Continental Corporation		
Do	Federated Investors		
Do	General Cable Corp		
Do	General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists	990.00	17.94
Do	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc		
Do	Hopi Indian Tribe		
Do	Michigan National Corp (for: Beverly Hills Fed Savings Bank)		
Do	Montefiore Medical Center		
Do	National Assn of Telecommunications Officers & Advisors	477.00	
Do	National Coordinating Comm for Multiemployer Plans	8,750.00	182.53
Do	Philip Morris, Inc	1,064.00	
Do	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc		
Do	Republic of Venezuela		
Do	Sacramento Municipal Utility District		
Do	Scripps Research Institute	7,395.00	260.06
Do	Stanford University	363.39	
Do	State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Co	109,848.75	1,353.00
Do	Survival Technology, Inc		
Do	Tambrands, Inc		
Do	Unilever United States, Inc		
Do	American Logistics Infrastructure Improvement Consortium		
Do	FMC Corp	4,000.00	436.95
Do	Guam Airport Authority	2,000.00	135.43
Do	Technology for Communications, International		
Do	IBM Corp	882.00	401.00
Do	American Nurses Assn	8,871.30	213.89
Do	Central & South West Corp	540.00	822.00
Do	Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives		
Do	Citicorp	2,880.00	2,406.25
Do	Electronic Data Systems Corp		
Do	Girling Health Care	400.00	495.00
Do	International Hardwood Products Assn		
Do	Mesa Petroleum	2,100.00	2,271.25
Do	National Assn of Broadcasters	3,150.00	2,427.50
Do	Nintendo of America	137.50	
Do	South West Florida Enterprises, Inc		
Do	Tesoro Petroleum	1,300.00	1,608.75
Do	United Services Automobile Assn	1,075.00	923.75
Do	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	7,425.00	388.43
Do			
Do		2,500.00	
Do		1,500.00	
Do			16,500.00
Do		18,051.00	18,051.00
Do		199,716.69	199,706.69
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Do		4,500.00	4,500.00
Do			1,204.00
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Do			2,000.00
Do		11,028.75	11,028.75
Do		14,000.00	391.70
Do	American Health Care Assn		
Do	American Tunaboat Assn		
Do	Fujitsu, Ltd		
Do	Seiko Epson		1,212.00
Do			1,500.00
Do	American Meat Institute	2,000.00	
Do	National Fed of Independent Business	3,401.00	200.00
Do	American Assn of Meat Processors		
Do	Farm Credit Council		
Do	American Retirees Assn	1,250.00	
Do	US Public Interest Research Group	6,730.71	
Do	Overseas Education Assn, Inc	1,127.12	
Do	Union Pacific Corporation	7,850.00	1,780.00
Do			
Do	Mil Davie Inc		
Do	National Independent Energy Producers	6,750.85	
Do	American Maritime Congress		
Do	AEC Forest Products	720.00	12.50
Do	Center for Excellence in Education	875.00	
Do	City Utilities of Springfield	240.00	44.01
Do	Clark Public Utilities		
Do	Colorado River Energy Distributors		
Do	Englehard Corp	2,062.50	
Do	Gerber Products Company	530.00	
Do	Heart of America Northwest	1,725.00	57.49
Do	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc		
Do	Northeast Public Power Assn		
Do	Pennsylvania Power & Light	1,575.00	
Do	Sacramento Municipal Utility District		
Do	Southern California Public Power Authority		
Do	State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Co		
Do	Tennessee Valley Public Power Assn	320.00	21.45
Do			1,036.57
Do	Western-Southern Life Insurance Co		
Do	Contact Lens Institute		
Do	Genentech		
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Holding, Inc		
Do	Municipal Finance Industry Assn		
Do	John Nuveen & Co, Inc		
Do	Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Inc	650.00	1,291.75
Do	International Hardwood Products Assn (IHPA)	4,550.00	723.28
Do	CSX Transportation		
Do	International Foundation for the Mentally III		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:American Cyanamid Co, Inc)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:Blue Cross of Western Pennsylvania)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:Case Management Society of America)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:Natural Gas Vehicles Coalition)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)		
Do	American Cyanamid Company	15,000.00	
Do	Blue Cross of Western Pennsylvania	22,500.00	
Do	Case Management Society of America	18,000.00	
Do	Natural Disaster Coalition	15,000.00	
Do	Natural Gas Vehicles Coalition		
Do	Oralco Management Services	30,000.00	
Do	Utilities Telecommunication Council	4,125.00	
Do	UNISYS Corp		
Do	Air Line Pilots Assn	12,500.00	582.30
Do	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO	7,830.90	
Do	Association for Manufacturing Technologies	20,480.00	236.85
Do	BrightStar Group Limited		
Do	Computer & Business Equipment Manufacturers Assn	14,270.00	180.70
Do	Elken Metals Co		
Do	Ferro-Alloys Assn	118,547.21	667.72
Wayne Army & Associates, Inc, 600 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #1010 Washington, DC 20037			
Do			
Do			
Thomas M. Arrasmith, 1301 K Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006			
Deborah Arrindell, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571			
Arter & Hadden, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006			
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Chad Asarch, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001			
Asian Pacific Economic Educational Cultural Organization, P.O. Box 891 Manila, Philippines			
Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209			
Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc, 1090 Vermont Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005			
Associated General Contractors of America, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006			
Association of American Publishers, 1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009-1148			
Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building 50 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20001			
Association of American Veterinary Medical Colleges, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005			
Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc, 1320 19th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036			
Association of Maximum Service Television, Inc, 1400 16th Street, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20036			
Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K St., NW Washington, DC 20006			
Association of State and Territorial Health Officials, 415 Second Street, NE, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20002			
Association of Trial Lawyers of America, 1050 31st St., NW Washington, DC 20007			
Bob Asztalos, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Richard C. Atchison, 1377 Camino Teresa Solana Beach, CA 92101			
Victor Alyeh & Co, 519 SW Park St., #208 Portland, OR 97205			
Do			
Atlantic Richfield Co, 515 South Flower Street Los Angeles, CA 90071			
Do			
Deborah Marie Atwood, 1700 N. Moore St. Arlington, VA 22209			
Do			
Leslie Aubin, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024			
Do			
John J. Auciello, P.O. Box 265 Elizabethtown, PA 17022			
Kenneth E. Auer, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001			
Do			
Frank W. Ault, 2009 N. 14th Street, #300 Arlington, VA 22201			
Do			
Anna Aurilio, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20003			
Do			
Ronald R. Austin, 1201 16th Street, NW, #210 Washington, DC 20036			
Do			
Susan M. Auther, 555 Thirteenth Street, NW, #450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004			
Do			
Avon Products, Inc, 9 West 57th St. New York, NY 10019			
Do			
Michael G. Ayre, P.O. Box 130 Lewis P.Q. Canada G5V 6N7			
Do			
Merribel Symington Ayres, 601 Thirteenth Street, NW, #320 South Washington, DC 20005			
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APCO Associates, Inc, 1155 21st St., NW Washington, DC 20036			
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Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Mickey Leland National Urban Air Toxics Research Center		183.32
Do	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Yemen		18.75
Do	Rhone-Poulenc, Inc.		592.67
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp.	13,254.00	8.00
Do	Zinc Corporation of America		
Baker & Hostetler, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Alexander & Alexander Services, Inc.	750.00	750.00
Do	American Football Coaches Assn Retirement Trust	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	American Resort & Development Assn	3,000.00	3,000.00
Do	California Independent Casualty Companies of America	6,000.00	6,000.00
Do	Canadian Sugar Institute		
Do	Chubb Corporation	3,612.49	3,612.49
Do	Cleveland Clinic Foundation		
Do	Cominco, Ltd.		
Do	Corroon & Black Corp.	750.00	750.00
Do	Edison Electric Institute	5,491.88	5,491.88
Do	Financial Holding Corp.	2,000.00	2,000.00
Do	Fireman's Fund Insurance Co.	14,485.46	14,485.46
Do	Flexi-Van Leasing/Pacific Holding Company	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	Hyatt Corp.		
Do	Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc.	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	Johnson & Higgins	750.00	750.00
Do	Marsh & McLennan Companies	750.00	750.00
Do	Mitsui & Co (U.S.A.), Inc.	82.50	82.50
Do	National Assn of Casualty & Surety Agents	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	National Assn of Insurance Brokers, Inc.	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	National Assn of Professional Insurance Agents	5,000.00	5,000.00
Do	North American Reinsurance	2,500.00	2,500.00
Do	Rollins Burdick Hunter	750.00	750.00
Do	Sedgwick James, Inc.	750.00	750.00
Do	St. Paul Fire & Marine		
Do	Travelers Insurance Co.	6,000.00	6,000.00
Do	United Fidelity Life Insurance	2,000.00	2,000.00
Do	Vaulted Aboveground Storage Tanks Assn	18,853.82	18,853.82
Do	J. M. Huber Corp.		
H. R. Balikov, 333 Thornall St. Edison, NJ 08818	National Soft Drink Assn	562.50	
William L. Ball III, 1101 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp.	3,000.00	5,211.28
William Lewis Ball, 1660 L Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036	City of Bellevue (Washington)	5,761.19	493.81
Ball Janik & Novack, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1035 Washington, DC 20004	City of Portland, OR	21,012.53	2,245.47
Do	City University	17,685.00	3,289.66
Do	Clackamas County	9,515.50	1,432.36
Do	CPAFB (Committee to Preserve the American Family Business)	15,000.00	1,552.80
Do	Greenbrier Leasing, Inc.	49,377.00	4,429.46
Do	Harsch Investment Corporation		338.71
Do	Mt. Hood Meadows Oregon, Ltd.		
Do	Northwest Industrial Gas Users		
Do	Northwest Marine Iron Works		
Do	Northwest Woodland Owners Council	16,000.00	3,709.08
Do	Oregon Department of State Lands	10,500.00	1,454.51
Do	Oregon Department of Transportation	23,082.64	2,180.56
Do	Oregon Graduate Institute of Science & Technology	2,689.50	515.14
Do	Oregon Museum of Science and Industry	632.00	
Do	Oregon Partnership for Metals Research	6,000.00	345.06
Do	Portland Community College	6,000.00	789.24
Do	Schnitzer Steel Industries	5,903.00	756.94
Do	American Gas Assn	2,500.00	
Do	Northrop Corp.		
Michael Baly III, 1515 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, VA 22209	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc.		654.03
Balzano Associates, 1730 North Lynn Street Arlington, VA 22209	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For Arab Republic of Egypt)	3,000.00	250.35
Bank of Boston Corporation, 100 Federal St. Boston, MA 02110	Bannerman and Associates, Inc (For Beirut University College)	1,000.00	32.00
Kathryn Bannan, 1300 I Street, NW, #520-W Washington, DC 20005-3314	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For Embassy of El Salvador)	500.00	
M. Graeme Bannerman, 888 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For Government of the United Arab Emirates)	2,500.00	70.00
Do	NAC Re Corp.		300.00
Do	Martin Marietta Corp.	1,540.00	
Martha G. Bannerman, One Greenwich Plaza P.O. Box 2568 Greenwich, CT 06836-2568	National Assn for Uniformed Services	997.50	
Linda W. Banton, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Financial Services Council	5,250.00	
James W. Bapple III, 5535 Hampstead Way Springfield, VA 22151	Boeing Company	2,673.55	297.98
Samuel J. Baptista, 1225 19th St., NW, #410 Washington, DC 20036	Portland General Electric		
Emory W. Baragar, 1700 N. Moore St., #2120 Rosslyn, VA 22209	Public Securities Assn	12,500.00	195.59
Gary C. Barbour, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	Southwestern Bell Corp, Inc.	15,000.00	348.45
Betsy F. Barclay, 1445 New York Avenue, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20005	National Parks & Conservation Assn	98.75	10.00
M. Camille Bares, 1667 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Fiber Manufacturers Assn, Inc.		
Donald P. Barger, 20 Ridgeway Road Norris, TN 37828	Warner-Lambert Company		
Robert H. Barker, 1150 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Florida Power & Light Co.		
G. Denise Barksdale, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Potomac Electric Power Company		
Thomas W. Barlow, P.O. Box 14000 Juno Beach, FL 33408	National Rifle Assn	8,705.00	170.35
Iraline G. Barnes, 1900 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20068	National Assn for Uniformed Services	999.99	
Mark Barnes, 1200 G Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	Aviation Management Associates (For IBM)	604.09	
Sharon W. Barnes, 5535 Hampstead Way Springfield, VA 22151-4094	Aviation Management Associates (For Megapulse, Inc)		
Larry P. Barnett, 8752 Center Road Springfield, VA 22152	Aviation Management Associates (For Wilcox, Inc)	723.24	
Do	Citibank, NA	5,245.00	110.00
Do	American Petroleum Institute		
Barnett & Siron, PC, 2000 M Street, NW, Suite 740 Washington, DC 20036	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives		
Eugene M. Barr, Associated Petroleum Industries of PA P.O. Box 925 Harrisburg, PA 17108	Morgan Stanley & Co, Inc.	900.00	
Terry N. Barr, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	Fleetwood Enterprises, Inc.		
David J. Barrett, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 955 Washington, DC 20004	Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority	2,037.50	1,340.00
David M. Barrett, 2550 M Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20037	General Electric Co.	4,500.00	
Do	AAI Corp.	5,837.50	
Robert W. Barrie, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Southwestern Bell Corp.	15,000.00	10.00
Albert P. Barry, 2011 Crystal Drive, #107 Arlington, VA 22202	Pennsylvania Power & Light Co.	500.00	426.00
Thomas M. Barry, 1667 K Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20006	Conference of State Bank Supervisors	1,375.00	
Linda Curry Bartholomew, 2 North 9th Street Allentown, PA 18101	Kraft General Foods, Inc.		
Doyle C. Bartlett, 1015 18th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	National Stone Assn	4,000.00	500.00
Linda L. Bartlett, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Breast Cancer Coalition	10,375.00	286.52
Robert G. Bartlett, 1415 Elliot Place, NW Washington, DC 20007	Family Violence Prevention Fund	575.00	91.38
Bass and Howes, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, #801 Washington, DC 20009	American Public Transit Assn	1,425.00	
Do	Fertilizer Institute	9,000.00	1,348.46
Robert W. Batchelder, 1201 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association	1,750.00	
Diane Bateman, 501 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc.	2,700.00	
Christopher M. Bates, 1325 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	ITT Defense & Electronics	1,000.00	50.00
Douglas P. Bates, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2599	Planned Parenthood Federation of America	312.33	
Robin Battaglioli, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #3000 Arlington, VA 22209	American Financial Services Assn	250.00	
Ellen Battistelli, 2010 Massachusetts Ave., NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Family Research Council	1,481.00	
Lana R. Batts, 919 18th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For Beirut University College)	500.00	22.50
Gary Lee Bauer, 700 13th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For Government of the United Arab Emirates)		
Patricia Bauer Carlen, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For Government of Egypt)	500.00	80.00
Do	National Burglar & Fire Alarm Assn	100.00	
Hobart Bauhan, 7101 Wisconsin Avenue, #1390 Bethesda, MD 20814	Kansas City Power & Light Company, et al.	18,615.00	5,927.45
Barbara Bauman, 1800 K Street, NW, #1018 Washington, DC 20006	National Pest Control Assn		
Gregory J. Baumann, 8100 Oak Street Dunn Loring, VA 22027	Associated Specialty Contractors	2,000.00	2,000.00
James R. Baxter, 3517 Laurelwood Way Annandale, VA 22003	Pennzoil Company	350.00	
Tammy L. Baxter, 1155 15th Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	Teddyne Industries, Inc.	144.00	
Carl T. Bayer, 2111 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1100 Arlington, VA 22201	United Technologies Corp.	32,400.00	
Judith Bayer, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	Citicorp	9,000.00	275.00
Bayh Connaughton Fensterheim & Malone, PC, 1350 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Cook Group	2,513.62	325.00
Do	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons	3,698.30	225.00
Do	Lender's Coalition	10,000.00	325.00
Do	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1,000.00	150.00
Do	National Soft Drink Assn		
Do	Pennsylvania Savings Assn Insurance Corp	1,200.00	110.00
Do	PIE Mutual Insurance Co		
Do	Real Estate Capital Recovery Assn	6,000.00	
Do	SPI		
Do	TENNECO	32,221.87	350.00
Bayless Boland Madigan & Barrett, Inc, 1072 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Alyeska Pipeline Service Company	320.00	42.00
Do	Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S.	750.00	22.50
Do	Southwest Airlines	200.00	
Do	Southwestern Bell Corp	1,025.00	
Do	Stewart & Stevenson Services, Inc	300.00	
Do	United Video, Inc	20,625.00	4,202.00
Kim Koonz Bayliss, 317 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Big Brothers & Big Sisters of America		1,182.07
Beacon Consulting Group, Inc, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002-5703	Cummins-Alison Corp	2,600.00	24.00
Do	Museum of Science & Industry	5,500.00	223.76
Do	Mystic Seaport Museum	9,000.00	238.63
Do	National Coalition for Volunteer Protection		57.50
Do	National Crime Prevention Council	13,500.00	268.17
Do	National Museum of Health & Medicine Foundation	15,000.00	326.79
Do	New England Conservatory of Music	13,500.00	426.04
Do	Orton Dyslexia Society		
Do	Rubber Pavements Assn	18,000.00	7,261.93
Do	TDS Healthcare Systems Corp	11,685.60	3,470.35
Bruce A. Beam, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., #214 Washington, DC 20004	American Electric Power Service Corp	390.40	65.94
Dorothy A. Beam, 1510 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Richard J. Sullivan Associates (For-Association of American Railroads)	2,000.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Design Professionals Coalition)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Harbor Dredging)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-National Utility Products Co)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District)	1,500.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Water Environment Research Foundation)	1,500.00	
Hubert Beatty, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Charles D. Becher, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20005	Ford Motor Company	1,500.00	652.75
Brenda Larsen Becker, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	1,857.00	777.10
Jeffrey G. Becker, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 825 Washington, DC 20005	Beer Institute		
Steven M. Beckman, 1757 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Int'l Union, United Auto Aerospace & Agric Implement Workers	9,502.96	35.00
Elizabeth J. Bedient, 1700 Lincoln Street, Suite 4100 Denver, CO 80203	Holme Roberts & Owen (For-Navigators Overseas Missionary Fellowship)		
Howard Bedlin, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	769.97	109.64
Teresa G. Beeman, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co (ARCO)		
Beer Institute, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #825 Washington, DC 20005			2,551.46
William A. Behan, 1700 N. Moore St., #820 Arlington, VA 22209	Magnavox Electronics Systems Corp	4,000.00	2,684.27
Edwin L. Behrens, Market Square 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Procter & Gamble Co	677.90	
Mark Belanger, 805 Third Avenue New York, NY 10022	Major League Baseball Players Assn		
Winston Everett Bell, P.O. Box 26543 Las Vegas, NV 89126			
Trina Bellak, 1325 G Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Humane Society of the US	8,256.00	254.05
Keith B. Belton, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn	600.00	191.00
Jennifer L. Bendall, 1020 19th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc	11,000.00	
Daniel J. Bennett, 1300 North 17th St Rosslyn, VA 22209	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Mary C. Bennett, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Baker & McKenzie (For-Continental European Insurance Coalition)		
John C. Bennisson, P.O. Box 23992 Washington, DC 20026-3002	American Soc of Travel Agents	8,500.00	
Frederick S. Benson III, 2001 L Street, NW, #304 Washington, DC 20036	Weyerhaeuser Company		504.22
James E. Benton, N. J. Petroleum Council 150 W. State Street Trenton, NJ 08608	American Petroleum Institute	155.00	
Rebecca J. Berg, 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Bostrom Corp (For-Passenger Vessel Assn)	1,950.00	
Douglas L. Berger, 1333 F Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004-1108	Advertising Mail Marketing Assn	3,045.00	
Bob Bergland, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn		
Bergner Boyette Bockorny & Clough, 1101 16th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Avianca Airlines	2,000.00	150.00
Do	Bell Atlantic Corp	4,000.00	1,000.00
Do	Capital Research & Management Company	2,000.00	500.00
Do	China External Trade Development Council	2,000.00	150.00
Do	Dow Chemical Co	1,200.00	900.00
Do	Edison Electric Institute	2,000.00	500.00
Do	Elanco Animal Health	1,000.00	500.00
Do	Enseco	1,000.00	700.00
Do	Flo-Sun Land Corp	4,000.00	1,530.00
Do	Fox Broadcasting Company	3,000.00	563.43
Do	Friendship in Freedom Assn	1,000.00	550.00
Do	Glaxo, Inc	2,000.00	643.28
Do	HealthCare COMPARE/AFFORDABLE Corp	2,000.00	970.27
Do	Mallinckrodt Specialty Chemical Company	2,000.00	500.00
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp	1,000.00	537.77
Do	Melpath	1,200.00	298.28
Do	National Assn of Business & Educational Radio, Inc	500.00	501.39
Do	National Soft Drink Assn	3,000.00	762.44
Do	Ogden Martin Systems, Inc	2,000.00	1,169.09
Do	Okeelanta Corp	5,000.00	1,680.00
Do	Orange & Rockland Utilities	4,000.00	1,400.00
Do	Petroleum Marketers Assn of America	2,000.00	1,471.31
Do	Philip Morris Co, Inc	2,000.00	553.28
Gene S. Bergoffen, 1320 Braddock Place, #720 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Private Truck Council		
Edwin M. Bergsma, 1000 Regency Court, Suite 209 Toledo, OH 43623	Bergsma & Associates (For-Rudolph/Libbe Companies, Inc & subsidiaries)		
Paul C. Bergson, 1325 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Smokeless Tobacco Council	1,000.00	
Jessica Berk, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Investment Company Institute	37.98	
Dayle Berke, 519 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Assn for Home Care	547.95	
Antoinette C. Berkey, P.O. Box 2972 Washington, DC 20013			
Ellen Berman, 2000 L St., NW, #802 Washington, DC 20036	Consumer Energy Council of America		
William R. Berman, 1440 New York Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	American Automobile Assn		
Mary E. Bernhardt, 1615 H St., NW Washington, DC 20002	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	1,750.00	
Delanne Bernier, 1023 15th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America, Inc		208.76
Dina L. Bernstein, 3050 K Street, NW, Suite 330 Washington, DC 20007	National Club Assn	2,000.00	
Jules Bernstein, 1920 L Street, NW, #602 Washington, DC 20036	Federal Law Enforcement Officers Assn	6,749.00	3,152.62
Bernstein & Lipsett, 1920 L Street, NW, #602 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Police Organizations	13,000.00	4,770.69
Craig A. Berrington, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		
Cynthia Berry, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Jacqueline L. Berry, 1101 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing (3M)	1,000.00	
Max N. Berry, 3213 O St., NW Washington, DC 20007	American Importers Meat Products Group		
Do	Centre National Interprofessionnel de L'Economie Laitiere		
Do	Federation des Exportateurs de Vins & Spiritueux de France		
Do	Florida Department of Citrus		
Robert E. Berry, 1515 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22209	American Gas Assn	1,950.00	471.74
Michael J. Bertelsen, 453 New Jersey Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003	Investment Company Institute	103.02	218.01
Maria L. Berthoud, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	New England Council, Inc		
Margot Bester, 1101 - 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-Prodigy Services Corporation)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-U.S. Telephone Assn)		
Ed Bethune, P.O. Box 200 210 East Vine Street Searcy, AR 72143	FBI Agents Assn	14,250.00	696.97
Albert J. Beveridge, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Beveridge & Diamond (For-Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, Inc)		
Beveridge & Diamond, P.C., 1350 Eye Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, Inc	1,063.75	2,140.98
Janice Bezanson, 601 Westlake Drive Austin, TX 78746	Texas Committee on Natural Resources	490.75	237.34
Everett E. Bierman, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden	200.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Arter & Hadden (For: Citicorp)	12.00	
Karin Bierstein, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Heidi Biggs, 2001 L Street NW, #304 Washington, DC 20036	Weyerhaeuser Company		496.10
James L. Bikoff, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For: Nintendo of America, Inc)		
Leon G. Billings, Inc, 901 15th St., NW, #570 Washington, DC 20005	Main San Gabriel Basin Water Quality Authority	15,000.00	
Do	Manville Corp	32,875.00	
Do	South Coast Air Quality Management District	16,000.00	
Do	Sterling Forest Corporation		
Do	Waste Management, Inc	20,737.50	
Ray B. Billups Jr., 1130 Connecticut Ave, NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	Southern Company Services, Inc	3,979.19	4,475.47
David Billy, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	International Assn of Fire Fighters	10,915.00	
Stuart Binstock, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Peggy K. Binzel, 820 First Street, NE, #620 Washington, DC 20002	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc	2,329.00	
William P. Binzel, 1401 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	MasterCard International, Inc	240.00	17.00
Biocraft Laboratories, Inc, 18-01 River Road Fair Lawn, NJ 07410			334.58
Biotechnology Industry Organization, 1625 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006		3,540.12	3,540.12
Birch Horton Bittner, Inc, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Alaska Wetlands Coalition	1,000.00	1,000.00
Do	Calista Corp	2,000.00	2,080.00
Do	E.O.N., Inc	500.00	500.00
Do	Fish Alaska, Inc	1,000.00	1,000.00
Do	Florida Coastal Landowners' Coalition	2,000.00	2,000.00
Do	North Slope Borough	1,450.00	1,471.69
Do	Old Harbor Corp	1,400.00	1,490.00
Do	Sealaska Corp	700.00	740.00
Do	Wildlife Legislative Fund of America	12,000.00	12,000.00
John H. Birdsall III, Schellford Farm Route 16, Box 25 Charlottesville, VA 22901	NICOR, Inc	225.00	
Susan Birmingham, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	U.S. Public Interest Research Group	8,218.39	38,361.20
Bituminous Coal Operators' Assn, 918 16th Street, NW, Suite 303 Washington, DC 20006-2971			
Gerne Bjornson, 1825 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	B.F. Goodrich Co	100.00	
Judy Black, 1199 N. Fairfax Street, #204 Alexandria, VA 22314	International Council of Shopping Centers	750.00	
Wayne V. Black, Keller and Heckman 1001 G Street, NW, #500 West Washington, DC 20001	Keller and Heckman (For: INDA, Assn of the Nonwoven Fabrics Industry)		
Black Crotty Sims Hubka Burnett Bartlett & Samuels, 501 North Grandview Ave. P.O. Box 5488 Daytona Beach, FL 32018	Aetna Life & Casualty		
Do	Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University		
Do	Health Images, Inc		
Do	Midland Risk Insurance Company		
Black Manafort Stone & Kelly, Inc, 211 North Union Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	Allied-Signal Corp	22,500.00	
Do	American Airlines	15,000.00	
Do	Bethlehem Steel Corp	22,500.00	
Do	Casino Association of New Jersey	7,500.00	
Do	Chrysler Corp	15,000.00	172.67
Do	Clark Construction Group	9,000.00	
Do	Congressional Youth Leadership Council	6,000.00	
Do	Cooper Hospital/University Medical Center	22,500.00	
Do	Delaware North Companies	9,000.00	
Do	Equity Assets Management, Inc	5,625.00	
Do	First National Bank of Chicago	22,500.00	40.71
Do	Government of Nigeria		
Do	D. George Harris & Associates	4,500.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson, Inc	30,000.00	100.67
Do	Kashmiri American Foundation	35,000.00	144.54
Do	Katun Corp		
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc/Revlon Group, Inc	45,000.00	91.16
Do	Magal Security Systems, Ltd	6,000.00	
Do	Morton International	22,500.00	
Do	NOVA University		
Do	Parking Authority	11,250.00	
Do	Philip Morris	6,000.00	
Do	Phoenix Home Life Insurance	9,000.00	
Do	Republic of Kenya		
Do	Textron	3,750.00	37.70
Do	Tobacco Institute	22,500.00	
Do	Tourism Development Properties of Puerto Rico	3,750.00	
Do	Trump Organization	18,000.00	
Do	Union Pacific Corp	15,000.00	
Do	United Parcel Service	5,625.00	
Do	UNITA		162.58
Bev D. Blackwood, 1899 L Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Exxon Corporation		
Stephen J. Blair, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn, Inc	1,062.00	
Helen Blank, 25 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Children's Defense Fund	1,037.40	
Julia M. Blankenship, 2715 M Street NW, #150 Washington, DC 20007	Electric Generation Assn	1,615.39	83.19
Ernest Blazar, 122 C Street NW, #740 Washington, DC 20001	American League for Exports & Security Assistance (ALESA)	2,100.00	
Richard W. Bliss, 1079 Papermill Court, NW Washington, DC 20007	Amex, Inc	600.00	91.10
Do	Audie Recognition Systems, Inc	825.00	88.74
Do	Consumers Paint Factory, Inc	575.00	27.40
Do	Figge International, Inc	562.50	133.53
Do	Hunter Industrial Facilities, Inc	1,075.00	63.50
Do	National Paint & Coatings Assn, Inc	1,500.00	122.40
Do	National Spa & Pool Institute	700.00	56.97
Bliss and Riordan, 431 West 7th Ave., #201 Anchorage, AK 99501	Akhok-Kaguyak, Inc	4,053.95	
John R. Block, 201 Park Washington Court Falls Church, VA 22046	National-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn	3,000.00	
L. Thomas Block, 270 Park Avenue New York, NY 10017	Chemical Bank	10,000.00	4,050.00
Nadine Block, 70 West 40th Street, 3rd Floor New York, NY 10018	American Pacific Enterprises		
Peter L. Blocklin, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	12,300.00	
Rebecca K. Blood, 2301 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	American Public Power Assn	1,000.00	
Shawn M. Bloom, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Anthony Bloome, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	2,491.25	
Mark Bloomfield, 1750 K St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	American Council for Capital Formation	3,087.00	
Shirley A. Bloomfield, 2626 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037	National Telephone Cooperative Assn	12,000.00	1,246.41
Robert S. Bludworth, 1100 South Washington Street, 1st floor Alexandria, VA 22314-4494	National Beer Wholesaler's Assn	3,500.00	
Charles H. Blum, 1400 L Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	International Advisory Services Group, Ltd (For: Steel Service Center Institute)		
Joanne Blum, 2010 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Planned Parenthood Fed of America, Inc	6,191.11	136.00
Lawrence D. Blume, 2000 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Graham & James (For: American Hawaii Cruises)		
Do	Miles, Inc		
Do	Graham & James (For: Milk Specialties Co)		
Elizabeth A. Bock, 1111 19th Street, NW, Suite 408 Washington, DC 20036	Mitsubishi Motors America, Inc		724.49
Judith Ann Boddie, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW 4th Floor Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute	7,687.59	150.00
Denise A. Bode, 1101 Sixteenth Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		
Robert Spurrier Boege, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Larry A. Boggs, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	General Electric Co	600.00	
S. Alexander Bohler, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work committee	600.00	
John K. Boidock, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Suite 230 Washington, DC 20004	Texas Instruments	1,500.00	
Patricia Boinski, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co	200.00	
Stephen A. Bokar, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062-2000	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.		
James E. Boland, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	5,000.00	843.69
Terry K. Bolger, 1615 L Street, NW, #1150 Washington, DC 20036	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For: Milliman & Robertson, Inc)		
M. Joel Bolstein, 4000 Bell Atlantic Tower 1717 Arch Street Philadelphia, PA 19103-2793	Dechert Price & Rhoads (For: Monell Chemical Senses Center)	558.00	4.65
Naila Bolus, 305 7th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Womens Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc, et al.	4,300.00	
Benjamin C. Bolusky, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	American Assn of Nursemen		
Thomas W. Bonenberger, 1615 M Street, NW #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corp	1,200.00	57.00
John E. Bonitt, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	3,875.00	1,595.70
Jane L. Bonner, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 605 Washington, DC 20005	American Society of Anesthesiologists	5,000.00	
Gaylon B. Booker, P.O. Box 12285 Memphis, TN 38182	National Cotton Council of America		
Glenda Booth, 750 17th Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20006	National Organization for Rare Disorders	23.44	16.00
John K. Booth, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Borden Group, Inc, 101 N. Alfred Street, Suite 200 Alexandria, VA 22134	American Federation of Home Health Agencies	10,000.00	4,800.99
Lydia A. Borland, 2300 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20037	International Advisers, Inc (For:Embassy of Turkey)	3,333.00	221.00
Richard H. Bornemann, 12 Fourth Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Kansas City Southern Industries, Inc	2,000.00	
Patricia A. Borowski, 400 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Professional Insurance Agents		
William J. Bosies Jr., 485 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10017	New York State Bankers Assn	120.00	
Carroll Bostic, 1776 I St., NW, Suite 1050 Washington, DC 20006	Eastman Kodak Company (Imaging Group)	800.00	80.00
Charles G. Botsford, 1730 M St., NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036	Evergreen International Aviation, et al.	1,100.00	
John C. Bottenberg, 800 S.W. Jackson, #1120 Topeka, KS 66612	Philip Morris, Inc	2,500.00	
Francis D. Bouchard, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #900 Washington, DC 20004	Reinsurance Assn of America		
Deborah L. Boudreau, 1120 G Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	1,850.00	
Claude P. Boudrias, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	400.00	274.50
Beau Boulter, ANB Plaza II 500 Taylor, Suite 504 Amarillo, TX 79101	United Seniors Assn, Inc	7,600.00	10,119.67
Albert D. Bourland, 1350 I Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Daimler-Benz Washington, Inc	7,500.00	332.50
Laura L. Bourne, 800 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	Food Marketing Institute	100.00	
Wayne A. Boutwell, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	1,375.00	
Joseph Bow, 1301 N. Moore Street Arlington, VA 22203	Foodservice & Packaging Institute		
Betty Hudson Bowers, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Fluor Corporation	15,000.00	92.03
Diane K. Bowers, P.O. Box 182 Port Jefferson, NY 11777	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR)	19,113.51	396.86
John Bowers Jr., 815 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO	4,000.00	1,463.31
M. Kenneth Bowler, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Pfizer, Inc		
Larry G. Bowles, 1150 - 18th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Haliburton Co		
Christopher Bowlin, 1331 Penn. Ave., NW, #1500N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	175.00	
Richard P. Bowling, 1020 Princess Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Truck Trailer Manufacturers Assn	1,000.00	
Charles H. Bowser, 1511 K Street, NW, Suite 51, Washington, DC 20005	Phelps Dodge Corp	150.00	
Joan Costain Bowyer, 1015 15th St., NW, #909 Washington, DC 20005	International Business Machines Corp	104.00	16.00
John G. Boyd, 1301 K St., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Westvaco Corporation		2,872.27
Richard K. Boyd, 299 Park Ave. New York, NY 10171	Federal Kemper Life Assurance Co		
Thomas M. Boyd, 600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 206 Washington, DC 20003	Kemper Corp		
Do	Kemper Financial Services, Inc	250.00	5.00
Do	Kemper Investors Life Insurance Company		
Do	Kemper Reinsurance Company		
Do	Kemper Corporation (For:Kemper Securities Group, Inc)	200.00	34.92
Philip B. Boyer, 421 Aviation Way Frederick, MD 21701	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	2,500.00	
Violet A. Boyer, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Independent Colleges and Universities	8,538.00	317.00
J. Patrick Boyle, 1700 N. Moore Street, #1600 Arlington, VA 22209	American Meat Institute	2,187.50	
Louis L. Boyle, 2717 North Front Street Harrisburg, PA 17110	Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' Assn		
Cynthia R. Boynton, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1106 Washington, DC 20036	Gordley Associates (For:U.S. Canola Assn)		
Bracewell & Patterson, 2000 K St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Birdsall, Inc		
Do	Browning-Ferris Industries, Inc		
Do	Centex Corp	1,237.50	742.50
Do	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc		
Do	COMDISCO, Inc		
Do	Edison Electric Institute	962.50	577.50
Do	Enron Corp		
Do	Higman Barge Lines, Inc		
Do	Independent Refiners Coalition		
Do	Louisiana Land & Exploration Co		
Do	Lyondell Petrochemical Co		
Do	MEPC American Properties		
Do	National Cable Television Assn, Inc	893.75	536.25
Do	Pennsylvania Natural Gas Assn		
Do	Rohm & Hass Co		
Do	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc		
Do	Southdown, Inc		
Do	Sterline Chemicals, Inc		
Do	Torch Energy Advisors, Inc		
Do	Valero Energy Corporation		
Bracy Williams & Company, 601 13th Street, NW, #510 South Washington, DC 20005	Allied Pilots Assn	5,000.00	250.00
Do	American Society for Bone & Mineral Research	6,000.00	100.00
Do	Arka, Inc	7,000.00	130.00
Do	City of Klamath Falls	7,000.00	110.00
Do	City of Tucson	7,000.00	100.00
Do	Coin Coalition	15,000.00	350.00
Do	County of Winnebago	400.00	60.00
Do	Daylight Saving Time Coalition	1,000.00	50.00
Do	Energy Absorption Systems, Inc	8,000.00	75.00
Do	Greater Rockford Airport Authority	5,000.00	100.00
Do	Southern California Edison	12,000.00	240.00
Do	St. Louis Airport Authority	4,000.00	150.00
Do	United Technologies Corp	4,000.00	60.00
Do	Ingersoll & Block, Chtd	8,200.00	2,105.51
Susan G. Braden, 1401 16th Street, NW Sherman House Washington, DC 20036	Reinsurance Assn of America		
George M. Brady III, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider)	3,375.00	
John J. Brady Jr., 1615 L Street, NW, #1150 Washington, DC 20036	Handgun Control, Inc	12,578.00	
Sarah Brady, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Edison Electric Institute	2,006.68	105.00
Lynn M. Bragg, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Principal Financial Group	1,055.16	
Stuart J. Brahs, 1350 I Street, NW, #1030 Washington, DC 20005	National Wildlife Federation	427.08	
Barbara Bramble, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	Herb A. Caddell	687.50	
Brand & Lowell, 923 15th Street, NW, Fifth Fl. Washington, DC 20005	Gerald Crispino	560.00	
Do	Federal Data Corp	460.00	
Do	Hewlett-Packard Co	10,469.00	20.00
Do	Hospital Systems, Inc		
Do	National Assn for Home Care		
Do	National Assn of Professional Baseball Leagues, Inc	1,522.50	
Do	NCube		
Do	Oracle Corp	2,813.00	
Do	Seafarers International Union		
Do	Unisys	1,617.00	
Christian N. Braunlich, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1500N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	125.00	
Noel Brazil, 1505 Prince Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	American Optometric Assn		
Carolyn J. Breedlove, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Education Assn	4,217.25	13.00
Michael J. Brennan, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	International Assn of Bridge Struct & Ornamental Iron Wkrs	10,800.00	2,319.85
Jack E. Bresch, 4455 Woodson Road St. Louis, MO 63134	Catholic Health Assn of the United States	1,744.63	
William O. Bresnick, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc		
Thomas R. Bretz, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Tenneco, Inc)	380.00	
Larry K. Brewer, 1235 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, VA 22202	ESCO Electronics Corp		849.37
Brickfield Burchette & Ritts, P.C., 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW 8th Floor, West Tower Washington, DC 20007	East Texas Electric Cooperative		
Do	Northeast Texas Electric Cooperative	200.00	6.32
Do	Sabine River Authority		
Do	Tex-LA Electric Cooperative of Texas, Inc	250.00	7.93
Michael Brien, 1615 M Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corp	1,200.00	44.02
John R. Brigrance, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	2,000.00	
Craig S. Brightup, 206 E Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Roofing Contractors Assn	5,437.50	1,280.26
Kitty Brims, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers		1,000.00
Michael F. Brinck, 4647 Forbes Boulevard Lanham, MD 20706	AMVETS	6,800.00	
John J. Brittle, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	15,593.00	
Mary Broderick, 1625 K St., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Legal Aid & Defender Assn	1,500.00	10.00
William M. Brodhead, 900 Marquette Building Detroit, MI 48226	Plunkett & Cooney, P.C. (For:City of Detroit, Michigan)	13,272.18	
Do	Plunkett & Cooney (For:NBD, Inc)	5,625.00	1,787.21
Do	Plunkett & Cooney (for Michigan Consolidated Gas Co)	10,200.00	4,415.25
David A. Brody, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #803 Washington, DC 20036	American Fiber Manufacturers Assn, Inc		
Do	Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	BASF Corp	700.00	
Do	Corn Coalition		
Do	Corning, Inc		
Do	Telecommunications Industry Assn		
Marcia D. Brody, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn	75.00	
Michael J. Brokovich, 8201 Greensboro Drive, #1000 McLean, VA 22102	Unisys Corporation	1,000.00	360.00
Michael D. Bromberg, 1111 19th St., NW, #402 Washington, DC 20036	Federation of American Health Systems	9,000.00	
Douglas A. Brook, 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20036	LTV Corporation	8,750.00	150.00
E. R. Brooks, P.O. Box 660164 Dallas, TX 75266	Central & South West Corp		
Mary E. Brooks, 1730 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	League of Women Voters of the U.S.	10,082.58	
Brother Industries (USA), Inc, 2950 Brother Boulevard Bartlett, TN 38133			2,840.75
Robert F. Brothers, 1776 I Street, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20006	Eastman Kodak Company	100.00	
J. Robert Brouse, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Nonprescription Drug Manufacturers Assn (NDMA)	2,800.00	150.00
Cheryl A. Brown, 1655 North Fort Myer Drive #700 Arlington, VA 22209	American Assn for Respiratory Care	16,257.42	156.60
Cynthia A. Brown, 1640 Wisconsin Ave., NW, First Floor Washington, DC 20007	American College of Surgeons		52.96
Dale E. Brown, 1801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp	1,000.00	
David S. J. Brown, 700 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Co	700.00	240.35
Felicien J. Brown, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Association of Retired Persons	753.84	281.50
John J. Brown, 50 E Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Clark S. Herman Associates, Inc	500.00	100.00
Do	Govt Affairs Policy Council of the Reg Bell Operating Co	1,000.00	400.00
Do	John L. Brown & Associates (For Labor Management Committee of the Tobacco Institute)	1,000.00	400.00
Michael J. Brown, 18 East Custis Ave. Alexandria, VA 22301	Klein & Saks (for: Gold Institute)	2,500.00	
Do	Klein & Saks (For Silver Institute)		
Omer F. Brown II, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Davis Wright Tremaine (For Hazardous Waste Action Coalition)		
Do	Davis Wright Tremaine (For Lockheed Environmental Systems & Technologies Co)		
Ralph Brown, Suite 107 701 S. 22nd Street Omaha, NE 68102	M.O.A.I.O.A. & Subs, Inc		
Regina A. Brown, 1199 N. Fairfax Street, Suite 204 Alexandria, VA 22314	International Council of Shopping Centers	675.00	
Robert Craig Brown, P.O. Box 12285 Memphis, TN 38182	National Cotton Council of America		
S. M. Henry Brown Jr., 1776 Eye Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20006	Energy Services, Inc	7,683.00	575.03
Steven J. Brown, 421 Aviation Way Frederick, MD 21701	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	2,000.00	
Valerie L. Brown, New Jersey Law Center 1 Constitution Square New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1500	New Jersey State Bar Assn		
Vincent D. Brown, Nebraska Petroleum Council P.O. Box 95063 Lincoln, NE 68509	American Petroleum Institute	4,500.00	
Will Roland Brown, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036-1207	Albers & Company (For May Department Stores Co)		
William E. Brown, 1667 K Street, NW #420 Washington, DC 20006	Mead Corporation		
Thomas H. Brownell, Martin Marietta Corp, 6801 Rockledge Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Martin Marietta Corp	1,355.00	171.00
R. Stephen Browning, P.O. Box 1697 Helena, MT 59624	Burlington Northern Railroad	300.00	
Do	Columbia Falls Aluminum Co	600.00	
Do	Cyprus Minerals Co	2,100.00	
Do	Glass Packaging Institute	1,500.00	
Do	Joint Board of Control for Flathead Irrigation Project	300.00	
Do	Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center	300.00	
Do	Montana Technology Corp.	1,800.00	
Broydick Broydick & Dacey, 600 East Mason Street Milwaukee, WI 53202	Aurora Health Care	5,912.50	659.67
Do	Blood Center of Southeastern Wisconsin	2,162.50	108.74
Do	Children's Hospital of Wisconsin	4,600.00	906.55
Do	EDS Corp	10,600.00	225.30
Do	Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage District	775.00	4.81
Do	Oneida Nation	41,018.75	2,190.71
Do	Plumbers Local #75	115.00	
Do	PrimeCare Health Plan	1,506.25	158.93
Do	Waste Management, Inc	21,500.00	506.30
Do	Watertown Hospital	100.00	
David J. Brugger, 1350 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Association of America's Public Television Stations		
William K. Brunette, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	761.92	75.00
J. M. Brunkenhoefer, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #856 Washington, DC 20001	United Transportation Union	6,250.00	41.55
Michael E. Brunner, 2626 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	National Telephone Cooperative Assn	2,000.00	61.70
J. Charles Bruse, 633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Allstate Insurance Co	1,997.50	885.03
Bryan Cave, 700 13th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Air Transport Assn	35,000.00	27.00
Bryant Miller & Olive, P.A., 201 South Monroe Street, Suite 500 Tallahassee, FL 32301	PHP Healthcare Corp	33,694.08	
Don C. Buchanan, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Fernandina Cruise Lines, Inc	25,000.00	
Robert Buckler, 225 East 6th Street, Suite #230 St. Paul, MN 55101	Sheet Metal Workers International Assn	18,327.00	
Do	American Professional Pet Distributors, Inc	4,500.00	
Do	National Board of Fur Farm Organizations	9,000.00	
Jeremiah S. Buckley, 1500 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Pheasants Forever	4,000.00	1,354.00
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For Massachusetts Bankers Assn)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For Massachusetts State Carpenter's Guaranteed Annuity Fund)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For Massachusetts State Carpenter's Pension Fund)		
Roy C. Buckner, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Tetron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Betsy Buffington, 23 North Scott, #23 Sheridan, NY 82801	Sierra Club	1,054.40	8.80
J. Bruce Bugg Jr., 100 W. Houston Street, #1660 San Antonio, TX 78205	American College of Mohs Micrographic		
Do	J. Bruce Bugg, Jr., P.C. (For Kames Savings and Loan Assn)		12,800.00
Building Owners & Managers Assn Int'l, 1201 New York Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc	10,300.00	70.50
Douglas W. Bulcao, 1801 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Environmental Treatment and Technologies Corp	4,017.64	
William M. Bumpers, 1299 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Petroleum Institute	4,170.00	
Darrel D. Bunge, Minnesota Petroleum Council 8 Pine Tree Drive, #260 St. Paul, MN 55112	Hearst Corporation	1,000.00	
David A. Bunn, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #406 Washington, DC 20036	Parcel Shippers Assn	2,000.00	
Do	Cummins Engine Co, Inc	959.82	566.00
William D. Bunnell, 601 Madison Street, #200 Alexandria, VA 22314	Motorola, Inc	7,000.00	
James D. Burge, 1350 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Pfizer, Inc		5,313.00
Tonio Burgos, 909 Third Avenue, 17th Floor New York, NY 10028	Association of Independent Research Institutes (AIRI)	600.00	
April L. Burke, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 585 Washington, DC 20001	California Institute of Technology	1,000.00	
Do	Lewis-Burke Associates (For Edison BioTechnology Center)	300.00	
Do	Lewis-Burke Associates (For National History Museum of LA County, et al.)	300.00	
Do	Lewis-Burke Associates (For University of Cincinnati)	300.00	
Gerard P. Burke, 1117 Spotswood Drive Silver Spring, MD 20904	International Air Leases, Inc		
Kevin M. Burke, 1350 I Street, NW, #1290 Washington, DC 20005	American Bakers Assn	7,390.00	340.00
Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Assn, 1100 17th St., NW, #505 Washington, DC 20036		80,031.25	2,825.00
Phillip C. Burnett, P.O. Box 12285 Memphis, TN 38182	National Cotton Council of America	2,356.25	13.23
David G. Burney, 1101 17th St. N.W., #609 Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Tuna Foundation	12,000.00	3,000.00
Kevin R. Burns, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
Timothy F. Burns, 2501 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	6,000.00	73.00
Burson-Marsteller, 1850 M Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	American Energy Alliance	5,000.00	
Do	Clark Oil and Refining Company		
Do	Degussa AG		
Do	Ethyl Corporation		
Do	Korea Iron & Steel Assn		
Do	McDonnell Douglas	2,000.00	
Do	MAPCO		
Do	Republic of Indonesia		
William Burton, 180 Maiden Lane New York, NY 10038	Continental Insurance Company		114.00
Mark R. Burtshi, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council	2,681.25	921.72
Barbara L. Bush, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute	200.00	
Nicholas J. Bush, 1129 20th Street, N.W., #300 Washington, DC 20036	Natural Gas Supply Assn		
Michael R. Bushman, 321 North Clark Street Chicago, IL 60610	Quaker Oats Company		2,451.83
Donald G. Butcher, c/o N.Y.S. Petroleum Council 150 State Street Albany, NY 12207	American Petroleum Institute	1,320.00	79.06
Mrs. H. E. Butt, 3700 Ocean Drive Corpus Christi, TX 78411			
William Byler Associates, Inc, 6000 34th Place, NW Washington, DC 20015-1607	Ak-Chin Indian Community Council		
Do	Havasupai Tribe of Arizona		
Do	San Carlos Apache Tribe		
John J. Byrne, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	6,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
C & C Consulting Group, Inc, 1925 North Lynn Street, #1101 Arlington, VA 22209	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc	15,000.00	354.79
Do	Western Resources	15,000.00	354.79
Edward S. Cabot, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	6,120.00	
Elizabeth B. Cady, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	Steel Service Center Institute		
John R. Cady, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	National Food Processors Assn		
Dominique Cahn, 555 13th Street, NW, #1260 East Washington, DC 20004	Medtronic, Inc		
Tony Calandro, 750 First Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn, In	1,595.00	
Alan Caldwell, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004	RJR Nabisco, Inc	2,475.00	
Bonnie Caldwell, 1445 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Public Securities Assn	12,500.00	501.64
Era Eugene Callahan, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1250 Washington, DC 20036	Major League Baseball	308.49	108.48
Kateri A. Callahan, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20004	Electric Transportation Coalition	348.00	75.00
Calorie Control Council, 5775 Peachtree-Dunwoody Rd., #500-G Atlanta, GA 30342			
Cambridge International, Inc, 2775 South Quincy Street, #520 Arlington, VA 22206	Allison Transmission	600.00	
Do	Eastern Technologies, Inc		
Do	General Dynamics Land Systems	1,000.00	
Do	McDonnell Douglas Helicopter Company	600.00	
Do	Oshkosh Trucks Corp	300.00	
Do	Stewart & Stevenson Services, Inc	600.00	
Do	Textron Lycoming	600.00	
Arthur E. Cameron, 225 C Street NE, #A Washington, DC 20002	Lukens General Industries, Inc	1,080.00	
Do	Potters Industries, Inc	540.00	
Do	Safetran Systems Corporation	2,250.00	
Do	Stimsonite Corporation	720.00	
Do	3M Company	4,200.00	
Bradley J. Cameron, 1015 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Labor Policy Assn	2,910.00	2,910.00
Cameron & Hornbostel, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Government of Barbados	2,860.18	6,893.39
Nancy Camm, 1101 17th St., NW, #1002 Washington, DC 20036	BankAmerica Corp	1,250.00	935.77
Paul A. Cammer, 2000 L Street, NW, #730 Washington, DC 20036	Cammer & Associates (For-Business Council on Indoor Air)		
Michael C. Camp, 1899 L Street, NW #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Exxon Corp		
Camp & Barsh, 2550 M St., NW, #275 Washington, DC 20037	Anglo American Auto Auctions, Inc	2,970.00	
Do	Ater Wynne Hewitt Dodson & Skerritt		
Do	BellSouth Corp		
Do	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	125.00	
Do	Columbia Gas Systems, Inc		
Do	Committee for Equitable Compensation		
Do	Mobil Oil Corp		
Do	Natural Gas Supply Assn		
Do	Pennzoil Co		
Do	Shell Oil Co		
Do	Texaco, Inc		
Campaign for U.N. Reform-Political Education Committee, 713 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Associated Builders & Contractors	11,942.30	13,104.23
Carolann Campana, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	GTE Corporation	2,500.00	
C. R. Campbell Jr., 1850 M St., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	DowElanco	3,000.00	
C. Thomas Campbell, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #575 Washington, DC 20006	National Society of Professional Engineers	500.00	6,912.00
Charles O. Campbell, 1420 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	Algonquin Gas Transmission Co	2,000.00	
Jeanne Campbell, Campbell-Raupe, Inc 1010 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Assn of Advertising Agencies		
Do	American Fiber Manufacturing Assn		
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council		
Do	Association for Manufacturing Technology		
Do	Chubb Corp		
Do	Invest to Compete Alliance		
Do	Kimberly Quality Care		
Do	MFJ Task Force		
Do	National Electrical Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Savings and Community Bankers		
Do	Securities Industry Assn		
Do	Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children		
Do	Stone & Webster Engineering Corp		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Jerry L. Campbell, 1201 Chestnut St. Chattanooga, TN 37402	Tennessee Valley Public Power Assn		
John G. Campbell, 9300-D Old Keene Mill Road Burke, VA 22015	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-ARCO Power Technologies, Inc)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-BOM International, Inc)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-Ebasco)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-General Electric Co)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-GEO-Centers, Inc)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-Hughes Aircraft Company)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-Loral Corp)		
Do	ManTech International Corp		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-Sierra Nevada Corp)		
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-Sippican, Inc)	2,000.00	
Do	John G. Campbell, Inc (For-3M Company)		
Marilyn E. Campbell, 517 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	David Turch & Associates	4,000.00	
Thomas Campbell, 1301 K Street, NW, #900, East Tower Washington, DC 20005	Gardner Carlton & Douglas (For-Ukiah Valley Medical Center)	18,814.25	1,904.74
W. Donald Campbell, 1850 M Street, NW, #540 Washington, DC 20036	National Multi Housing Council	4,120.00	
Thomas D. Campbell & Associates, Inc, 113 South Alfred Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Cyprus Minerals Co	5,000.00	1,362.70
William Canary Jr, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	American Trucking Associations, Inc	3,000.00	
Anne C. Canfield, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800-South Washington, DC 20004	General Electric Co	700.00	
Sharon F. Canner, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N. Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	186.80	
James R. Cannon Jr., 808 Seventeenth Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006-3910	Stewart & Stewart (For-Floral Trade Council)	52.50	
Do	Stewart and Stewart (For-Smith Corona Corp)		
Do	Stewart & Stewart (For-Timken Co)	443.33	
Do	Stewart & Stewart (For-Torrington Company)	443.33	
Francis J. Cantrel Jr., 1801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp	1,000.00	
Charles H. Cantus, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council	5,721.22	139.00
Capital Consultants, 1122 Colorado, #307 Austin, TX 78701	Advanced Telecommunications Corp	7,200.00	
Capitol Associates, Inc, 426 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Alliance for Eye & Vision Research	1,500.00	
Do	American Assn of Cancer Research	600.00	
Do	American Health Foundation	800.00	
Do	American Soc of Nephrology	4,800.00	
Do	American Soc of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene	600.00	
Do	Arthritis Foundation	1,000.00	
Do	Association for Practitioners in Infectious Control	350.00	
Do	Carnation Co	3,500.00	
Do	Center for Science in the Public Interest	200.00	
Do	Citizens Comm for Medical Research & Health Education	1,000.00	
Do	Collagen Corp	400.00	
Do	Cooper Hospital	1,000.00	
Do	Cystic Fibrosis Foundation	1,200.00	
Do	Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center	1,500.00	
Do	FDA Council	10,500.00	
Do	G-Tech Corp	800.00	
Do	Illinois Collaboration on Youth	100.00	
Do	Johns Hopkins University	1,000.00	
Do	Joint Council of Allergy & Immunology	500.00	
Do	Leukemia Society of America	800.00	
Do	Lipomatix	200.00	
Do	Massachusetts General Hospital	2,400.00	
Do	National Assn of Addiction Treatment Providers	400.00	
Do	National Assn of Pediatric Nurse Associates & Practitioners	1,200.00	
Do	National Coalition for Cancer Research	600.00	
Do	Nestle Foods	3,500.00	
Do	New York University Medical Center	1,500.00	
Do	Northwestern Memorial Hospital	1,500.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Ohio Communities I-670, Inc	1,000.00	
Do	Parking Authority of Camden	2,000.00	
Do	Partnership for Organ Donation	800.00	
Do	Ringling Brothers	1,500.00	
Do	Siemens Corp	1,000.00	
Do	Smith Barney	1,000.00	
Do	U.S. Healthcare, Inc	1,000.00	
Do	Wellman Laboratory	1,000.00	
Caplin & Drysdale, Chtd, One Thomas Circle, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	American Methanol Institute (AMI)		
Mark A. Carano, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute	100.00	
Marie C. Carbone, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	3,487.00	
Career College Assn, Inc, 750 First Street, NE, #900 Washington, DC 20002		20,079.00	20,079.00
Hugh L. Carey, 919 18th Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	WR Grace & Co		
Kate Carey, 1620 L Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Metropolitan Life Insurance Cos	300.00	
Norval E. Carey, 1100 17th St., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	General Atomics	23,686.00	2,521.07
Robert R. Carey, P.O. Box 2121 Corpus Christi, TX 78403	Central Power & Light Company		
Maurice E. Carino Jr., 1657 K St. N.W., #600 Washington, DC 20006	Bethlehem Steel Corp	50.00	
Patricia B. Carlen, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For Embassy of El Salvador)	1,000.00	64.00
Carlsmith Ball Wichman Murray Case Mukai & Ichiki, 555 South Flower Street, 25th Floor Los Angeles, CA 90071	Gruma Management corp		
Anne E. Carlson, 750 17th Street, NW, Suite 901 Washington, DC 20006	Nissan North America, Inc	4,562.00	
Catherine A. Carlson, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Wildlife Federation	832.66	
Nancy Carlton, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Merck & Co, Inc	1,000.00	400.00
Carmen & Muss, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 365 Washington, DC 20037	Richard Cohen	3,849.75	32.50
Do	Ralvin Pacific Properties, Inc	1,180.00	
Do	120 Church Street Associates	590.00	
Carmen Group, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #365 Washington, DC 20037	Kennametal, Inc		
George U. Carneal III, 1129 20th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Dan Carol, 7003 Carroll Avenue, Suite 200 Takoma Park, MD 20912	Sonoran Institute		
Do	3Com Corp	5,000.00	
Julia Carol, 2530 San Pablo Avenue, #J Berkeley, CA 94702	Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights		
Paul E. Carothers, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	3,000.00	479.34
Michael C. Carozza, 655 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	1,500.00	
Bertram W. Carp, 820 First Street, NE, #620 Washington, DC 20002	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc	8,600.00	
Charles T. Carroll, 2011 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. #301 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Stevedores		
John R. Carson, 9312 Old Georgetown Rd. Bethesda, MD 20814-1621	American Podiatric Medical Assn	18,000.00	
R. D. Carson Jr., P.O. Box 2021 40 Franklin Rd., SW Roanoke, VA 24022	Appalachian Power Company		
Joseph L. Carter Jr., 50 F Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20001-1564	Association of American Railroads	2,371.11	536.08
Carter Ledyard & Milburn, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 870 Washington, DC 20005	Liberty Media Corp		
Melanie Carter-Maguire, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Northern Telecom, Inc	1,250.00	
James P. Carthy, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N. Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	500.00	
Jennifer Casey, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	Assn of Home Appliance Manufacturers		
Michael K. Casey, 7105 Fort Hunt Road Alexandria, VA 22307	Nationwide Insurance Companies		
Winthrop Cashdollar, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Health Care Assn	12,000.00	384.44
Cashdollar-Jones & Company, 1000 16th Street, NW, #702 Washington, DC 20036	Bio Gro Systems, Inc		
Do	Council on Education Development and Research	300.00	
Do	Strategic Agricultural Management Corp		
Do	United Foods, Inc		
Allen R. Caskie, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc	3,000.00	
Penelope C. Cafe, 321 North Clark Street Chicago, IL 60610	Quaker Oats Company		
Catholic Health Assn of the United States, 4455 Woodson Road St. Louis, MO 63134			
Harvey E. Cauthen Jr., 2 Dexter Ave. Montgomery, AL 36104	Alabama Power Co	141,566.56	981.15
Do	Lockheed Corp	24,000.00	4,855.85
Andrew F. Caverly, 180 South Clinton Ave. Rochester, NY 14646-0700	Rochester Telephone Corp	25,000.00	8,077.97
Carol Cayo, 2008 Dayton Street Silver Spring, MD 20902	Information Technology Assn of America	6,000.00	2,290.00
Center for Responsive Politics, 1320 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		5,000.00	1,093.00
David Certner, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	844.13	422.94
Michael J. Chakarun, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
Terry M. Chamberlain, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Jerry L. Chambers, 1575 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	American Cyanamid Co	5,000.00	
Chambers Associates, Inc, 1625 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO		
Do	Belk Stores Services, Inc	300.00	
Do	Coalition of Publicly Traded Limited Partnerships	900.00	
Do	Council of Infrastructure Financing Authorities	1,275.00	
Do	Manville Corporation	600.00	
Do	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare		
Do	Newhall Land and Farming Company		
Do	U S West, Inc	500.00	
Do	USX Corp		
Ed Chandler, 7901 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102	AMT - The Assn for Manufacturing Technology	15,675.00	500.00
William J. Chandler, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Parks & Conservation Association	6,150.00	84.76
John Chandler Associates, Inc, 9816 Hillridge Drive Kensington, MD 20895	York International	500.00	49.46
Pete Chaney, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Arthur A. Chapa, 5210 East Williams Circle, Suite 500 Tucson, AZ 85711	Pima County Board of Supervisors	16,015.50	3,543.08
Linda Z. Chapman, 1400 L Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Biscuit & Cracker Manufacturers Assn		
Thomas B. Chapman, 500 E Street, SW, #520 Washington, DC 20024	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	15,765.00	707.27
Charter Medical Corp, 577 Mulberry Street Macon, GA 31298			805.46
Leslie Cheek III, 490 L'Enfant Plaza East, SW, #4200 Washington, DC 20024	Xerox Corp	36,894.00	69.00
Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037			121,985.00
Chemical Specialties Manufacturers Assn, Inc, 1913 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			2,000.00
William B. Cherkasky, 1350 New York Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	International Franchise Assn		
Chernikoff & Company, 1320 18th Street, NW, #100 Washington, DC 20036	American Museum of Natural History		1,100.00
Do	Arena Stage	1,292.00	1,398.75
Do	Art Museum Princeton University		108.00
Do	Bishop Museum		8.00
Do	Capital Childrens Museum	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Corcoran Gallery of Art	1,245.00	1,351.75
Do	Directors Guild of America	18,740.00	646.00
Do	Ford's Theater	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village		108.00
Do	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum		8.00
Do	John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts	1,292.00	1,398.75
Do	Meridian House International	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Metropolitan Museum of Art		1,100.00
Do	Museum of Northern Arizona		
Do	National Council for the Traditional Arts	4,950.00	1,609.00
Do	National Museum of Women in the Arts	1,198.00	1,304.75
Do	National Symphony	1,292.00	1,398.75
Do	Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County		1,100.00
Do	Peabody Museum of Salem		
Do	Phillips Collection	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Science Museum of Minnesota		108.00
Do	Shakespeare Theater at the Folger	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Shelburn Museum		
Do	Textile Museum	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	University of Pennsylvania Museum		8.00
Do	Washington Ballet	1,151.00	1,257.75
Do	Washington Opera	1,292.00	1,398.75
Do	Washington Performing Arts Society	1,198.00	1,304.75
Do	Vought Aircraft Co		
Larry J. Cherry, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy, Suite 900 Arlington, VA 22202	PCS Health Systems (For McKesson Corp)	2,125.00	555.00
Stephan E. Chertoff, 1825 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	National Wildlife Federation	137.95	
Sidonie Chiapette, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	Tobacco Institute, Inc	1,525.00	
Samuel D. Chilcote Jr., 1875 Eye Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006		148,138.31	135,422.17
Child Protection Lobby, Inc, 101 E. Holly Avenue, #2 Sterling, VA 22170	Housing Roundtable		150.00
Peggy M. Childress, 811 W. Marvin Avenue Waxahachie, TX 75165			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Joseph L. Choquette III, Vermont Petroleum Assn P.O. Box 566 Montpelier, VT 05601-0566	American Petroleum Institute		
Edward C. Chow, 1401 Eye Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Chervon Companies		
Arne L. Christensen, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	22,689.96	354.45
James L. Christy, 805 15th Street, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20005	Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.	10,900.00	
Chubb Corporation, 15 Mountain View Road Warren, NJ 07061			34,636.66
James R. Churchill, 6301 Stevenson Avenue, #715 Alexandria, VA 22304			
Alan L. Chvotkin, 14829 Duffel Drive Gaithersburg, MD 20878	Sundstrand Corporation	9,775.00	2,072.20
Paul N. Cicio, 1776 Eye Street, NW, Suite 575 Washington, DC 20006	Dow Chemical Corp.		6,787.00
Citizen Action Fund, 1120 - 19th Street, NW, #630 Washington, DC 20036		17,500.00	17,329.00
Citizen's Committee to Save the Federal Center, c/o Mr. Michael J. Jackson Battle Creek Area Chamber of Commerce 34 W. Jackson, 4 River Battle Creek, MI 49017			
Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways (CRASH), 81 Lansing Street, #106 San Francisco, CA 94105-1611	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-American Communities for Cleanup Equity)	22,483.59	11,627.00
Philip Clapp, 1350 New York Ave., NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005-4798	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-City of Piqua, OH)	4,912.50	821.36
Do	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-Clean Water Action)	3,237.50	357.03
Do	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers Int'l Union, AFL-CIO)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc. (For-Brooklyn Hospital Center)	1,799.88	642.49
Donald A. Clarey, 112 South West Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Strategic Management Associates, Inc. (For-Greater New York Hospital Assn)	20,001.00	175.00
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Healthcom International)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Hospital for Special Surgery)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Lenox Hill Hospital)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Maimonides Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc. (For-MicroGeneSys, Inc.)	7,500.00	200.00
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Montefiore Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-Mount Sinai Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates (For-New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc. (For-Our Lady of Mercy Medical Center)		
Marshall C. Clark, 7332 SW 21st Street P.O. Box 4267 Topeka, KS 66604	Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc. (KEC)	3,245.00	
Thomas R. Clark, 919 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corp.		
Vernon A. Clark, P.O. Box 59347 Potomac, MD 20859-9347	Vern Clark & Associates (For-Coalition for Property Rights)	69,000.00	
Do	Vern Clark & Associates (For-Fox Television Stations, Inc.)	22,500.00	
Do	Vern Clark & Associates (For-Metromedia Communications)		
Do	Vern Clark & Associates (For-Metromedia Company)	30,000.00	
Do	Vern Clark & Associates (For-RJR-Nabisco Washington, Inc.)	52,500.00	
Vern Clark & Associates, P.O. Box 59347 Potomac, MD 20859-9347	Coalition for Property Rights	69,000.00	
Do	Fox Television Stations, Inc.	22,500.00	
Do	Metromedia Communications		
Do	Metromedia Company	30,000.00	
Do	RJR-Nabisco Washington, Inc.	52,500.00	
Richard Clarke, 1050 17th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Healthcare Financial Management Assn		728.88
Lee Pendergast Clark, 1455 F Street, NW, #450 Washington, DC 20005	Upjohn Company	17,400.00	
Isabelle M. Claxton, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Merck & Co., Inc.	1,000.00	400.00
Joan Claybrook, 2000 P Street, NW, #505 Washington, DC 20036	Public Citizen, Inc.	3,500.00	
Kenneth J. Clayton, 1120 Connecticut Ave, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	3,175.00	
Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton, 1752 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Copolymer Rubber & Chemical Corp.		
Do	Crompton & Knowles Corp.		
Do	Day-Glo Color Corp.		
Do	Fleet/Norstar Financial Group, Inc.		
Do	Government Representatives Cmte Securities Industry Assn		
Do	Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation		
Do	Ministry of Finance & Public Credit of the United Mexican St		
Do	Salomon Brothers, Inc.		
Do	U.S. Bancorp		
Ronald D. Clements, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute	10,649.35	705.87
Cleveland-Cliffs, Inc., 1100 Superior Avenue Cleveland, OH 44114-2589			1,095.00
William A. Clifford, 510-15 Revere Beach Blvd., #806 Revere, MA 02151	American Train Dispatchers Assn	978.47	
Clohan & Dean, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	America's Public Television Stations	375.00	
Do	Coalition of Higher Education Assistance Organizations	420.00	
Do	Consumer Bankers Assn	13,583.33	
Do	Student Loan Funding Corp of Ohio	26,139.00	
Do	Very Special Arts	1,000.00	
Do	American Petroleum Institute	400.00	
Do	American Feed Industry Assn		
Do	National Assn of Truck Stop Operators, Inc.		
Stephen J. Cloud, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005		15,500.00	30,119.58
Jamie L. Clover, 1501 Wilson Blvd., #1100 Arlington, VA 22209			4,576.00
W. Dewey Clower, 1199 North Fairfax, #801 Alexandria, VA 22314			
Coal Industry Health Protection Coalition, 918 16th Street, NW, Suite 303 Washington, DC 20006			
Coalition for an Undercharge Relief Bill, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1111 Washington, DC 20006			
Coalition of Americans to Protect Sports (CAPS), 200 Castlewood Drive North Palm Beach, FL 33408			
Coalition of Supporters of the Shipping Act, c/o Morgan Lewis & Bockius 1800 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
Coalition to Preserve the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, 2300 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037			
Coalition to Promote America's Trade, c/o Steptoe & Johnson 1330 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036		2,000.00	2,000.00
Richard B. Cobb, Petroleum Council of Ga 50 Hurt Plz., SE, #720 Atlanta, GA 30303-2923	American Petroleum Institute		
Drew Patrick Cobbs, 60 West Street, #403 Annapolis, MD 21401	American Petroleum Institute	1,800.00	
Robert D. Coble, P.O. Drawer 2426 Columbia, SC 29202	Nexsen Pruet Jacobs & Pollard (For-Greenwood Development Corp)		
W. J. Michael Cody, Burch Porter & Johnson 130 North Court Memphis, TN 38103	Monsanto Company	225.00	
PerryAnne Coffey, 3800 N. Fairfax Drive, Suite 4 Arlington, VA 22203	National Water Resources	12,000.00	
Amy A. Coggan, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	American Public Transit Assn	3,325.00	
Arnold D. Cohen, 900 19th Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	Savings & Community Bankers of America	5,000.00	160.54
Catherine Grealy Cohen, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20006	Eastman Kodak Company	900.00	86.00
Daniel L. Cohen, 1050 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Association of Trial Lawyers of America	2,000.00	100.00
John Cohen, 1331 Penn Ave., NW, #1500-North Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	200.00	
Kenneth S. Cohen, 1295 State Street Springfield, MA 01111-0001	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company	540.00	1,005.09
Philip Q. Cohen, 255 East Kellogg Blvd. St. Paul, MN 55101	Goff/Wilkie & Associates (For-North Metro Mayors Assn)		
Do	Goff/Wilkie & Associates (For-North Metro TH 610/10 Crosstown Council)		
Cohn and Marks, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Direct Marketing Assn	34,587.19	863.08
Do	Maclean Hunter Cable TV		
Joseph L. Colaneri, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #750 Washington, DC 20036	Union Oil Co of California		170.81
Carol Thompson Cole, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004	RJR Nabisco, Inc.	3,340.00	
Eleanor Cole, 820 First Street, NE, #400 Washington, DC 20002	UBA, Inc.	1,000.00	
Randall I. Cole, 7900 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102	HFSI	6,000.00	417.43
Robert E. Cole, 900 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., et al.	200.00	24.00
Walter S. Coleman, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Regional Airline Association	1,000.00	
Colex & Associates, 2775 South Quincy Street, #520 Arlington, VA 22206	Alabama State Docks		
Jessie M. Colgate, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #460(N) Washington, DC 20004-2505	New York Life Insurance Company	35.00	
Emilio G. Collado III, Collado Associates 1405 Montague Drive Vienna, VA 22180	American Watch Assn	400.00	
Collier Shannon Rill & Scott, 3050 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20007	Alliance for British & Australian Tax Equity (ABATE)		
Do	American Car Rental Assn	3,625.00	3,625.00
Do	American International Group	10,500.00	10,500.00
Do	American Textile Machinery Assn	560.00	560.00
Do	Association of Certified Trucking Schools		
Do	Australian Wheat Board		
Do	Bicycle Manufacturers Assn of America		
Do	Carfax	1,725.00	1,725.00
Do	Coalition for Safe Ceramicware	140.00	140.00
Do	Crop Insurance Research Bureau	385.00	385.00
Do	COMPACT		
Do	CSR Limited - Sugar Division		
Do	Fidelity Investments	1,250.00	1,250.00
Do	Food Marketing Institute		
Do	Footwear Industries of America		
Do	Gerry Baby Products Co.	172.50	172.50
Do	Golden Gate Petroleum International		
Do	Hyster		
Do	Independent Lubricant Manufacturers Assn	1,412.50	1,412.50

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Inland Steel Corp	1,120.00	1,120.00
Do	International Crystal Federation	140.00	140.00
Do	Leather Industries of America		
Do	Lykas Brothers, Inc		
Do	Municipal Castings Fair Trade Council		
Do	National Assn of Convenience Stores	3,635.00	3,635.00
Do	National Cosmetology Assn, Inc		
Do	National Juice Products Assn		
Do	National Pork Producers Council	975.00	975.00
Do	Oneyda Ltd		
Do	Outdoor Power Equipment Institute		
Do	Owner-Operator Independent Drivers Assn	1,580.00	1,580.00
Do	Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A.	10,250.00	10,250.00
Do	Petrolam, Ltd		
Do	Pittsburgh Corning Corporation		
Do	Restor Industries, Inc		
Do	Searsman Industries, Inc		
Do	Shipbuilders Council of America		
Do	Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers of America	6,797.00	6,797.00
Do	Specialty Steel Industry of the United States	1,225.00	1,225.00
Do	Steel Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Wickland Oil Co	870.00	870.00
John Collins, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	American Trucking Assn, Inc	11,000.00	
Camilla L. Collova, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1007 Washington, DC 20036	Armstrong World Industries, Inc		2.00
Jeffrey Colman, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001	American Israel Public Affairs Comm	17,077.50	213.89
Mary Colville, 1155 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Broiler Council	1,375.00	
Dionne A. Colvin, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc		
Jeffrey W. Combs, c/o Tennessee Petroleum Council 315 Deaderick Street, #1430 Nashville, TN 37238-1430	American Petroleum Institute		
Lori A. Comeau, 1401 Eye Street, NW, #340 Washington, DC 20005	CF Industries, Inc	500.00	348.58
Comiskey & Hunt, One Courthouse Metro, #850 2200 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22201	Gold Fields Operating Company-Mesquite		
Commercial Finance Association, 225 W. 34th St. New York, NY 10122			13,282.00
Committee for Humane Legislation, Inc, 1623 Connecticut Avenue, NW, 4th Floor Washington, DC 20036		33,057.00	3,659.76
Committee on U.S. Business Canadian Life & Health Ins Assn, c/o Dykema Gossett 800 Michigan National Tower Lansing, MI 48933			9,975.00
Common Cause, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036		1,993,314.00	490,776.65
Community Service Council of Central IN, Inc, 3901 North Meridian Street P.O. Box 88409 Indianapolis, IN 46208-0409	United Way/Community Service Council of Central IN, Inc		3.73
Competitive Enterprise Institute, 233 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, #200 Washington, DC 20003		89,500.00	
Compressed Gas Assn/Helium Advisory Council, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy, #1004 Arlington, VA 22202-4102		44,000.00	44,000.00
Compressed Gas Assn/Industrial Gas Manufacturers Council, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Suite 1004 Arlington, VA 22202-4102		102,000.00	
Bert M. Concklin, 8607 Westwood Center Drive, Suite 204 Vienna, VA 22182	Professional Services Council	3,000.00	
Concord Associates, Inc, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #560 Washington, DC 20004	Association for Commercial Real Estate	3,000.00	
Do	Forest City Ratner Companies	25,000.00	
Do	Kinetic Concepts	3,000.00	
Do	Maglev USA	12,500.00	
Do	Southern Company Services, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Texas TGV	30,000.00	
Thomas L. Conlan, One West Fourth Street, Suite 200 Cincinnati, OH 45202	Student Loan Funding Corp	2,156.67	
Gregory A. Conley, 9700 W. Higgins Rd. Rosemont, IL 60018	Galileo International		569.84
Connaught Laboratories, Inc, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 650 Washington, DC 20036		561.00	252.16
Jeanne K. Connolly, 1875 Eye St., NW, #540 Washington, DC 20006	Champion International Corp	1,788.00	2,968.75
Connerton Ray & Simon, 1920 L Street, NW, 4th Floor Washington, DC 20036-5004	Association of University Programs in Occupational Safety	7,500.00	2,968.75
Do	International Assn of Fire Fighters	25,000.00	2,968.75
Do	International Chemical Workers Union	2,500.00	2,968.75
Do	Laborers Employers Cooperative & Education Trust	11,921.25	2,968.75
Do	Laborers National Health & Safety Fund	5,898.75	2,968.75
Do	Laborers/AGC Education & Training Fund	18,013.25	2,968.75
Do	National Coordinating Comm for Multiemployer Plans	420.00	2,968.75
Catherine Connor, 700 11th Street, NW Suite 710 Washington, DC 20001	Parsons Brinckerhoff Quade & Douglas, Inc	189.00	
Jerry C. Connors, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #511 Arlington, VA 22202	Manufactured Housing Institute	8,500.00	12.00
David R. Conrad, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation	4,443.60	
Consortium for Int'l Earth Science Information Network, 2250 Pierce Road University Center, MI 48710		18,000.00	18,729.13
Consumer Energy Council of America Research Foundation, 2000 L St., NW, #802 Washington, DC 20036			
Continental European Insurance Coalition, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078			
Daniel J. Conway, One Massachusetts Ave., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20001	Chubb Corporation	10,000.00	640.05
Harry N. Cook, 1130 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Waterways Conference, Inc		
Ruth E. Cook, 3309 Ridgecrest Court Raleigh, NC 27607	AT&T		
Thomas M. Cook, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004	National Cattlemen's Assn	1,000.00	
Cook Group, Inc, 300 Fountain Square P.O. Box 1608 Bloomington, IN 47402-1608			48,197.34
Charles E. Cooke, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #450-N Washington, DC 20004	Southern California Edison Co	7,763.00	5,700.00
Eileen D. Cooke, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Suite 101 Washington, DC 20002	American Library Assn	2,187.00	
Ted Coombes, 2301 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	American Public Power Assn	1,000.00	
Benjamin Y. Cooper Jr., 100 Daingerfield Road Alexandria, VA 22314	Printing Industries of America, Inc	12,500.00	
Billy R. Cooper, 1300 North 17th Street, Suite 1320 Arlington, VA 22209-3801	Eastman Kodak Company (Imaging Group)		
Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Rubber & Plastic Footwear Manufacturers Assn	33,000.00	34.02
Darrell Coover, 499 South Capitol St., SW, #401 Washington, DC 20003	National Assn of Independent Insurers	2,000.00	211.00
Copeland Hatfield & Lowery, 601 13th Street, NW, #710 North Washington, DC 20005	Bay Area Rapid Transit District	15,983.70	
Do	Biomagnetic Technologies	15,271.69	
Do	California League of Savings Institutions	825.00	
Do	County of Alameda	19,200.00	
Do	County of Merced	4,500.00	
Do	CALSTART	5,126.20	
Do	Dillon Development	7,500.00	
Do	Hazardous Waste Action Committee	5,355.16	
Do	International Bottled Water Assn	11,391.82	
Do	ICF International	9,175.59	
Do	Monarch Wine Company	2,250.00	
Do	ORINCON Corp	12,728.27	
Do	Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company	8,492.67	
Do	San Diego State University Foundation	30,192.66	
Do	Santa Barbara Metropolitan Transit District	12,306.99	
Do	South West Marine	5,000.00	
Do	Westlands Water District	15,368.58	
Do	Citibank N.A.	1,243.00	
Do	American Meat Institute	6,312.00	267.80
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp	1,000.00	
Heidi S. Coppola, 425 Park Avenue New York, NY 10043			
Michael J. Cops, 1700 North Moore Street, #1600 Arlington, VA 22209	International Assn of Machinists & Aerospace Workers	17,181.15	
John F. Corcoran, 1500 K Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20005	First National Bank of Maryland	500.00	192.32
Tom Corcoran, O'Connor & Hannan 1913 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006-3404			
Maria C. Cordone, 9000 Machinists Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772			
George F. Cormeny Jr., 25 South Charles Street/Banc 121 - 013 Baltimore, MD 21203			
Corn Refiners Assn, Inc, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1120 Washington, DC 20036			
Christine Corrado, 1420 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314			
Ernest J. Corrado, 1000 16th St., NW, #511 Washington, DC 20036	National Society of Professional Engineers	1,250.00	
Mary Marcotte Corrigan, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Institute of Merchant Shipping	3,375.00	68.00
Marty Corry, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	National Rifle Assn of America		
Allan D. Cors, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	American Assn of Retired Persons	1,025.76	297.67
Philip S. Corwin, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Corning, Inc	900.00	
Barbara J. W. Cosgriff, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Bankers Assn	1,500.00	
Paul S. Cosgrove, 121 SW Salmon Suite #1400 Portland, OR 97204	American Council of Life Insurance		
Cosmetic Toiletary & Fragrance Assn, Inc, 1101 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Gardner Cosgrove & Gardner (For Anadarko Petroleum Corp)		
Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR), 28 North Country Road, Suite 102 Mt. Sinai, NY 11766		2,100.00	2,100.00
Council for Responsible Nutrition, 1300 19th Street, NW #310 Washington, DC 20036-1609		154,206.00	154,090.00
Council for Rural Housing & Development, 2300 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036		2,000.00	2,000.00
Council of Industrial Boiler Owners, 6035 Burke Centre Parkway, #360 Burke, VA 22015			
Council of State Chambers of Commerce, 122 C St., NW, #330 Washington, DC 20001		1,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Brian Cove, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, #5300 Washington, DC 20024	Honda North America		
Thomas J. Cove, 1625 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Sporting Goods Manufacturers Assn (SGMA)	5,000.00	1,058.35
Covington & Burling, P.O. Box 7566 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20044	Ad Hoc Coalition on Intermarket Coordination	1,437.50	12.00
Do	American Assn of Oral & Maxillofacial Surgeons	3,240.00	
Do	American PCS, L.P.	7,185.00	
Do	Anchorage Telephone Utility	3,962.00	
Do	Association of Maximum Service Television, Inc.	1,095.00	
Do	Attorneys Liability Assurance Society, Inc.		
Do	Bacardi Corp	3,762.50	7.00
Do	Brown Brothers Harriman & Co		
Do	Coalition to Preserve the Integrity of American Trademarks		
Do	Committee on Royalty Taxation	1,917.50	
Do	Consolidated Natural Gas Company		
Do	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research	1,075.00	375.00
Do	CBS Television Network Affiliates Assn		
Do	Erisa Industry Committee		4.00
Do	International Business Machines Corp		
Do	Investment Company Institute	125.00	
Do	John E. Simon Trust	962.50	97.18
Do	John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co	1,815.00	
Do	Lutheran Brotherhood		
Do	National Football League		
Do	NationsBank Corp		
Do	Private Benefits Alliance		
Do	Public Broadcasting Service	82.50	
Do	Harry Shooster		
Do	State of Alabama, Dept of Human Resources Legal Office	1,875.00	
Do	State of California, Dept of Health Services		
Do	State of California, Dept of Social Services		
Do	State of Florida, Dept of Health & Rehabilitative Services		
Do	State of Georgia, Division of Family & Children's Services	6,250.00	
Do	State of Idaho, Dept of Health & Welfare		
Do	State of Illinois, Department of Public Aid (Food Stamp Act)	625.00	
Do	State of Illinois, Dept of Public Aid (Social Security Act)	2,525.00	
Do	State of Indiana		
Do	State of Kentucky, Dept of Social Insurance		
Do	State of Louisiana (Medicaid/QC)		
Do	State of Louisiana, Food Stamp Director		
Do	State of Maryland, Dept of Health Services		
Do	State of Missouri	1,625.00	
Do	State of Missouri, Dept of Social Services		
Do	State of Nebraska, Dept of Social Services		
Do	State of New Jersey		
Do	State of New Mexico	625.00	
Do	State of New York Bureau of Deferrals & Disallowances		
Do	State of New York, Dept of Social Services	6,250.00	
Do	State of Ohio, Dept of Human Services	5,625.00	
Do	State of Oklahoma (Food Stamp/QC)	634.50	
Do	State of Oklahoma (Medicaid/QC)		
Do	State of Rhode Island, Dept of Human Services		
Do	State of Washington Office of Analysis & Medical Review		
Do	State of Washington, Dept of Social & Health Services	1,562.50	
Do	State of West Virginia, Bureau of Human Resources		
Do	State of West Virginia, Office of Medical Services		
Do	State of Wisconsin, Dept of Health & Social Services	2,000.00	
Do	Sun Life Assurance Co of Canada (U.S.)		
Do	American Soc of Mechanical Engineers		
Do	Common Cause		
Do	Beik Stores Services, Inc		
Do	Ashland Oil, Inc	2,000.00	
Do	Campaign for U.N. Reform-Political Education Committee	6,097.41	43.53
Do	Continental Airlines Holdings, Inc	416.00	137.93
Do	Japan Economic Institute of America	500.00	
Do	Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Assn	2,025.00	
Do	Savings and Community Bankers of America	18,818.75	331.50
Do	Central and South West Corp	826.50	377.91
Do	National Parks & Conservation Association		
Do	Algonquin Gas Transmission Company		
Do	American Assn of Advertising Agencies		
Do	American Fiber Manufacturers Association		
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council		
Do	Association for Manufacturing Technology		
Do	Chubb Corporation		
Do	Electronic Space Systems Corp		
Do	Invest to Compete Alliance		
Do	Kimberly Quality Care		
Do	MFJ Task Force		
Do	National Electrical Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Savings and Community Bankers		
Do	Securities Industry Association		
Do	Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children		
Do	Campbell-Raupe (For Stone and Webster Engineering Corporation)		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corporation		
Do	W. R. Grace & Co/World Headquarters	1,000.00	
Do	Coors Brewing Co	12,000.00	314.25
Do	Food Marketing Institute	100.00	
Do	American Cement Alliance, Inc	15,000.00	97.61
Do	Caterpillar, Inc	3,000.00	28.74
Do	Defenders of Wildlife	2,419.80	143.82
Do	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn		
Do	U.S. Interactive Microwave Television Assn		
Do		385.00	385.00
Do	Industrial Telecommunications Assn, Inc		
Do	Fleet Reserve Assn		
Do	American Federation of Teachers	17,382.54	40.00
Do	Center for Marine Conservation		1,272.45
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn	2,681.25	36.00
Do	American Ind Conservancy		
Do	Asarco, Inc		
Do	Associated Gas Distributors		
Do	Avon Products, Inc		
Do	Brooklyn Union Gas Co		
Do	Canyon Resources Corp	550.00	8.00
Do	City of North Miami		
Do	Communications Satellite Corp		
Do	Cook Inlet Region, Inc		
Do	Eagle-Picher Industries, Inc	81.25	10.00
Do	Eli Lilly & Company	635.50	10.00
Do	Environmental Research Information, Inc		
Do	Helicopter Assn International		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co		
Do	National Assn of Wholesaler-Distributors	2,887.50	10.00
Do	National Risk Retention Assn		
Do	New York Life Insurance Co	275.00	
Do	Polysiocyanurate Insulation Mfrs Assn		
Do	Regional Airline Association		
Do	Rocking K Development		
Do	Trust for Public Lands		
Do	United Cities Gas Co		
Do	Western Governors' Assn		
Do	Wyatt Company		
Crowell & Moring International LP, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1275 Washington, DC 20004-2505	Avon Products, Inc		
Do	Board of Foreign Trade, Gov't of the Republic of China		
Do	Singapore Trade Development Board		
John D. Cuadras, 1235 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, VA 22202	ESCO Electronics Corp		611.98
Dennis P. Culloton, 233 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, IL 60601	Health Care Service Corp	6,250.00	
Philip Cummings, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-American Iron & Steel Institute)	6,266.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Browning-Ferris Industries, Inc)	1,586.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Clean Water Act Reauthorization Coalition)	29,894.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Eastman Kodak Company)	14,196.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Freeport-McMoran, Inc)	1,534.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-General Electric Co)	19,604.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Massachusetts Water Resources Authority)	25,038.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Rohr Industries, Inc)		
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-Southern California Assn of Governments)	7,748.00	
Do	McCutchen Doyle Brown & Enersen (For-3M)	130.00	
Law Ofc of Jonathan W. Cuneo, 1301 K Street, NW, #650-E Washington, DC 20005	Songwriters Guild of America	7,500.00	18.00
Charles V. Cunningham, 1155 15th Street, NW, Suite 504 Washington, DC 20005	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	Dunavant Enterprises, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Hohenberg Bros. Company	1,500.00	
J. Courtney Cunningham, 430 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Trucking Assn, Inc	6,000.00	
F.P. Curran, 7315 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 1250W Bethesda, MD 20814	Treasury Management Assn	210.00	
Anne M. Curry, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Food Marketing Institute	500.00	
Debra Curtis, 1120 19th Street, NW, Suite 630 Washington, DC 20036	Citizen Action Fund	4,000.00	163.00
Garry R. Curtis, Greater Washington Board of Trade 1129 20th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Greater Washington Board of Trade	2,000.00	
Cutler & Stanfield, 700 14th Street, NW, 10th floor Washington, DC 20005	General Atomics		
Ralf W.K. Czepluch, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	Gulf Power Company	4,836.00	7,963.31
CF Industries, Inc, Salem Lake Dr, Long Grove, IL 60047			1,000.00
Norman E. D'Amours, 135 Chase Way Manchester, NH 03104	American Council of State Savings Supervisors		
William K. Dabaghi, Anter & Hadden 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (ZENCHU)		
Susan Dahlquist, 2000 K St., NW, 8th floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security	16,860.00	1,849.39
Frank J. Daily, 411 East Wisconsin Ave, Milwaukee, WI 53202	Quarles & Brady (For-General Motors Corp)	14,000.00	5,585.80
Dairy Farmers for Responsible Dairy Policy, 1919 South Eads St., #103 Arlington, VA 22201-3028			
Patricia A. Daley, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-Pmdigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-US Telephone Assn)		
Do	American Cynamid Company (For-Lederle Laboratories)	3,675.00	524.64
Do	National Society of Professional Engineers	2,500.00	
Do	Grumman Corp	625.00	761.82
Donald W. Dalrymple, 1575 I St., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of State Farm Agents		
James G. Dalton, 1420 King St. Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	American Optometric Assn		
Robert P. Daly II, 1000 Wilson Blvd, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Farmers Educational and Co-Operative Union of America	5,842.85	129.51
Jim Daniels, 4759 S. Conway Rd, Orlando, FL 32812	American Assn of Airport Executives	8,100.00	
David S. Danielson, 1505 Prince Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314			
Nancy Danielson, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #202W Washington, DC 20024	Phillips Petroleum Co	2,000.00	12.74
Linda Daschle, 4212 King Street Alexandria, VA 22302	American Advertising Federation	545.83	108.52
Theodore S. J. Davi, 23 Holland Road Pittsburgh, PA 15235	American Assn of Advertising Agencies	658.33	108.52
Linda L. Davidson, 1775 Eye Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Association of National Advertisers, Inc	545.83	108.52
Davidson Colling Group, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20004	Carastar Industries	78.75	15.36
Do	Direct Marketing Assn	545.83	108.52
Do	Dun & Bradstreet Corporation	1,183.50	22.60
Do	Field Container Corp	11.25	2.19
Do	Garden State Paper Company	33.75	6.58
Do	Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc	545.83	108.52
Do	Halltown Paperboard Co	5.63	1.10
Do	Homedco	6,459.75	349.77
Do	Lincare	3,225.00	174.91
Do	Magazine Publishers of America	4,014.58	117.75
Do	Media General, Inc	1,275.00	
Do	Miller & Chevalier, Chtd	132.50	
Do	National Assn of Broadcasters	2,364.58	117.75
Do	Newark Group	106.88	20.85
Do	Newman & Company	5.63	1.10
Do	Newspaper Assn of America	1,727.08	117.75
Do	Rock-Tenn Company	84.38	16.45
Do	Sonoco Products Co	112.50	21.95
Do	Southeast Paper Manufacturing Co	67.50	13.17
Do	Waldorf Corp	50.60	9.88
Do	White Pigeon Paper Company	5.63	1.10
Do	Yellow Pages Publishers Assn	545.83	108.52
Dionne M. Davies, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, #727 Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	3,420.00	
D. Drew Davis, 3M Center St. Paul, MN 55144-1000	Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M)	3,500.00	
Drew M. Davis, 1101 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Soft Drink Assn	47.88	59.00
Edward M. Davis, 410 First St., SE Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council	3,781.46	
Edwin H. Davis, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	11,554.70	
Fred G. Davis, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW 4th floor Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute	2,123.92	177.00
Michael Davis, 735 North Water St., #908 Milwaukee, WI 53202-4105	American Malting Barley Assn, Inc	1,947.75	
Michael R. Davis, 4455 Woodson Road St. Louis, MO 63134	Catholic Health Assn of the United States	386.24	
Ovid R. Davis, P.O. Drawer 1734 Atlanta, GA 30301	Coca-Cola Company		
William M. Davis, 1615 M Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corp	1,200.00	
Davis & Harman, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Ad Hoc Comm of Life Insurance Companies	157.50	
Do	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	3,343.00	
Do	Alcoma Packing Company, Inc	700.00	
Do	American Automotive Leasing Assn	7,200.00	413.34
Do	American General Life Insurance Co	990.00	
Do	American Home Life Insurance Co	3,125.50	9.00
Do	American Horse Council	2,160.00	
Do	American Integrity Insurance Company		
Do	American Investors Life Insurance	1,200.00	
Do	Armco Steel Co	2,700.00	
Do	Bethlehem Steel Corp	2,700.00	
Do	Chicago Board of Trade	8,500.20	651.18
Do	Columbia Gas Development Corp	3,000.00	25.33
Do	Committee of Annuity Insurers	600.00	122.09
Do	Dresser Industries, Inc	100.00	
Do	First Penn-Pacific Life Insurance Co		
Do	Florida Power & Light	415.00	
Do	Florida Sugar Cane League, Inc	1,200.00	
Do	General Aviation Manufacturers Association	4,500.00	218.83
Do	Hughes & Luce	2,607.50	
Do	James Graham Brown Foundation		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Lincoln National Life Insurance Co	1,238.50	
Do	National Business Aircraft Assn	1,500.00	218.83
Do	National Cattlemen's Assn	900.00	
Do	National Lime Assn	3,000.00	
Do	Retired Lives Reserve Group	262.00	
Do	Stock Information Group		
Do	U.S. Sugar Corp	1,200.00	129.01
Do	Underwriters of Lloyd's London		
Do	William H. Williams	3,000.00	139.73
Do	Worldspan	587.50	
Davis Polk & Wardwell, 1300 Eye St., NW Washington, DC 20005	Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co		
Do	LTV Corp		
Do	Morgan Guaranty Trust Co	650.00	13.00
Do	Morgan Stanley & Co, Inc		
Do	Northwest Corporation	1,800.00	43.00
Davis Wright & Tremaine, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	American Honda Motor Co, Inc	943.00	11.50
Do	Seattle Times Company		
Robert W. Davis, Jr., 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Ford Motor Co	1,600.00	653.00
Leslie Dawson, 1901 L Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Savarese & Associates (For National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider)	4,000.00	
Rhett B. Dawson, 1900 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20068	Potomac Electric Power Co		
Brenda T. Day, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Chrysler Corporation	6,249.00	518.33
Michael P. Day, 101 North Phillips Avenue P.O. Box 5118 Sioux Falls, SD 57117	Crop Hail Management (NORWEST)		
Gaston De Bearn, 1300 Eye Street, NW, #520-W Washington, DC 20005-3314	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc	2,696.00	380.63
Maryann M. Dean, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	1,000.00	
John Russell Deane III, 1317 F Street NW #550 Washington, DC 20004	Auto International Assn	33.00	43.16
Do	Coalition of Automotive Assns	75.00	70.47
Do	Port of Portland	303.00	330.03
Do	Specialty Equipment Market Assn	13,975.00	2,235.16
Tom K. Decker, Box 3529 Portland, OR 97208	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Richard A. Deem, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Associated General Contractors of America		
Brian Deery, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Common Cause	6,090.00	
George K. Degon Associates, Inc, 6728 Old McLean Village Drive McLean, VA 22101	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers)		
Tom Dehner, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For Atlantic Richfield Co)	315.00	19.50
William T. Deitz, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	New Jersey Turnpike Authority	2,047.50	131.60
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell (For Proctor & Gamble Mfg Co)	60.00	
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For Southern California Rapid Transit District)	4,502.50	91.00
Gene A. Del Polito, 1333 F Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004-1108	Advertising Mail Marketing Assn	1,888.00	
James A. Delaney, 9402 Lost Trail Way Potomac, MD 20854	American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	1,264.00	1,400.00
Edward N. Delaney & Associates, Chtd, 1629 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Association of Outplacement Consulting Firms, Inc		
Do	National Assn of Independent Insurers	22,500.00	5,060.01
Do	National Council of Business Advisors		
Delchamps/Capitol Link, P.O. Box 9183 Arlington, VA 22219	Bishop State Community College		
Do	City of Mobile		
Do	Elevator-Escalator Safety Foundation, Inc	1,000.00	1,000.00
Do	Madison County Commission		
Mitchell Delk, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #950 Washington, DC 20077-7347	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp		
Willard L. Demory, 1101 - 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For Prodigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory Ltd (For U.S. Telephone Assn)		
George H. Denison, 5910 Woodacres Drive Bethesda, MD 20816	Edison Electric Institute	2,000.00	
Do	General Atomics		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Paul W. Dennett, 1310 G Street, NW, 12 Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	16,089.00	357.27
Thomas J. Dennis Sr., 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #450-N Washington, DC 20004	Southern California Edison Co	9,678.00	5,700.00
Lane Denton, 610 Brazos, Suite 410 Austin, TX 78701	Texas Highway Patrol Assn		6,240.89
Robert Neal Denton, 2001 S Street, NW, #301 Washington, DC 20009	Alliance of Nonprofit Mailers	8,696.10	192.50
Edward M. Desmond, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #1060 Washington, DC 20006	Sterling Winthrop, Inc		
James M. Desmond, 5234 Duval Road Bethesda, MD 20816	Martin Marietta Corporation	4,500.00	
Jo Ellen Deutsch, 1625 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Association of Flight Attendants, AFL-CIO	4,500.00	
Caroline M. Devine, 1250 H Street NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Mobil Corp	1,000.00	1,353.20
R. Daniel Devlin, 808 17th Street, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20006	Trans World Airlines, Inc	600.00	
Robert L. Dewey, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife	33.66	
Dewey Ballantine, 1775 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	SEMATECH		
Jennifer S. DeAnna, 601 13th Street, NW, Suite 650 North Washington, DC 20005	Detroit Edison Company	480.00	15.00
Alex J. DeBoissiere, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20004	Tenneco Gas	1,813.00	
James U. DeFrancis, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1014 Washington, DC 20036	Ebasco Services, Inc	4,012.50	1,461.38
Debra DeLee, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Education Assn	5,216.90	
Rodney DeLoach, 777 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	1,250.00	547.35
Doris M. DeMay, 701 North Fairfax Street Alexandria, VA 22314	United Way of America	3,610.00	145.34
William R. DeReuter, 3000 K Street, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20007	Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc	2,000.00	
Mark DeSantis, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 230 Washington, DC 20004	Texas Instruments	3,750.00	162.50
Christine DeVries, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses' Assn	11,628.18	201.11
Thomas R. DeYulia, 7361 Calhoun Place Rockville, MD 20850	CNA Insurance Co		
Gregory G. Diaz, 3200 Bristol Street, Suite 640 Costa Mesa, CA 92626	City of Bell and Community Redevelopment Agency of Bell	4,333.50	1.80
Chester T. Dickerson Jr., 700 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Co		679.75
Ann Sanders Dickey, 2605 Nonconah Memphis, TN 38132	Federal Express Corp	6,000.00	
J. Hugh Dickey, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20005	Chevron Companies	1,500.00	
Dickstein Shapiro & Morin, 2101 L St., NW Washington, DC 20037	Advance Publications		
Do	American Greyhound Track Operators Assn	6,203.77	
Do	Apple Computer Corp		
Do	ABD Securities Corp		
Do	Bear Stearns & Co		
Do	Cordova District Fishermen United, Inc		
Do	CoreSource	5,914.15	
Do	Electric Generation Assn	1,200.00	
Do	Federal National Mortgage Assn	946.88	
Do	Federated Cash Management Systems	6,000.00	
Do	Harbour Group Ltd		
Do	Home Box Office, Inc		
Do	Illinois Dept of Children & Family Services		
Do	Iroquois Gas, Inc		
Do	Magma Copper Company		
Do	Malaysian Palm Oil Promotion Council		
Do	Medtronic, Inc	1,997.50	
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores		
Do	National Fed of Societies for Clinical Social Work	2,256.25	
Do	Newport Group		
Do	North Carolina Dept of Natural Resources & Community Develop		
Do	Ocean State Power		
Do	Paulucci Enterprises	2,877.50	
Do	State of Connecticut		
Do	States of Arkansas, et al.		
Do	Tobacco Institute	600.00	
Do	U.S. Generating Company		
Rick Diegel, 1125 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO-CLC	2,281.25	150.00
Robbi Rice Dietrich, P.O. Box 660634 Dallas, TX 75266-0634	Frito-Lay, Inc	5,850.00	3,042.00
Michael F. Dineen, 600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, #206 Washington, DC 20003	Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co (For Kemper Investors Life Insurance Co)		
Do	Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company (For Kemper Reinsurance Company)		
Do	Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company	2,100.00	1,172.30
Do	Building Owners & Managers Assn Int'l	1,250.00	400.00
James C. Dinegar, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Health & Medicine Counsel of Washington		
Direct Selling Association, 1776 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Dale P. Dirks, 711 Second Street, NE, #200 Washington, DC 20002			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Mary Ann Diriz, 9 West 57th Street New York, NY 10019	Avon Products, Inc.		
Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike Cold Spring, KY 41076		149,974.83	149,974.83
Discovery Cruises, Inc, 1850 Eller Drive, Suite 402 Fort Lauderdale, FL 33316			
Patsy B. Dix, 1130 Conn. Ave., NW Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036			
Do			
Vanessa Dixon, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	American Insurance Assn		
Charles J. DiBona, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Education Assn		
Ann DiDonato, 2266 Chimney Ridge Road Madison, OH 44057	U.S. English	25.00	
Gerard D. DiMarco, Two State Street, Crossroads Bldg., #400 Rochester, NY 14614	American Petroleum Institute	5,000.00	
Nicholas J. DiMichael, 1275 K Street, NW, #850 Washington, DC 20005-4006	Center for Energy	2,954.00	1,905.32
Rose M. DiNapoli, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20004	DiMarco Riley & Bulger (For:Tom Gosnell)	4,550.00	345.50
Anna-Marie DiPasquale, 950 North Glebe Road, Suite 160 Arlington, VA 22203	National Industrial Transportation League	1,942.50	20.00
Lucia DiVenere, 925 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	10,500.00	30.00
E. David Doane, 1401 I Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	American Boiler Manufacturers Assn		
J. Graham Dodson, P.O. Box 21106 Shreveport, LA 71156	National Assn for Home Care	62.40	
Julie Domenick Doerr, 1600 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Koch Industries, Inc	4,000.00	425.51
James F. Doherty, 1129 20th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Southwestern Electric Power Co	600.00	
John D. Doherty Jr., 1421 Prince Street, #400 Alexandria, VA 22314	Investment Company Institute	488.78	48.00
Brian M. Dolan, 1 Metro-Tech Center Brooklyn, NY 11201	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Mary Anne Dolbear, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	Federal Legislative Associates, Inc (For:Olin Brass)	5,475.00	2,924.38
Stephan G. Dollinger, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Brooklyn Union Gas Co	190.00	35.00
Maria M. Donahue, 1901 North Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209	National Solid Wastes Management Assn (NSWMA)	500.00	
Andrew J. Donelson, 1101 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute	200.00	
Kevin J. Donnellan, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	Foodservice & Packaging Institute, Inc		
Paul Donnellan, 99 Canal Center Plaza, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co	3,500.00	
Mary Elizabeth Donnelly, 1233 20th St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	American Assn of Retired Persons	394.15	
Thomas F. Donnelly, 3800 N. Fairfax Drive, Suite 4 Arlington, VA 22203	American International Automobile Dealers Assn	13,200.00	
Sally S. Donner, 1341 G Street NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Newmont Mining Corp		
Do	National Water Resources Assn	11,000.00	
Winfield L. Donoho, 412 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Kraft General Foods, Inc		
Nancy J. Donohoe, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	2,196.50	362.90
Do	National Automobile Dealers Assn	5,000.00	
Ridgely Thorp Donohue, 60 Wall Street New York, NY 10260	Rosapepe and Spanos, Inc (For:H&R Block, Inc)	1,070.00	17.25
Thomas J. Donohue, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc (For:Interim Services, Inc)		
David L. Donovan, 1320 19th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	J. P. Morgan and Co., Incorporated (parent company)	73.81	73.81
William Donovan, 3138 N. 10th Street Arlington, VA 22201	American Trucking Assn, Inc	11,000.00	
Jeffrey D. Doranz, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	National Assn of Federal Credit Unions	2,500.00	77.10
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For:American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers)	2,602.50	223.30
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For:Atlantic Richfield Co)	142.50	
Do	Cerrell Associates, Inc (For:Calif Indep Mortgage Brokers.)	1,387.50	
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For:Government Employees Hospital Assn)	5,077.50	257.01
Do	New Jersey Turnpike Authority		
Do	Proctor & Gamble Mfg Co	285.00	8.00
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For:Southern California Rapid Transit District)	90.00	
James R. Dorcy, 1666 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20009	Federation for American Immigration Reform	410.00	61.00
Michael C. Dorf, 130 East Randolph Street, #3800 Chicago, IL 60601	Schuyler Roche & Zwirner (For:Gabriella Rosenbaum Trust)	10,245.00	861.51
Dorfman & O'Neal, Inc, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 730N Washington, DC 20004	General Pneumatics Corp		9,347.25
Do	Hercules Engine Co		6,330.84
Keith G. Dorman, 625 Liberty Ave., 7th Pittsburgh, PA 15222	Peoples Natural Gas Company	5,000.00	1,186.95
Dorsey & Whitney, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Association of International Automobile Manufacturers, Inc	6,720.00	80.00
Do	City of St. Paul	3,240.00	24.00
Do	Guam Commission on Self Determination	6,093.50	48.00
Do	National Computer Systems		
Do	Solvay Pharmaceuticals, Inc	637.50	8.00
Do	United HealthCare Corp	4,422.50	24.00
Do	Deere & Company	459.00	
Dean R. Dort II, 1667 K Street, NW, #1230 Washington, DC 20006	National Council of Chain Restaurants		
Terrie M. Dort, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Goldman Sachs & Co	2,000.00	
W. Carter Doswell, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	U.S. Surgical Corp	2,000.00	
Robert J. Dotchin, One Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20001	Delta Air Lines, Inc	170.00	118.60
R. J. Doubrava, 1629 K Street, NW, #501 Washington, DC 20006	Southland Corp		2,357.57
Ronald H. Doughty, 2711 N. Haskell Avenue Dallas, TX 75204	National Assn of Truck Stop Operators		
Stephen W. Dove, 1199 North Fairfax Street, Suite 801 Alexandria, VA 22314	American Movers Conference		
Jane Lind Downey, 1611 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co	99.22	63.84
Mary Theresa Doyle, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 250 Washington, DC 20004	Disabled American Veterans	23,899.12	
Ronald W. Drach, 807 Maine Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	Ciba-Geigy Corp	8,000.00	126.37
David P. Drake, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	American Medical Assn	5,272.00	
James E. Drake, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Fredrikson & Byron (For:City of New Brighton)		
John E. Drawz, 1100 International Centre 900 Second Ave., South Minneapolis, MN 55402-3397	American Farm Bureau Federation	10,468.00	
Paul A. Drazek, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	General Dynamics Corp	250.00	
Dressendorfer-Laird, Inc, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, #210 Washington, DC 20036	QualMed, Inc	250.00	
Do	Science Applications Int'l Corp	250.00	
Stephen D. Driesler, 777 14th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	8,000.00	
William B. Driggers Jr., 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway #605 Arlington, VA 22202	Texas Instruments, Inc	128.00	371.98
Alvin Driesler, 3420 Reedy Drive Annandale, VA 22003	Leucadia National Corp	10,082.89	
Do	PHLCORP	18,000.00	117.47
Pamela J. Driver, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Paperboard Packaging Environmental Council		
Duberstein Group, Inc, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20037	Aetna Life & Casualty	5,600.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	800.00	
Do	Consolidated Rail Corporation		
Do	Dow Corning Corporation	4,960.00	
Do	Federal National Mortgage Assn		
Do	General Motors Corp	4,080.00	
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co	3,600.00	
Do	Healthcare Leadership Council	6,720.00	
Do	Monsanto Company	14,720.00	
Do	National Cable Television Assn, Inc	1,600.00	
Do	Shell Oil Company	5,120.00	
Do	United Air Lines, Inc	2,880.00	
Do	Warner Communications, Inc	11,760.00	
Stan Dublinske, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
G. Stephen Duca, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Marine Spill Response Corporation	2,500.00	
Ducheneaux Taylor & Associates, 1155 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Campo Band of Mission Indians		
Do	Chippewa-Ottawa Treaty Fishery Management Authority	375.00	
Do	Commissioned Officers Assn of the U.S.P.H.S., Inc	300.00	
Do	Crow Creek Sioux Tribe	400.00	
Do	Grand Portage Reservation Tribal Council	450.00	
Do	Intertribal Agricultural Council	150.00	
Do	Leech Lake Tribal Council	562.50	
Do	Little Six Incorporated	300.00	
Do	Minnesota Indian Gaming Association	825.00	
Do	Siletz Tribal Council	900.00	
Do	Tohono O'odham Nation	562.50	
Do	Tulalip Tribes	600.00	
Do	White Earth Tribal Council	562.50	
Arianne M. Duddy, 1401 I Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Koch Industries, Inc		
Tim Dudgeon, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S., Inc	2,000.00	
Jane McPike Dudley, 888 17th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Whiteford Taylor & Preston (For:Giddings & Lewis, Inc)	2,250.00	11.24
Do	Whiteford Taylor & Preston (For:National Constructors Assn)	4,000.00	110.12
Trent D. Duffy, 700 11th Street, NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20001	Parsons Brinckerhoff Quade & Douglas, Inc	100.98	
Juanita D. Duggan, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	National Food Processors Assn	6,250.00	100.00
Valerie Dulk, 1625 K Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20005	Americans for Democratic Action	1,406.25	
Mac S. Dunaway, Dunaway & Cross 1146 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Crown Controls Corporation		
Do	Industrial Truck Assn		
Do	Lord Corporation		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Walbro Corp		
Amy K. Dunbar, P.O. Box 19230 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Bond Lawyers	23,750.00	17.25
Don R. Duncan, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Phillips Petroleum Co	6,000.00	28.00
William C. Duncan, 1050 17th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20036	Japan Automobile Manufacturers Assn	2,100.00	627.84
Duncan Weinberg Miller & Pembroke, P.C., 1615 M Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Lake Andes-Wagner Water Systems, Inc		
Do	Mid-West Electric Consumers Assn, Inc		
Do	National Assn of Energy Service Companies		
Do	National Assn of State Energy Officials		
Do	State of Hawaii, Dept of Business & Economic Development		
Robert Dunkel, 1875 I Street, NW, #1110 Washington, DC 20006	Times Mirror Company		
Mari Lee Dunn, 1750 K St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006-2305	American Council for Capital Formation		
Michael V. Dunn, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #202W Washington, DC 20024	Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America	11,052.16	1,761.60
John H. Dunne, 8701 Georgia Ave., #701 Silver Spring, MD 20910	International Fed of Professional & Technical Engineers		
William C. Dunning, P.O. Box 619500 Dallas, TX 75261	CalTex Petroleum Corp		
Douglas A. Durante, 7315 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, #515 East Bethesda, MD 20814	Clean Fuels Development Coalition	6,000.00	
Daniel T. Durham, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	798.68	324.10
Ed Durkin, 101 Constitution Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America	715.00	
Katherine M. Dutih, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1300 Washington, DC 20036-4101	Milliken & Company	5,000.00	700.00
Lloyd L. Duxbury, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	17,810.00	387.20
Marcia L. DuMond, 1300 South Clinton Street Fort Wayne, IN 46801	Lincoln National Corp	900.00	520.00
Robert F. DuPre Jr., 1801 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc	267.12	
Roderick T. Dwyer, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
Stuart S. Dye, 2000 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Graham & James (For-American Hawaii Cruises)	950.00	
Do	Graham & James (For-National Assn of Dredging Contractors)		
Dyer Ellis Joseph & Mills, P.C., 600 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20037	Air Transport Assn of America		
Do	American Healthcorp, Inc	8,535.46	652.51
Do	American Lithotripsy Society	8,366.60	412.81
Do	Atlantic Richfield Company	23,939.04	185.92
Do	ARCO Transportation Company	17,564.90	296.66
Do	Bay Area Renal Stone Center		
Do	Bender Shipbuilding & Repair Co, Inc		11.60
Do	BP America, Inc		1,058.57
Do	East Asiatic Company, et al	2,597.59	
Do	Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee	26,250.00	595.89
Do	Heritage Surgical Corp		
Do	International Air Transport Assn (IATA)	10,933.55	
Do	Isolyser Company		
Do	JM Family Enterprises, Inc	4,397.34	97.19
Do	Liberty Maritime Corporation	122,363.85	4,525.26
Do	Medical Care International, Inc	6,347.45	484.61
Do	National Maritime Alliance, Inc		181.04
Do	National Steel & Shipbuilding Co	12,142.04	6.00
Do	Northstar Shipping, Inc		15.25
Do	Panhandle Eastern Corp		204.86
Do	Physician's Remedy, Inc	1,000.00	
Do	Praxis Community Healthcare Information		256.76
Do	Psychological Associates	6,002.42	835.43
Do	Radiation Care, Inc	31,249.05	649.71
Do	Riverview of Frankenmuth, Inc	5,198.05	6.92
Do	S.A.I.L. Inc		
Do	Shell Oil Co		248.54
Do	Surgical Care Affiliates, Inc	5,446.36	235.12
Do	T/2 Medical, Inc	28,826.54	403.93
Do	U.S. Naval Institute		5.13
Dykema Gossett, 1752 N Street, NW 6th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Citizen's Committee to Save the Federal Center		
Do	Comerica		
Do	Committee on U.S. Business Canadian Life & Health Ins. Assn	840.00	1,135.00
Do	Discovery Cruises, Inc		
Do	Ferris State University	885.00	
Do	Magic Line, Inc		
Do	Michigan Biotechnology Institute (MBI)		
Do	Military Boot Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Systems Control, Inc		
Do	Total Petroleum, Inc		
Do	University of Michigan Medical Center	2,712.50	
Do	Wayne State University	1,837.00	
Talis Dzenitis, 633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Sears Roebuck & Co	500.00	
DGA International, Inc, 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Societe Nationale D'Etude et de Const de Moteurs D'Aviation		
Do	Sofreavia		
Do	Zenith Data Systems		
Matthew C. Eames, P.O. Box 70 Boise, ID 83707	Idaho Power Company	5,000.00	
Kerry P. Early, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	2,000.00	2,283.23
C. Renee Eastman, 555 13th Street, NW, #1010 East Washington, DC 20004-1109	Sun Company, Inc	2,750.00	35.00
Brenda L. Eberly, 50 F Street, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20001	Freeprot-McMoran D.C., Inc	2,500.00	60.87
Gordon Alexander Echois, 1325 G Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20005	Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries		10.00
Kevin James Echois, P.O. Box 2952, NE Washington, DC 20002			
Bradley Eckart, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	American Farm Bureau Federation	8,400.00	
Edelman Public Relations, 1420 K Street, NW 10th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Specialty Equipment Companies	603.75	97,095.65
Edison Electric Institute, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004			
Christopher Edley Jr., Harvard Law School Cambridge, MA 02138	Covington & Burling		
Education Legislative Services, Inc, 5855 Stadium Way San Diego, CA 92122	Central California Legislative Consortium	1,250.00	208.48
Do	Fresno Unified School District	1,250.00	1,613.88
Do	Long Beach Unified School District	3,750.00	4,830.51
Do	Oakland Unified School District	3,200.00	4,121.25
Do	San Diego Unified School District	5,001.00	6,441.73
Christine A. Edwards, 633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Dean Witter, Discover & Co.		
Donna F. Edwards, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Public Citizen	9,500.00	
J. Rodney Edwards, 260 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Jack Edwards, 3000 First National Bank Bldg, P.O. Box 123 Mobile, AL 36601	Societe Nationale d'Etude et de Const de Moteurs d'Aviation	483.75	
Michael D. Edwards, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Education Assn	4,674.90	176.00
Sherry L. Edwards, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036-1702	Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturing Assn	500.00	
Edwards Associates, 214 Mass Ave. N.E. #300 Washington, DC 20002	Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation		
Conrad Egan, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 601 Washington, DC 20005	NHP, Inc	5,000.00	40.00
Paul S. Egan, 2101 Huidekoper Pl., NW Washington, DC 20007	Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc	13,587.00	194.53
William J. Ehrig, 700 Anderson Hill Road Purchase, NY 10577	PepsiCo, Inc		2,289.84
Tim Eichenberg, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation		695.71
Jill A. Eicher, 1655 North Fort Myer Drive, Suite 700 Arlington, VA 22209	American Assn for Respiratory Care	13,191.29	162.97
Peter J. Eide, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	2,500.00	110.00
Roy L. Eiguren, 702 West Idaho Street, #700 Boise, ID 83702	Davis Wright & Tremaine (For-EG&G)		
Do	Davis Wright Tremaine (For-Idaho Cooperative Utilities Assn)		46.02
Phyllis Eisen, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	400.00	
Robert Eisenbud, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Waste Management, Inc	16,750.00	91.98
Earl B. Eisenhart, 1320 Braddock Place, #720 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Private Truck Council		
Linda S. Eisnagle, 225 W. 34th Street New York, NY 10122	Commercial Finance Assn	12,500.00	782.00
Dina E. Elani, 901 E Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20004-2037	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Timothy L. Elder, 100 N.E. Adams Street Peoria, IL 61629-1430	Caterpillar, Inc	9,336.83	7,587.71
Electric Generation Assn, 2715 M Street, NW, Suite 150 Washington, DC 20007			3,402.00
Electronic Frontier Foundation, 666 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, #303 Washington, DC 20003			6,549.63
Elf Atochem North America, Inc, 2000 Market Street Philadelphia, PA 19103			170.00
Jim Elkin, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1320 Washington, DC 20036	Sandoz Pharmaceuticals Corp		
J. Burton Eller Jr., 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004	National Cattlemen's Assn	1,000.00	
Charles W. Elliott, Wisconsin Petroleum Council 25 W. Main St., #703 Madison, WI 53703	American Petroleum Institute	31.00	
Rodney G. Ellis, 1331 Lamar, Suite 1550 Houston, TX 77010	Solar & Ellis (For-Republic of Mexico Ministry of Commerce & Trade)	1,750.00	5,597.26
Charles Ellstein, 6215 West St. Joseph Highway Lansing, MI 48917	Michigan Hospital Assn	3,700.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Gary Elmes & Associates, P.O. Box 3153 St. Peters, MO 63376	City of St. Peters	10,438.50	98.71
Do	St. Charles County	11,250.00	11.68
Alyson A. Emanuel, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #755 Washington, DC 20037	BASF Corp	16.00	
Emergency Committee for American Trade, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, #801 Washington, DC 20036		38,323.92	26,773.46
Emerson Electric Co., 8000 W. Florissant St. Louis, MO 63136			711.16
John M. Emery, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Michael J. Emig, 1125 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	18,832.00	595.00
Randy Eminger, 5205 W. 37th Street Amarillo, TX 79109	Southwestern Public Service Co	1,563.75	1.31
Susan Emmer, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	8,125.00	674.00
Employment Policies Institute, 607 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005		5,850.00	3,910.39
Energy Consumers & Producers Assn., P.O. Box 1288 Muskogee, OK 74402-1288			
Gary D. Engebretson, 1200 G Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20005	Contract Services Assn		363.00
Ralph Engel, 1913 Eye Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006	Chemical Specialties Manufacturers Assn, Inc		
English First, 8001 Forbes Place, #102 Springfield, VA 22151		166,032.27	166,454.77
Loretta E. Enloe, 8 Oak Hill Drive Edwardsville, IL 62025	Federation of American Consumers & Travelers (FACT)	2,500.00	
Robert F. Ensslin Jr., 1 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	National Guard Assn of the US	3,312.50	234.21
Epstein Becker & Green, P.C., 1227 25th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20037	MFJ Task Force	11,250.00	
Do	Southern California Edison Co	12,000.00	
Paul A. Equale, 412 First Street, SE, #300 Washington, DC 20003	Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc	56,681.00	
Equipment Leasing Assn of America, 1300 North 17th St., #1010 Arlington, VA 22209		1,500.00	
Randall Harvey Erben, 100 Congress Avenue, Suite 1010 Austin, TX 78701	Panhandle 2000	30,000.00	3,882.91
Markham C. Erickson, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	McGuinness & Holch (For-American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business)	300.00	
Thomas J. Erickson, 1300 L Street, NW, #925 Washington, DC 20005	National Grain Trade Council		
Gregory D. Erken, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004	Knights of Columbus	7,750.00	
Ingolf G. Esders, 815 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO	14,581.77	889.00
Mark Eshenick, 1801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp	1,000.00	
Anita R. Esteli, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:MetaNetworks)	1,000.00	
Deborah M. Estes, 1515 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22209	American Gas Assn	2,000.00	107.29
John T. Estes, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	International Council of Cruise Lines	8,200.00	609.00
Stephen E. Eure, 1840 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22201	National Milk Producers Federation	11,250.00	
Mary Jo Eustice, 412 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Automobile Dealers Assn	6,000.00	
Brock Evans, 666 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20002	National Audubon Society	4,400.00	165.00
Catherine Evans, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	American Trucking Associations, Inc	9,000.00	
Cleve Evans, P.O. Box 841 Abilene, TX 79604	West Texas Utilities Company		
Donald C. Evans Jr., 655 15th St., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20005	AFLAC, Inc		
Robert D. Evans, 1800 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bar Assn	400.00	50.00
Sarah Evans, 750 First Street, NE Room 5004 Washington, DC 20002-4242	Federation of Behavioral, Psychological & Cognitive Science	127.70	
Evans Group, Ltd, 1010 Wisconsin Ave., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20007	Matlack Systems, Inc		
Do	National Independent Automobile Dealers Assn	7,200.00	
Do	Republic of Cyprus	22,000.00	
Fawn K. Evenson, 1420 K Street NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	Footwear Industries of America	1,000.00	
Kellye A. Eversole, 4434 Indigo Lane Harwood, MD 20776	Edison Electric Institute		
Do	Eversole Associates (For-North Dakota Agricultural Products Utilization Commission)	5,200.00	91.11
Do	Zeneca, Inc		
Wayne S. Ewing, Associated Petroleum Industries of PA P.O. Box 925 Harrisburg, PA 17108	American Petroleum Institute		
ESCO Electronics Corp, 8100 W. Florissant St. Louis, MO 63136			1,461.35
F/P Research Associates, 1700 K St., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Bus Assn		
Do	Employee Relocation Council		
Do	National Cable Television Assn, Inc		
Do	Northrop Corp		
Dale W. Failat, P.O. Box 119 Maumee, OH 43537	Andersons	27,182.00	11,859.00
Family Research Council, 700 13th Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	Alliance of American Insurers	20,000.00	
Farm Credit Council, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	Barnett Banks, Inc	26,125.00	8,458.76
David M. Farmer, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20036		230,935.00	97,481.07
Martin T. Farmer, P.O. Box 40789 Jacksonville, FL 32203-0789	Food Marketing Institute	300.00	
Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #202w Washington, DC 20024	Syntax (USA) Inc	4,125.00	20,640.92
Dagmar T. Farr, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Xerox Corp	3,000.00	
Richard T. Farrell, 1015 15th St., NW, #401 Washington, DC 20005	Capitol Consulting & Management, Inc	9,000.00	
J. Michael Farren, 490 L'Enfant Plaza East, SW, #4200 Washington, DC 20024	Central Utah Water Conservancy District	22,927.50	
Marcus G. Faust, 332 Constitution Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Clark County Nevada	17,597.25	
Do	Clark County Nevada-McCarran International Airport	15,607.50	
Do	Kirtan McConkie & Poelman		
Do	Las Vegas Valley Water District	18,645.00	11.80
Do	Public Service Co of New Mexico	7,500.00	
Do	Sierra Pacific Power Co	14,031.25	188.02
Do	State of Montana Dept of Natural Resources & Conservation	6,000.00	
Jane Fawcett-Hoover, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Procter & Gamble Manufacturing Co	646.80	
Robert C. Fay, 12731 Directors Loop Woodbridge, VA 22192	American Amusement Machine Assn		
William D. Fay, 1001 19th St. North, #800 Arlington, VA 22209	Product Liability Coordinating Committee	12,075.00	2,254.87
Elizabeth Fayad, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Parks & Conservation Association	2,292.00	14.00
Federal Judges Association, 111 West Washington Street, #1100 Chicago, IL 60602-2768		8,451.00	103,499.05
Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1665 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20009		2,273.35	5,496.00
Federation of American Controlled Shipping, 50 Broadway New York, NY 10004		17,165.00	17,165.00
Federation of American Health Systems, 1111 19th St., NW, #402 Washington, DC 20036		250.00	1,375.16
Federation of American Scientists, 307 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002			448.50
Federation of Behavioral Psychological & Cognitive Sciences, 750 First Street, NE Room 5004 Washington, DC 20002-4242			
John D. Fedor, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #901 Arlington, VA 22202	Alliant Techsystems, Inc	2,730.00	262.88
Robert Feenstra, 13545 Euclid Avenue Ontario, CA 91761	Milk Producers Council (For-Dairy Farmers for Responsible Dairy Policy)		
Donald M. Fehr, 805 Third Ave. New York, NY 10022	Major League Baseball Players Assn		2,913.75
Scott Feierabend, 1400 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation		
Douglas J. Feith, 2300 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20037	International Advisers Inc (For:Embassy of Turkey)	1,667.00	121.00
Laura Feldman, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	1,952.00	
Mark B. Feldman, 2300 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20037	International Advisers, Inc (For:Embassy of Turkey)	1,667.00	
Richard Feller, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,135.00	
Kenneth E. Feltman, 927 15th St., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Employers Council on Flexible Compensation	200.00	
Karen S. Fennell, 1522 K St., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	American College of Nurse-Midwives		
Laura Fennell, 1901 N. Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209	Foodservice & Packaging Institute		
Judith W. Fensterer, 242 E. 80th Street New York, NY 10021	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Assn		
George F. Fenton Jr., 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress	90.00	
Brian Ferguson, 1776 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1050 Washington, DC 20006	Eastman Kodak Co	1,000.00	200.00
Maureen H. Ferguson, 143 W. Market Street, Suite 714 Indianapolis, IN 46204	American Petroleum Institute		
DeDe Ferrell, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Broadcasters	4,000.00	1,105.12
Kirk Ferrell, 501 School Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20024	National Pork Producers Council		
Ferris State University, c/o Steven E. Stanley 901 South State Street Big Rapids, MI 49307-2295			885.00
Marvin C. Feuerwerger, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	13,021.86	7.25
Richard G. Fifeid, P.O. Box 11000 Montgomery, AL 36198	Alabama Farmers Federation	1,775.00	834.89
Fighting Apartheid Confrontation Transformation Systems, 209 Underwood St., NW Washington, DC 20012			
Amy M. Finan, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #303 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn for Biomedical Research	184.00	
Financial Executives Institute, 10 Madison Avenue P.O. Box 1938 Morristown, NJ 07962-1938			
Financial Services Council, 1225 19th St., NW, #410 Washington, DC 20036		12,250.00	1,375.00
Linda D. Findlay, 1015 15th Street, NW, #909 Washington, DC 20005	Phelps Dodge Corp	1,200.00	
Lawrence A. Fineran, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Manufacturers	125.00	
Matthew P. Fink, 1600 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Investment Company Institute	104.39	
Peter J. Finnerty, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #560 Washington, DC 20004	Sea-Land Service, Inc	3,000.00	
Thomas D. Finnigan, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #230 Washington, DC 20004	Praxair, Inc		
M. J. Fiocco, 1700 N. Moore Street, S-1900 Arlington, VA 22209-1904	National Industrial Transportation League		1,821.59
First National Bank of Boston, 100 Federal St. Boston, MA 02110			
H. David Fish, 5855 Stadium St. San Diego, CA 92122	Education Legislative Services, Inc (For-Central California Legislative Consortium)	173.00	
Do	Education Legislative Services (For-Fresno Unified School District)	363.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Education Legislative Services, Inc. (For:Long Beach Unified School District)	1,087.00	
Do	Education Legislative Services, Inc. (For:Oakland Unified School District)	927.40	
Do	Education Legislative Services, Inc. (For:San Diego Unified School District)	1,449.60	
Donald W. Fisher, 3814 Ivanhoe Lane Alexandria, VA 22310	American Group Practice Assn, Inc.	328.72	
J. Paris Fisher, 1801 K St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Westinghouse Electric Corp	1,200.00	
Martha Fisher, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	7,725.00	
William P. Fisher, 1200 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Restaurant Assn		15,000.00
George R. Fister, 4301 N. Fairfax Drive, #330 Arlington, VA 22203	Shipbuilders Council of America		
Clyde Fitzgerald, 815 Sixteenth Street Washington, DC 20006	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO		
John Fitzgerald, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife	191.80	10.00
Thomas H. Fitzpatrick, Connecticut Petroleum Council 55 Farmington Avenue, #704 Hartford, CT 06105	American Petroleum Institute		2,847.00
Hilliard J. Fjord, 6725 Wooster Pike Cincinnati, OH 45227	Ohio River Co	1,500.00	230.00
Susan G. Flack, 1100 Connecticut Ave, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Dayton Hudson Corp	100.00	
Do	Flack, Inc. (For:Spiegel, Inc.)	750.00	295.05
Robert B. Flagg, 9622 Maury Road Fairfax, VA 22032	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc.	8,335.00	400.00
Linda Doorfee Flaherty, 1125 20th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Greater Washington Board of Trade	1,536.00	
Meghan R. Flaherty, 700 13th Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20000	Family Research Council	4,500.00	
Steven H. Flaiser, 1111 Jefferson Davis Highway #811 Arlington, VA 22202	Space Systems/Loral	2,000.00	
John Flatley, 1250 Eye Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	Distilled Spirits Council of the US	30,000.00	1,112.36
Fleishman-Hillard, Inc, 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20036	American Ambulance Assn	15,000.00	
Do	American Optometric Assn		
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.		
Do	Association of American Railroads	24,999.99	
Do	Baxter Healthcare Corp	90,000.00	2,255.32
Do	Children's Hospital Medical Center of Northern California	30,000.00	223.35
Do	Douglas Clark	12,000.00	235.99
Do	Clark Oil and Refinery Corporation		
Do	Farmers Mutual Fire Insurance Co of Okarche		
Do	Global Communications Consultants	18,000.00	
Do	Hispanic Business	5,000.00	156.15
Do	Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries	12,000.00	
Do	International Sleep Products Assn		24.00
Do	Levi Strauss & Company	45,000.00	
Do	Litton Computer Services	25,000.00	220.83
Do	Marazul Charters	45,000.00	728.09
Do	MasterCard International	24,000.00	
Do	McDonnell Douglas		
Do	Merco Consultants	12,000.00	
Do	Minot Area Development Corp	13,500.00	
Do	National Assn of Business & Education Ratio	9,663.00	
Do	National Auctioneers Assn	22,500.00	185.98
Do	National Collegiate Athletic Assn (NCAA)	4,188.00	
Do	National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the U.S.	24,000.00	2,960.00
Do	Nintendo of America, Inc	29,052.50	302.95
Do	Novell, Inc	27,500.00	410.93
Do	People's Electric Cooperative	7,500.00	
Do	Pharmaceutical Coalition (Sandoz)	8,305.00	
Do	Public Broadcasting Service	12,500.00	
Do	Safe Tire Disposal Corporation	24,000.00	124.49
Do	Sony Corp of America	60,000.00	
Do	St. Louis NFL Partnership		
Do	Syva Company	28,000.00	
Do	Third District Industrial Development Initiative Fund	7,500.00	
Do	Wackenhut Educational Services	18,000.00	
Terry P. Fleming, Ohio Petroleum Council 88 E. Broad St., #1960 Columbus, OH 43215	American Petroleum Institute		
Lynne M. Fletcher, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #950 Washington, DC 20006	Du Pont Merck Pharmaceutical Company	5,000.00	54.00
Nancy J. Fletcher, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 1040 Washington, DC 20036	Outdoor Advertising Assn of America, Inc	20,000.00	325.61
Ronnie G. Flippo, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004	RF Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Ad Hoc Coalition to Preserve Stock-for-Debt Exception)	6,000.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Alabama Power Co)	3,000.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Federal Express Corp)	650.00	
Do	RG Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Huntsville-Madison County Airport Authority)	1,950.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Massachusetts Mutual Insurance Co)	3,000.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Norfolk Southern Corp)	1,375.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:Reynolds Metal Co)	2,850.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:RJR Nabisco Washington)	2,850.00	
Do	R.G. Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:South Central Bell)	1,800.00	
Do	RG Flippo & Associates, Inc. (For:State of Alabama, Dept of Economic & Community Affairs)	2,000.00	
Karen Florini, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1016 Washington, DC 20009	Environmental Defense Fund	6,000.00	100.00
Veronica M. Floyd, 3306 Fallen Tree Court Alexandria, VA 22310	Brunswick Marine Group	4,340.00	398.00
John J. Flynn, 1125 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	International Union of Operating Engineers	7,500.00	454.30
Foley & Lardner, 3000 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20007-5109	Aurora Health Care, Inc. et al.		
Do	Council of Community Blood Centers	1,355.00	9.00
Do	Global Technology Systems, Inc		1,450.00
Do	Real Estate Services Providers Council		
Food & Allied Service Trades Dept, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, NW, #408 Washington, DC 20006		16,778.00	16,778.00
Food Marketing Institute, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006			3,950.00
Foodservice & Packaging Institute, Inc, 1901 North Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209			
Mari S. Forbes, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036-1207	Albers & Company (For:May Department Stores Co)		
James E. Ford, 1333 New Hampshire Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co	62.00	
Forest Farmers Assn, P.O. Box 95385 Atlanta, GA 30347			8,998.60
Paul Forlenza, 1301 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	IBM	246.00	38.00
Mark A. Forman, 8th & Eaton Avenues Bethlehem, PA 18018	Union Pacific Corp	1,250.00	
James R. Forrester, P.O. Box 94661 Cleveland, OH 44101	Centenior Energy Corp, et al.		
Larry Forrester, 3601 Vincennes Road P.O. Box 68700 Indianapolis, IN 46268	National Assn of Mutual Insurance Cos		
Fort and Schlefer, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005-2187	Association Francaise des Banques		430.00
Do	Bremer Vulkan Verbund AG		
Do	Commerzbank Aktiengesellschaft		430.00
Alison B. Fortier, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International	19,900.00	753.27
Richard D. Fortin, 1275 K Street, NW, #850 Washington, DC 20005-4006	National Industrial Transportation League	3,451.00	10.00
Richard C. Fortuna, 915 15th Street, NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Hazardous Waste Treatment Council	750.00	375.00
Nancy E. Foster, 1300 L Street, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20005-4107	American Dietetic Assn	1,000.00	
Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005		31,250.00	40,819.81
Donald L. Fowler, P.O. Box 50627 Columbia, SC 29250	American College of Sports Medicine	7,687.50	1,844.39
Do	AT&T	12,000.00	2,866.89
Do	Chem-Nuclear Systems, Inc	4,406.25	1,472.97
Alissa T. Fox, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Greenwood Development Corp	11,830.00	3,910.10
Barbara Fox, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #950 Washington, DC 20004	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	16,949.00	803.01
Mary E. Fox-Grimm, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	10,000.00	771.00
Peter M. Frank, 1567 K St., NW, #250 Washington, DC 20006	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Richard L. Frank, 1400 16th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036-2220	Kerr-McGee Corp	2,500.00	
Stephen R. Frank, 607 Azure Hills Drive Simi Valley, CA 93065	Olsson Frank & Weeda (For:Ad Hoc Pizza Standard Rulemaking Group)		
Faye B. Frankfort, 9312 Old Georgetown Road Bethesda, MD 20814-1621	Church of Scientology	1,500.00	
David C. Frankl, 1875 Eye Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20006	American Podiatric Medical Assn	4,000.00	
Walter L. Frankland Jr., 1730 M Street, NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036	Champion International Corp	1,440.00	326.45
C. Anson Franklin, 919 18th Street, NW, #450 Washington, DC 20006	Silver Users Assn, Inc	1,140.00	
Ellis B. Franklin, 5025 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20016	Franklin Blee & Burling (For:Energy Tax Policy Alliance)		
Thomas C. Franks, 1220 L St., NW, #510 Washington, DC 20005	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO		
Marian C. Franz, 2121 Decatur Place, NW Washington, DC 20008	American Resort Development Assn	1,500.00	
Douglas Freberg II, 1515 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, VA 22209	National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund	2,315.28	712.40
Paula D. Freer, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	American Gas Assn	2,000.00	378.00
Verrick O. French, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1260 Washington, DC 20004	USX Corporation		38.19
	French & Company (For:International Electronics Mfgs & Consumers of America, Inc.)	500.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	French & Company (For-Montgomery Ward & Co. Inc)	175.00	
French & Company, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1260 Washington, DC 20004	International Electronics Mfgs & Consumers of America, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	Montgomery Ward & Co. Inc	235.00	
Katherine L. Frey, 1101 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. (3M)	1,000.00	
G. William Frick, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute		
Fried Frank Harris Shriver & Jacobson, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004-2505	General Electric Co	130.00	5.02
Do	Lonza, Inc	593.50	73.35
Do	Virgin Islands Rum Industries, Ltd	2,450.00	
F. Michael Friedman, 321 West Front Street P.O. Box 1000 Media, PA 19063	Pagano Willis & Friedman (For-Chem Service, Inc)	216.25	
James M. Friedman, 1100 Citizens Bldg. Cleveland, OH 44114	Centor Energy Corp		
Do	Summit Energy Storage, Inc		
Friends of NIDCD, Inc, 262 Pennsylvania Avenue Freeport, NY 11520		1,825.00	6,069.70
Owen V. Frisby, 4 Old Stage Court Rockville, MD 20852	National Coal Assn	9,000.00	8.00
Maureen S. Frisch, 1201 Third Avenue, Suite 4900 Seattle, WA 98101-3045	Simpson Investment Company		600.00
Charles H. Fritts, 1515 Wilson Blvd Arlington, VA 22209	American Gas Association	1,667.00	545.80
Edward O. Fritts, 1771 N Street Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Broadcasters	2,500.00	
Charles H. Fritzel, 499 S. Capitol St., SW, #401 Washington, DC 20003	National Assn of Independent Insurers	400.00	30.00
Jeffrey Fritzel, 555 13th Street, NW, #450-W Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Union Pacific Corp	12,500.00	994.30
Alan Front, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, #401 Washington, DC 20003	Trust for Public Land	5,250.00	7,918.00
Gordon H. Fry, 900 19th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Aluminum Assn, Inc	25.00	
Fulbright & Jaworski, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Barrett Resources Corp	2,422.00	22.77
Nancy R. Fulco, 1615 H St., NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	2,500.00	
Daniel J. Funsch, P.O. Box 7613 Missoula, MT 59807	Alliance for the Wild Rockies, Inc	250.00	50.00
Don Fuqua, 1250 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Aerospace Industries Assn of America, Inc	4,067.50	
Furman Group, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #818 Washington, DC 20006	Basic Management, Inc		
Do	Central Basin Municipal Water District	7,500.00	250.00
Do	Central Utah Water Conservancy District	15,000.00	220.57
Do	Kamm & Associates, Ltd	12,000.00	200.00
Do	Las Virgenes Municipal Water District	15,000.00	1,163.00
Do	Upper San Gabriel Municipal Water District	6,000.00	150.00
Do	West Basin Municipal Water District	37,500.00	306.84
FMR Group, Inc, 1000 Potomac Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20007	Heartland Health System		
Do	National Coalition of Burn Center Hospitals		
Do	March of Dimes	9,000.00	
Vivian Gabor, 1901 L Street, NW, Suite 260 Washington, DC 20036	American Hotel & Motel Assn	3,254.94	
James E. Gaffigan, 1201 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Automotive Parts Rebuilders Assn	500.00	76.20
William C. Gager, 4401 Fair Lakes Court, #210 Fairfax, VA 22033-3805	National Assn of Federal Credit Unions	1,250.00	
Kathryn M. Gagnon, 3138 North 10th Street Arlington, VA 22201	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	2,000.00	
Gary P. Galanis, 1100 South Washington Street, 1st Floor Alexandria, VA 22134-4494	American Textile Manufacturers Institute	449.04	9.50
Leslie Lawing Gallagher, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006	Composite Fabrication Assn		
Galland Kharasch Morse & Garfinkle, P.C., 1054 31st Street, NW Second Floor Washington, DC 20007	Mobile Industrial Caterers Assn		
Do	National Assn of Theatre Owners		
Do	Textile Rental Services Assn of America		
Do	Global Environmental Solutions	1,000.00	
Kathleene E. Gallegos, 1925 N. Lynn Street, #502 Arlington, VA 22209	Galloway & Associates		
L. Thomas Galloway, 7110 Broxburn Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Ringling Bros & Barnum & Bailey	500.00	27.21
Joan Galvin, 8607 Westwood Center Drive Vienna, VA 22182	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	10,564.00	42.00
Cheryl Gannon, 2000 K Street, NW #800 Washington, DC 20006	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-American Communities for Cleanup Equity (ACCE))	4,912.50	
Sandra M. Garbrecht, 1350 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Education Assn	7,081.00	20.00
Isabella Garcia, 1201 16th St., NW, #624 Washington, DC 20036	Rockwell International Corp	3,000.00	23.34
Raymond Garcia, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	National Rifle Assn of America		
Richard E. Gardiner, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Adventist Health System/Sunbelt Hospital System	105.00	434.31
Gardner Carton & Douglas, 1301 K Street, NW #900 East Tower Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Margaret Garikes, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Optometric Assn		
Nancy Garland, 1505 Prince Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	Association of America's Public Television Stations		1,500.00
Sara G. Garland, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Children's Television Workshop	7,326.00	19.20
Do	Earth Sciences & Resources Institute	2,000.00	1,505.20
Do	Prairie Public Broadcasting, Inc	1,500.00	9.50
Do	Red River Trade Corridor		5.20
Do	Swope Parkway Health Center		60.58
Do	University of North Dakota	10,800.00	208.46
Do	Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways (CRASH)	585.00	
Anthony Garrett, 150 andover San Francisco, CA 94105-1611	American Nuclear Energy Council	7,350.00	252.40
Theodore J. Garnish, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Council Social Security Management Assn, Inc	13,050.00	732.68
Janet M. Garry, P.O. Box 749 Rockville, MD 20848-0749	Amway Corp	8,250.00	
John C. Gartland, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, #210 Washington, DC 20002	Parsons Behle & Latimer (For-Barrick Goldstrike Mines, Inc)	3,000.00	2,000.00
Patrick J. Garver, 201 South Main Street, #1800 Salt Lake City, UT 84111	Parsons Behle & Latimer (For-Barrick Resources USA, Inc)	3,000.00	2,000.00
Do	Canadian Embassy	1,153.09	
Garvey Schubert & Barer, 1000 Potomac Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	George Gabriel		
Do	Intercean Management Company		
Do	J & B Management Company	5,099.94	
Do	Ministry of the Environment		
Do	Space Industries, Inc		
Do	Tacoma Public Utilities		
Do	Totem Ocean Trailer Express, Inc	37,640.63	
Do	USX	3,430.31	
Gas Appliance Manufacturers Assn, Inc, 1901 North Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209		3,536.13	1,202.21
Lillian B. Gaskin, 1800 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bar Assn	400.00	100.00
Philip Gasteyer, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Savings and Community Bankers of America		
Bruce A. Gates, 201 Park Washington Court Falls Church, VA 22046	National-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn	3,000.00	
Kathy Gavett, P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores		
Ruthann Gebb, 1156 15th Street, NW, #1101 Washington, DC 20005	American Sugarbeet Growers Assn		
Robert C. Gelardi, 5775 Peachtree-Dunwoody Rd., #500-G Atlanta, GA 30342	Robert H. Kellen Co (For-Calorie Control Council)		
Do	Kellen Company (For-Infant Formula Council)		
Do	First National Bank of Boston		
Morton A. Geller, Corporate Tax Department 100 Federal Street Boston, MA 02110		1,500.00	7,600.00
General Aviation Manufacturers Association, 1400 K Street, NW, #801 Washington, DC 20005		25,640.11	25,640.11
General Instrument Corporation, 181 West Madison Street, Suite 4900 Chicago, IL 60602	National Assn of Manufacturers		
Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Assn, 200 Madison Ave., #2404 New York, NY 10016	Associated General Contractors of America		
Diane J. Generous, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 North Washington, DC 20004-1703	American Furniture Manufacturers Assn	3,000.00	1,611.04
John Gentile, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Communications Workers of America	7,282.00	155.96
Joseph G. Gerard, 918 16th St., NW, #402 Washington, DC 20006	United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America	3,300.00	1,253.34
Louis Gerber, 501 Third Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Honda North America, Inc	100.00	
Robin Gerber, 101 Constitution Ave. NW Washington, DC 20001	Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration	25,500.00	345.25
Scott A. Gerke, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW #5300 Washington, DC 20024	Puerto Rico Senate	4,500.00	
David A. Gerken, 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20365	Times Mirror Corp	6,000.00	45.87
Do	Renewable Fuels Assn	340.00	
Do	Association for Regulatory Reform	1,500.00	261.38
Alvin J. Geske, 888 17th Street, NW, Suite 820 Washington, DC 20006	Retired Officers Assn	3,671.00	
Danny Ghorbani, 8014 Falstaff Road McLean, VA 22102	Intermountain Health Care, Inc		
Christopher J. Gialmo, 201 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Laidlaw Transportation Management, Inc	2,500.00	
Giaque Crockett & Bendering, 500 Kearns Building 136 South Main Salt Lake City, UT 84101	Chris-Craft Broadcasting, Inc	750.00	
Martha A. Gibbons, 655 15th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	American Bakers Assn	6,090.00	43.99
Robert B. Giese, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Milk Producers Federation	718.10	
Anne Giesecke, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 1290 Washington, DC 20005	Public Citizen	10,075.00	
Judy Gifford, 1840 Wilson Blvd., 4th Floor Arlington, VA 22201	Seniors Coalition	3,284.74	164.08
Pamela Gilbert, 215 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Exxon Corporation	1,300.00	102.42
Michael Gill, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	American Cotton Shippers Assn	50,000.00	1,298.74
Joseph A. Gillan, 1899 L Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games		2,314.73
Neal P. Gillen, 1725 K Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20006	IBM Corp	263.90	924.28
Cynthia D. Gillespie, 250 Williams Street Suite 6000 Atlanta, GA 30301-1996	Atlantic Richfield Company	20,235.00	
Edward A. Gillespie, 1301 K Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Pacific Lumber & Shipping Co	1,700.00	
Michael B. Gillett, 4612 Meridian Avenue North Seattle, WA 98103-6936	National Cotton Council of America	2,150.00	13.23
Do			
William A. Gillon, P.O. Box 12285 Memphis, TN 38182			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Brad Gilman, 2300 Clarendon Blvd., #1010 Arlington, VA 22201	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For Alaska Groundfish Data Bank)	2,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For Aleutians East Borough)	6,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For All Alaskan Seafoods, Inc.)	1,575.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For Marco)	3,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For Ocean Shipholdings, Inc.)	1,125.00	
Jim Gilmore, 1735 New York Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	American Factory Trawler Assn	18,750.00	
Patrick T. Gilmore, 141 Deer Ridge Road Basking Ridge, NJ 07920	Brother Industries (USA), Inc.		
Do	Brother International Corporation		
Ginn Edington Wade & Sanders, Inc. 803 Prince Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Allied Signal Aerospace Co	8,000.00	286.11
Do	Firearms Training Systems, Inc.	10,000.00	354.23
Do	Lockheed Corporation	12,000.00	435.98
Do	Oglethorpe Power Corp	8,000.00	286.11
Do	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.		
Do	U.S. Cane Sugar Refiners' Assn		
Do	Watkins Associated Industries, Inc.		
Ginsburg Feldman & Bress, Chartered, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	United Air Lines, Inc.		
Caesar A. Giolito, P.O. Box 5793 Carefree, AZ 85377	American Assn of Pastoral Counselors	250.00	
Carolyn H. Giolito, P.O. Box 5793 Carefree, AZ 85377	American Assn of Pastoral Counselors	250.00	
Gerard Giovaniello, 777 14th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	2,500.00	244.00
Girl Scouts of the USA, 420 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10018-2702			3,558.85
Angela Giroux, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Assn of Independent Television Stations, Inc.	250.00	
Lawrence L. Gladchun, 27777 Inkster Road Farmington Hills, MI 48334	Michigan National Corp		
Nicholas J. Glakas, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	ITT Corporation	585.00	9.00
Robert E. Gleason, 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO		
Law Offices of Gleason & Mathews, 26 Broadway, 17th Floor New York, NY 10004	International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO		
Martha Cole Glenn, 4637B S. 36th Street Arlington, VA 22206	Humane Society of the U.S.	10,624.98	1,279.58
Sara B. Glenn, 3225 Gallows Rd Room 3C 004 Fairfax, VA 22037-0001	Mobil Corp	1,125.00	
Andrew M. Glick, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For-Unisys Corp)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For-Utilities Telecommunication Council)		
Joanne Glisson, 700 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Company		54.00
Global USA, Inc. 2121 K St., NW, #550 Washington, DC 20037	All Nippon Airways Co, Ltd		
Do	Convex Computer Corp		
Do	Hitachi, Ltd		
Do	Hyundai Motor America		
Do	Japan Fed of Construction Contractors, Inc.		
Do	Komatsu Ltd		
Do	Kyocera Corporation		
Do	Mazak Corporation		
Do	Murata Machinery, Ltd		
Do	Sage Alerting Systems, Inc.		
Do	South Louisiana Port Commission		
Do	American Veterinary Medical Assn		
Joseph Gloyd, 1101 Vermont Avenue, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciesri (For-International Federation of Freight Forwarders Assn)		
Richard D. Gluck, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20006	Phillips Petroleum Co	1,470.00	
James W. Godlove, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights	167.00	
Kevin C. Goebel, 2530 San Pablo Avenue, #1 Berkeley, CA 94702	McDonnell Douglas Corp		
Donald G. Goff, McDonnell Douglas Corporation 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1200 Arlington, VA 22202	National Assn of Retired Federal Employees		
Al James Golato, 1533 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	6,416.76	
Franklin B. Gold, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001	National Pest Control Assn		
Harvey S. Gold, 8100 Oak Street Dunn Loring, VA 22027	American College of Cardiology	4,500.00	2,540.00
Gold & Liebgood, Inc. 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #950 Washington, DC 20004	American Academy of Dermatology	12,000.00	2,540.00
Do	American Academy of Ophthalmology	9,914.00	2,540.00
Do	American Mental Health Counselors Assn	4,000.00	2,292.00
Do	Beretta U.S.A. Corp	14,400.00	2,540.00
Do	Caremark, Inc.	10,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc.	555.00	2,438.00
Do	Coca Cola Company	7,200.00	2,634.00
Do	College of American Pathologists	4,000.00	2,540.00
Do	County of Fairfax, Board of Supervisors	7,380.00	2,240.00
Do	Electronic Data Systems Corp	5,250.00	2,438.00
Do	Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.		2,240.00
Do	Eye Bank Assn of America	3,257.00	2,513.00
Do	Federated Investors, Inc.	15,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Fiat, U.S.A., Inc.	6,400.00	2,540.00
Do	Ford Motor Co		2,240.00
Do	Genentech, Inc.	16,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Global Excess Re, Inc.	5,000.00	2,375.00
Do	Hopi Tribe	25,920.00	2,240.00
Do	International Council of Shopping Centers	15,000.00	2,240.00
Do	Investment Company Institute	1,994.00	2,526.00
Do	Kidder Peabody & Co	5,000.00	
Do	LEGI-SLATE		2,240.00
Do	Mutual Of Omaha	4,000.00	2,540.00
Do	MAPCO, Inc.	13,500.00	2,240.00
Do	MCI Communications Corp	14,700.00	2,540.00
Do	National Football League	9,723.00	2,590.00
Do	National Restaurant Assn	39,000.00	2,590.00
Do	National School Transportation Assn	4,500.00	2,540.00
Do	Nestle USA, Inc.	2,400.00	2,540.00
Do	Pacific Enterprises	15,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Pennzoil Co	4,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Philip Morris Co	35,000.00	2,540.00
Do	Regional Transportation District	8,000.00	2,240.00
Do	Salomon Brothers, Inc.	4,435.00	2,540.00
Do	Thomson-CSF, Inc.	17,235.00	2,540.00
Do	Thunder Child Veterans Administration Hospital	1,000.00	2,367.00
Do	Times Mirror Co	3,960.00	2,540.00
Do	Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority	11,000.00	2,240.00
Thomas R. Goldberg, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Solid Waste Management Assn	500.00	
Goldberg Godles Wiener & Wright, 1229 19th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	PanAmSat, L.P.		
Howard Goldblatt, 1511 K Street, NW, Suite 622 Washington, DC 20005	Coalition Against Insurance Fraud	830.77	4.00
Ronald L. Goldfarb, Ronald Goldfarb & Associates 918 16th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Washington Independent Writers, Inc.		6,050.00
Max Goldman, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc.		
Goldman Sachs & Co., 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Americans for Immigration Control, Inc.	10,950.00	
Robert H. Goldsborough, 5508 Lombardy Place Baltimore, MD 21210	Evergreen International Aviation, Inc.		
Neil Goldschmidt, Inc. 222 SW Columbia, #1850 Portland, OR 97201	Nike, Inc.		
Do	Southern Pacific Transportation Co		
Do	U.S. Generating		
Marva Goldsmith, 601 13th Street, NW, #650-North Washington, DC 20005	Detroit Edison Company	750.00	40.00
John A. Gonzalez, 1745 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International Corp	5,000.00	2,254.31
James L. Good, 1725 K Street, NW, Suite 1212 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Water Companies	34.62	9.00
Larry I. Good, 1615 L Street, NW, #1150 Washington, DC 20036	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For-Milliman & Robertson, Inc.)		
Thomas E. Goode, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 1140 Washington, DC 20036	Utilities Telecommunications Council		
Deborah K. Goodell, 1315 Nueces Austin, TX 78701	Polan-Ingram Advocacy Group (For-Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp)	375.00	281.67
Sunnah Goodman, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Public Citizen	6,750.00	
John Gordley, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1106 Washington, DC 20036	American Soybean Assn	11,000.00	5,890.31
Do	Export Processors Industry Coalition (EPIC)	3,000.00	2,270.08
Do	Iowa Pork Producers Assn	2,500.00	3,184.27
Do	National Sunflower Assn	7,500.00	4,838.20
Do	U.S. Canola Association	9,000.00	3,373.90
Anna Pegler Gordon, 2030 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	4,004.00	
Marvin N. Gordon, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Grumman Corp	625.00	838.13

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Mary S. Gordon, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Northern Telecom, Inc.	1,250.00	
Gordy Associates, Susan K., 1 First National Plaza, #3175 Chicago, IL 60603	First Chicago Corp.	10,000.00	1,400.00
John C. Gore, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	BP America, Inc.		
David W. Gorman, 807 Maine Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	Disabled American Veterans	20,488.72	76.65
Faye A. Gorman, 1800 M Street, NW, #325-S Washington, DC 20036	Dow Corning Corp.	5,000.00	8.00
Regina M. Gorman, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036	National Multi Housing Council	2,300.00	
Edward J. Gorman III, 101 Constitution Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America	1,911.00	
John R. Graff, 1448 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	International Assn of Amusement Parks & Attractions	100.00	1,471.01
Dennis A. Graham, 180 South Clinton Avenue Rochester, NY 14644-0700	Rochester Telephone Corp.	1,550.00	
Frances Turk Granahan, 1620 L Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Panhandle Eastern Corp.		460.21
Grange Mutual Casualty Co, 650 South Front Street Columbus, OH 43206			
James L. Granum, 1500 K Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20005	Norfolk Southern Corp.	1,000.00	
Andrew N. Grass Jr., One World Trade Center, #4511 New York, NY 10048	Security Traders Assn, Inc.	2,750.00	
Edwin C. Graves, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20036	Ed Graves & Associates (For-Brickfield Burchette & Ritts)		
Do	Ed Graves & Associates (For-Correctional Education Consultants, Inc)		
Do	CBI Sugar Group	500.00	
Do	Ed Graves & Associates (For-Emerald Resources, Inc)		
Do	Furman Group		
Do	McAuliffe, Kelly & Raffaeli		
Do	Ed Graves & Associates (For-McGuinness & Williams)		
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For-MCI Communications Corp)		
Do	Ed Graves & Associates (For-OPEDA)	843.75	
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For-Professional Lawn Care Assn of America)		
Do	Republic of Azerbaijan	218.75	
Do	South Dade Land Corp.	1,200.00	
W. Lawrence Graves, 1627 K Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006-1790	National Newspaper Assn		
Adrienne A. Gray, 1301 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	IBM	538.59	148.00
Barbara Gray, P.O. Box 3958 Missoula, MT 59806	Metropolitan Analysis & Retrieval Systems, Inc (Mars, Inc)	11,300.00	1,973.27
Neil A. Gray, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036-1993	Highway Users Federation	1,455.00	45.00
Peter Gray, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Citicorp/Citibank	2,160.00	
Mary R. Grealy, 1111 19th Street, NW, #402 Washington, DC 20036	Federation of American Health Systems	1,500.00	
Greater Wash/MD Service Station & Automotive Repair Assn, 9420 Annapolis Rd., #307 Lanham, MD 20706		200.00	200.00
Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Assn, P.O. Box 2626 Washington, DC 20013			
Donald R. Greeley, 919 18th St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Hoechst Celanese Corp.	5,000.00	412.44
Deborah Green, 610 W. 110th Street #7C New York, NY 10025	Americans United with the Congolese People (For-Ross & Green)	39,500.00	31,930.15
Edward M. Green, 1920 N St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
George R. Green, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute	450.00	
James E. Green, 1250 H Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	Mobil Corp.	2,500.00	362.59
Micah S. Green, 1445 New York Ave., 8th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Public Securities Assn	12,500.00	502.31
Oliver W. Green, 5025 Wisconsin Ave, NW Washington, DC 20016	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO		
Scott H. Green, 3159 N. Quincy Street Arlington, VA 22207	Boys & Girls Clubs of America	7,500.00	1,682.91
Do	DARE AMERICA	2,500.00	559.35
Do	National Center for Missing & Exploited Children	7,500.00	1,682.91
William Green, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., #575 Washington, DC 20004	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc	3,000.00	
Green Stewart & Farber, P.C., 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, Suite 1111 Washington, DC 20037	Premier Hospitals Alliance, Inc	500.00	500.00
Fred Greene, 3434 Pinetree Terrace Falls Church, VA 22041	Denny Miller Associates	2,500.00	
H. Thomas Greene, 412 1st St., SE Washington, DC 20003	National Automobile Dealers Assn	15,000.00	
Suzanne Greenfield, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	8,010.00	92.41
Lynn Greenwalt, 1400 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation		
Richard Grefe, 6352 31st Place, NW Washington, DC 20015	America's Public Television Stations		8.00
Sarah Massengale Gregg, 1667 K Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	Baxter		
Gregory Company, One Massachusetts Avenue, NW, #880 Washington, DC 20001	Lake Preservation Coalition	900.00	34.86
Edward F. Greisinger Jr., 1455 F St., NW, #405 Washington, DC 20005	Upjohn Company	52,850.00	
David J. Gribbin IV, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business (NFIB)	3,401.00	200.00
Ann Thomas Griffin, 2707 D.S. Walter Reed Drive Arlington, VA 22206	Harris Corp.	1,050.00	129.82
Robert T. Griffin, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20035	Chrysler Corporation	3,000.00	305.00
W. M. Griffin, 601 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20004	Texas Utilities Services, Inc	5,062.00	117.44
Griffin Johnson & Associates, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Air Transport Assn of America	5,750.00	184.00
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council	8,750.00	236.00
Do	American Petroleum Institute	5,000.00	160.00
Do	American Psychological Assn	5,000.00	160.00
Do	American Red Cross	5,000.00	160.00
Do	Appalachian Coalbed Methane Assn	13,750.00	440.00
Do	Arthur Andersen & Co	5,000.00	160.00
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	1,500.00	48.00
Do	Central and South West Services, Inc	2,750.00	88.00
Do	City of Broomfield, CO		
Do	Coal Industry Health Protection Coalition	7,750.00	248.00
Do	Coopers & Lybrand, et al	13,500.00	432.00
Do	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research	5,250.00	168.00
Do	Council of Smaller Enterprises (COSE)	3,000.00	160.00
Do	CBS, Inc	3,750.00	120.00
Do	COMSAT Corp	1,750.00	56.00
Do	Delta Dental Plans Assn	10,750.00	344.00
Do	Fireman's Fund Insurance Cos	2,000.00	64.00
Do	Fluor Corp	4,250.00	136.00
Do	Galileo International	750.00	24.00
Do	General Atomics	4,000.00	128.00
Do	Grumman Corporation	1,250.00	40.00
Do	Halliburton NUS Environmental Corporation	3,000.00	96.00
Do	Heartland Health Systems	1,500.00	48.00
Do	Hong Kong Trade Development Council	250.00	8.00
Do	Human Rights Campaign Fund	750.00	24.00
Do	Martin Marietta Corp	6,250.00	200.00
Do	McCaw Cellular Communications, Inc	5,250.00	168.00
Do	Merck & Co, Inc	2,000.00	64.00
Do	Motorcycle Industry Council, Inc		
Do	National Coalition of Burn Center Hospitals		
Do	National Football League	1,000.00	32.00
Do	National Independent Energy Producers	8,750.00	280.00
Do	National Music Publishers Assn, Inc	4,000.00	128.00
Do	Natural Disaster Coalition	11,250.00	360.00
Do	Precision Co	1,500.00	48.00
Do	Primerica Corp	7,750.00	248.00
Do	Software Productivity Consortium	2,500.00	80.00
Do	Tobacco Institute	3,250.00	104.00
Do	Waste Management, Inc	5,000.00	160.00
Do	Yale-New Haven Hospital	4,750.00	152.00
Edward D. Griffith, 3801 West Chester Pike Newtown Square, PA 19073	ARCO Chemical Co	115.00	421.53
Gary W. Griffith, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	600.00	146.97
Randy Griggs, 1052 Highway 431 North Dothan, AL 36303	Alabama Farmers Federation	600.00	834.89
Craig N. Grimm, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Cynthia P. Grisso, 1101 Sixteenth Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		50.00
Olga Grkavac, 1616 North Fort Myer Drive, #1300 Arlington, VA 22209	Information Technology Assn of America, Inc		
James N. Groninger, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc	181.73	
George Gross, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, #610 Washington, DC 20036	Magazine Publishers of America, Inc	5,000.00	
Drew Gruenberg, 1601 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Society of American Florists	1,000.00	
John T. Grupenhoff, 6410 Rockledge Drive, #203 Bethesda, MD 20817	American Academy of Dermatology	790.00	153.70
Do	American Society of Hematology	1,790.00	163.00
Do	Cooley's Anemia Foundation	800.00	140.70
Gerald M. Guarilia, 70 North Main Street Wilkes-Barre, PA 18711	Blue Cross of Northeastern Pennsylvania		
Gabriel Guerra-Mondragon, 444 North Capitol Street, #711 Washington, DC 20001	Guerra & Associates, Inc (For-Mexican Dept of Commerce & Industrial Development)	73,858.23	7,257.14

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Gene Guerrero, 122 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union	1,250.00	
Pamela D. Guffain, 501 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Fertilizer Institute	3,000.00	94.50
Jay F. Guin, P.O. Box 032206 Tuscaloosa, AL 35403	Tanner & Guin (For:Morrow Realty Co, Inc)	85.00	
James E. Guirard Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, #419 Washington, DC 20036	BASF Corp	500.00	60.00
Do	Marine Shale Processors, Inc	1,000.00	70.00
Do	McDermott, Inc	1,000.00	120.00
Do	Walk Haydel & Associates, Inc	1,000.00	100.00
Deborah H. Gum, 9167 Stevens Ct. Manassas, VA 22110	Capital Cities/ABC, Inc		
Gun Owners of America, Inc, 8001 Forbes Place Springfield, VA 22151		134,194.69	151,097.10
Peggy A. Gunn, 601 Second Avenue South MPFF 1704 Minneapolis, MN 55402	First Bank System, Inc	15,000.00	2,908.10
Phyllis A. Guss, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 700 6th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Lockheed Information Management Services Company, Inc		
Ned H. Guthrie, 209 Hayes Avenue Charleston, WV 25314	American Fed of Musicians	13,972.20	3,559.05
Richard E. Gutting Jr., 1525 Wilson Boulevard, #500 Arlington, VA 22209	National Fisheries Institute	6,000.00	
GLB, Inc, 1507 West 6th Street Austin, TX 78703	Jones Motor Co, Inc		
Do	MPPAA Solvency Coalition		
Do	Schneider National, Inc		
Do	Walsh Trucking Service, Inc		
GPIA Animal Drug Alliance, 200 Madison Ave., #2404 New York, NY 10015	Mead Corporation		
Jane Scherer Haake, 1667 K Street, NW, #420 Washington, DC 20006	National Wholesale Druggists' Assn		
Sherry J. Haber, 1821 Michael Faraday Dr., #400 Reston, VA 22090	Hillman Properties		
Hackard & Holt, 3620 American River Drive, Suite 125 Sacramento, CA 95864	National Clay Pipe Institute	10,000.00	6,288.52
Do	Hillman Properties West, Inc	30,750.00	
Hackard & Taylor, 1435 River Park Drive, Suite 300 Sacramento, CA 95815	National Clay Pipe Institute		
Do	Ashland Oil, Inc	2,000.00	
William G. Haddeland, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Manufactured Housing Institute	9,000.00	232.46
Anthony L. Hadley, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #511 Arlington, VA 22202	L.E. Haefner Enterprises, Inc (For:Cape Girardeau Regional Commerce & Growth Assn)		
Lionie E. Haefner, 10 Finlay Road Kirkwood, MO 63122	L.E. Haefner Enterprises, Inc (For:Missouri Botanical Garden)	92.00	95.31
Do	L.E. Haefner Enterprises, Inc (For:Surface Systems, Inc)	6,250.00	6,372.23
Do	Central & South West Services, Inc	365.20	1,198.16
Thomas M. Hagan, 1005 Congress Ave., #795 Austin, TX 78701	Motorola	6,500.00	
Veronica A. Haggart, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20005	American Automobile Assn		
John F. Hailey, 1440 New York Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	EuroColumbus	10,433.25	10.00
Haight Gardner Poor & Havens, 1300 I Street, NW, #470E Washington, DC 20005	American League for Exports and Security Assistance (ALESA)	2,100.00	32.49
James Hailer, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 740 Washington, DC 20001	National Wildlife Federation	339.66	
Jay D. Hair, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	Union Oil Co of California		1,067.01
Thomas F. Hairston, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #760 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Manufacturers		
Randolph M. Hale, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N. Washington, DC 20004	Genetics Institute		
Hale and Dorr, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Harcourt Brace & Co	513.00	20.00
Do	Intra-Sonix	57.00	39.20
Do	Maxtor Corporation		
Do	Medallion Oil Company		
Do	Metalor USA Refining Corp		
Do	Micron Technology, Inc	4,620.00	
Do	Northeastern University	855.00	58.00
Do	Park Electrochemical Corp	3,526.00	102.40
Do	Psychological Corp	5,956.50	308.31
Do	Thinking Machines Corp	195.50	39.60
Do	American Bankers Assn	800.00	
Do	Banc One Corporation		
Do	Ford Motor Co	7,500.00	1,305.30
Do	Magazine Publishers of America	2,000.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson	177.50	
Do	Harris Corporation	1,475.00	1,548.40
Do	Dart Industries, Inc		25.00
Do	Concord Resources Group, Inc		
Do	National Retail Federation	5,000.00	240.10
Do	San Diego Gas & Electric	3,437.00	2,770.97
Do	Sandoz Corp		215.00
Do	Air Line Pilots Assn	12,500.00	509.51
Do	Graham & James (For:American Hawaii Cruises)		
Do	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Do	Bell Atlantic	5,053.50	
Do	NYNEX	5,811.50	
Do	Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association	6,000.00	202.60
Do	American Insurance Assn	250.80	
Do	Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Dakota	560.00	1,047.00
Do	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities	8,832.00	
Do	National-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn	3,000.00	
Do	American Soc of Mechanical Engineers		
Do	Planned Parenthood Fed of America, Inc	179.88	
Do	Sweetener Users Assn	4,600.00	529.25
Do	Morris, John L.	8,687.50	1,246.84
Do	Silver Dollar City, Inc	20,000.00	78.38
Do	Mobil Corp	2,500.00	
Do	Kinetic Concepts, Inc	9,000.00	972.17
Do	Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	7,318.88	
Do	General Electric Co	695.83	
Do	Hazardous Waste Action Coalition	891.25	
Do	Ingalis Shipbuilding	870.38	
Do	Northrop Corp	1,441.65	
Do	Teledyne Industries, Inc	880.00	
Do	NYNEX Government Affairs	8,172.00	305.13
Do	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn	150.00	
Do	United States Surgical Corp	1,000.00	
Do	W. R. Grace & Co/World Headquarters	300.00	
Do	Abbott Laboratories	5,000.00	
Do	Senior Coalition	8,749.98	209.47
Do	Education Finance Council	6,000.00	
Do	Nike, Inc		149.30
Do	Citicorp Washington, Inc		
Do	American Soybean Assn		
Do	Iowa Pork Producers Assn		
Do	National Sunflower Assn		
Do	U.S. Canola Assn		
Do	National Assn of Social Workers	9,600.00	
Do	American Financial Services Assn	250.00	
Do	Champion International Corp	2,238.00	198.21
Do	San Diego Gas & Electric	1,286.00	2,644.01
Do	National Cattlemen's Assn		
Do	Grumman Corporation	625.00	358.61
Do	Association of American Railroads	4,789.00	
Do	Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical	967.50	
Do	Honda North America, Inc	660.00	321.37
Do	CIGNA Corp	5,000.00	151.60
Do	Savings and Community Bankers of America	7,000.00	3,000.00
Do	USX Corporation	150.00	
Do	American Railway Car Institute		
Do	Association of Food Industries, Inc		
Do	Cheese Importers Assn of America, Inc	400.00	21.25
Do	Coalition of Food Importers Assn	960.00	4.50
Do	Committee of Domestic Steel Wire Rope & Specialty Cable Mfrs		
Do	American Petroleum Institute		
Jack E. Harrison, West Virginia Petroleum Council 1250 One Valley Square Charleston, WV 25301			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Joseph M. Harrison, 1611 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	American Movers Conference	1,000.00	
L. Ray Harry, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	Southern Company Services, Inc.	460.00	4,661.39
Fruzsina M. Harsanyi, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Asa Brown Boveri, Inc.	3,500.00	
Elizabeth Kirby Hart, 3050 K Street, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20007	National Club Assn.	3,000.00	
Lynn S. Hart, 1111 19th St., NW, #402 Washington, DC 20036	Federation of American Health Systems	6,000.00	
Martha A. Hart, 700 North Fairfax Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Railway Progress Institute	687.50	
William J. Harte Ltd, 111 West Washington Street, Suite 1000 Chicago, IL 60602	AMGEN, Inc.	6,160.00	
Do	Gamma of Illinois, Inc.		
Carolyn Hartmann, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	U.S. Public Interest Research Group	7,241.36	
Robert Hartwell, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Health Care Assn.	15,000.00	671.53
Frederick J. Hartwigsen, 1500 Paxton Street P.O. Box 3565 Harrisburg, PA 17105	UCI Corporation		
Donald F. Haskell Jr., 400 Christiansa Road Newark, DE 19713	MBNA America Bank, NA	134.00	
Holly Hassett, 1401 Eye Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	Hershey Foods Corp.		
James C. Hassett, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20006	Occidental Chemical Corp.	250.25	96.00
James N. Haug, 55 E. Erie Street Chicago, IL 60611	American College of Surgeons		
Barbara S. Haugen, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn. of Insurance Brokers, Inc.		
Marilyn Beth Haugen, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn.		
Barbara J. Haugh, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #760 Washington, DC 20036	Union Oil Co of California		1,659.37
Todd J. Hauptli, 4212 King Street Alexandria, VA 22302	American Assn. of Airport Executives	4,700.00	
Charles W. Havens III, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009	Leboeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae		
Kathryn Joann Hawes, 8701 Georgia Ave., #701 Silver Spring, MD 20910	International Fed of Professional & Technical Engineers		
Jennifer Hawk, 1722 Eye Street, NW, 4th Floor Washington, DC 20006	Barclays Bank, PLC	3,000.00	73.49
Sidney G. Hawkes, 1667 K St., NW, #420 Washington, DC 20006	Mead Corporation	600.00	50.00
Charles E. Hawkins III, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc.	2,500.00	
Paula Hawkins, P.O. Box 193 Winter Park, FL 32790	Genentech, Inc.	30,000.00	12,121.43
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn.	21,000.00	
Hawkins Delafield & Wood, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036	Mortgage Bankers Assn.	28,250.00	3,818.97
F. William Hawley, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Citicorp/Citibank	333.50	
John F. Hay, 1801 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Westinghouse Electric Corp.	1,200.00	
David J. Hayes, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Latham & Watkins (For:Ad Hoc Electronics Coalition)	49.50	1.70
Do	Latham & Watkins (For:American Electronics Assn.)	5,276.50	23.64
Do	Latham & Watkins (For:Semiconductor Industry Association)	1,744.12	27.78
Patty Longstreet Hayes, 777 North Capitol Street, NE, Suite 803 Washington, DC 20002	American Association of Nurse Anesthetists	5,000.00	32.72
Mark F. Haynes, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Fluor Corporation	5,000.00	509.20
Robert A. Haynos, 4711 Hunt Circle Harrisburg, PA 17112	Harsco Corporation	42,680.00	588.49
Janis D. Hazel, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Association of America's Public Television Stations	401.20	9.48
Paul Hazen, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	National Cooperative Business Assn.	3,000.00	
Healthcare Financial Management Assn., 1050 17th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036			933.98
Healthcare Leadership Council, 1500 K Street, NW, Suite 360 Washington, DC 20005			
Robert Healy Jr., 1201 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Public Transit Assn.	4,450.00	27.00
Robert L. Healy, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co.	200.00	
Anne A. Heaney, 110 Maryland Avenue, NW, #101 Washington, DC 20002	American Library Assn.	1,086.00	
Mary B. Heath, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Frank Russell Co)		
David E. Hebert, 1922 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	National Assn. of Life Underwriters	5,000.00	57.50
Timothy P. Hecht, 499 South Capitol Street, SW Washington, DC 20003	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp)		
Do	Digitran Systems Inc.		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Mid-American Waste Systems, Inc.)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:MCI Telecommunications)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:National Automatic Merchandising Assn.)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates, Inc. (For:Boy Scouts of America)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates, Inc. (For:Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp)		
Do	Digitran Systems, Inc.		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:EMCA)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates, Inc. (For:Los Angeles Raiders)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Mars, Inc.)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Mid-American Waste Systems, Inc.)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:MCI Telecommunications)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:National Automatic Merchandising Assn.)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Charles E. Smith Management, Inc.)		
Hecht Spencer & Associates, Inc., 499 South Capitol Street, SW, #507 Washington, DC 20003	Boy Scouts of America	1,000.00	
Do	Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp	2,500.00	
Do	Digitran Systems Inc.		
Do	International Electronics Manufacturers & Consumers of Am		
Do	Los Angeles Raiders		
Do	Mars, Inc.		
Do	Mid-American Waste Systems, Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	MCI Telecommunications	1,000.00	
Do	National Automatic Merchandising Assn.	1,000.00	
Do	Charles E. Smith Management, Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc.	1,000.00	
Do	Common Cause	15,322.54	
Do	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn.	17,897.42	
Do	American Cast Iron Pipe Company	1,000.00	
Do	CSX Corporation	5,000.00	76.25
Do	DePaul University	3,000.00	
Do	Renewable Fuel Assn.	3,000.00	
Do	Sealaska Corp.	1,000.00	
Do	Associated General Contractors of America		
Do	Disabled American Veterans	25,982.32	324.00
Do	American Malting Barley Assn., Inc.	1,045.00	
Do	Northrop Corp.	3,000.00	108.12
Do	Monsanto Co.		222.92
Do	American Petroleum Institute		
Do	American Library Assn.	1,419.00	
Do	Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.	6,000.00	1,081.00
Do	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Assn.		804.92
Do	Electric Transportation Coalition	147.00	50.00
Do	Handgun Control, Inc.	416.00	
Do	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc.		
Do	American Insurance Assn.	507.00	
Do	McDermott, Inc.	12,000.00	4,695.90
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc.	1,535.00	68.47
Do	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc.	2,500.00	
Do	Graham & James (For:RR Donnelley & Sons Company)		
Do	Investment Company Institute		
Do	Healthcare Financial Management Assn.		64.41
Do	National Concrete Masonry Assn.		6,569.00
Do	Davis S. Hess		6,560.67
Do	Common Cause	402.28	
Do	Grumman Corporation	625.00	292.24
Do		17,250.00	4,702.89
Do	National Business Owners Assn., Inc.		
Do	National Military Family Assn., Inc.	2,185.00	
Do	Associated General Contractors of America		
Do	American Petroleum Institute	500.00	
Do	National Soft Drink Assn.	84.14	233.84
Do	Louisiana-Pacific Corp.	7,125.00	1,229.00
Do	Rochester Telephone Corp.	3,300.00	4,253.21
Do	American Academy of Family Physicians	3,875.00	145.18
Do	Ashland Oil, Inc.	2,000.00	
Do	Consumers Union of U.S., Inc.	1,000.00	
Do	UBA, Inc.	2,000.00	
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn.		
Do	Chemical Manufacturers Assn., Inc.	750.00	73.00
John Heffner, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
John F. Heilman, 807 Maine Ave., SW Washington, DC 20024			
Scott E. Heisel, 735 N. Water Street, #908 Milwaukee, WI 53202-4105			
Robert W. Helm, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2300 Arlington, VA 22209			
Thomas M. Helscher, 700 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005			
Mike D. Helton, Kentucky Petroleum Council 305 Ann St., #403 Frankfort, KY 40601			
Carol C. Henderson, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, #101 Washington, DC 20002			
Donald E. Henderson, 225 South East Street Indianapolis, IN 46202			
Wallace Henderson, 1133 21st Street, NW, 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20036			
Gail L. Hendrickson, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004			
Dennis A. Henigan, 1225 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Jane E. Henriques, 1801 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006			
George H. Henry, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036			
John Hugh Henry, 1850 K Street, NW, #950 Washington, DC 20006			
LeAnn Hensche, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004			
Charlotte W. Herbert, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209			
Michael D. Herman, 2000 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
Catherine L. Heron, 1600 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Wendy Herr, 1050 17th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036			
John A. Heslop, 2302 Horse Pen Road Herndon, VA 22071			
David S. Hess, 3900 University Boulevard South Jacksonville, FL 32216			
Cara Hesse, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
William S. Hettinger, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209			
Heublein, Inc., 16 Munson Road Farmington, CT 06034-0388			
John Drew Hiatt, 1200 18th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036			
Sydney Tally Hickey, 6401 Phillip Court Springfield, VA 22152			
William D. Hickman, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Paul T. Hicks, Rhode Island Petroleum Assn 395 Smith Street, #2 Providence, RI 02908			
Barbara L. Hiden, 1101 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
John S. Hightower, 5700 Florida Blvd., #310 Baton Rouge, LA 70806			
Lucy A. Higley, 180 South Clinton Avenue Rochester, NY 14646-0700			
Susan L. Hildenbrandt, 2021 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Clifton T. Hilderley Jr., 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036			
John Hildreth, 1300 Guadalupe, #100 Austin, TX 78701			
J. Eldred Hill Jr., 820 First St., NE, #400 Washington, DC 20002			
Patricia Hill, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036			
Robert B. Hill, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Thomas M. Hill, 1726 M St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036-4502	Pacific Gas & Electric Co	1,560.00	253.79
Hill and Knowlton, Inc. 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Blue Cross Blue Shield of Florida	960.00	
Do	Broward County		
Do	Carpet & Rug Institute		
Do	Colorado State University		
Do	Fujisawa/Typhomed		
Do	Healthcare Leadership Council	500.00	
Do	Louisiana Pacific	2,500.00	
Do	McAndrews & Forbes Holding, Inc.		
Do	Phillips Petroleum Company		
Do	Port Everglades	960.00	
Do	Republic of Turkey	250.00	
Do	Sallie Mae		
Do	Stelco, Inc.		
Do	Tera Computer Company		
Do	TV Answer, Inc.	35,650.00	
Edward Joseph Hillings, 750 17th Street, NW, 4th Fl Washington, DC 20006	Enron Corp	7,500.00	
Cynthia Hilton, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
John M. Himmelberg, 888 17th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Florida Fruit & Vegetable Assn	3,000.00	
Do	Holland & Knight (For Florida Tomato Exchange)	1,500.00	
Do	J.R. Brooks & Son, Inc.	500.00	
Hinman Straub Pigors & Manning, P.C., 50 E Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	New York State Conference of Blue Cross & Blue Shield Plans	11,467.50	381.18
Evan Hirsche, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife	33.66	
Sheila E. Hixson, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Solid Wastes Management Assn (NSWMA)	500.00	
Lawrence S. Hobart, 2301 M St., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20037	American Public Power Assn	2,000.00	
Hobbs Straus Dean & Wilder, 1819 H St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Aroostook Band of Micmacs	100.00	
Do	Evergreen Legal Services	1,080.00	
Do	Menominee Indian Tribe	100.00	
Do	Narragansett Indian Tribe		
Do	National Indian Education Assn	280.00	
Do	National Minority Public Broadcasting Consortia	360.00	
Do	Northwest Indian Child Welfare Assn	70.00	
Do	Pueblo de Cochiti	200.00	
Do	Seminole Tribe of Florida		
Do	Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation		
Julius W. Hobson Jr., 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
Philip M. Hocker, 20 West Chapman Street Alexandria, VA 22301	Americal Policy Center		59.00
Scott Hodes, 150 North Michigan Avenue, #2500 Chicago, IL 60601	Investment Company Institute	15,000.00	
Ann C. Hodges, 500 E Street, SW, #320 Washington, DC 20024	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	11,269.25	264.24
A.R. Trey' Hodgkins III, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rifle Assn of America	1,137.03	588.34
Mary Jo Hoeksema, 519 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Assn for Home Care		
Jeanne E. Hoenicke, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance		
Ann F. Hoffman, 815 16th Street, NW, Suite 103 Washington, DC 20006	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	12,675.00	423.93
Judith L. Hoffman, 919 18th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	W. R. Grace & Co		219.00
William L. Hoffman, 516 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American University of Beirut	11,856.00	11,175.73
F. Nurdy Hoffmann and Assoc. Inc, 400 N. Capitol St., NW, #327 Washington, DC 20001	American Radio Assn		
Do	Archer Daniels Midland Company		
Do	Coca-Cola Company		
Do	Marine Engineers' Beneficial Assn		
Elizabeth Hogan, 1801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp	1,000.00	907.98
Hogan & Hartson, 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004-1109	Advanced Tissues Sciences		824.75
Do	Alabama Contractors Coalition	6,435.00	7.50
Do	American Academy of Pediatrics	260.00	
Do	American Coke & Coal Chemicals Institute		
Do	American College of Osteopathic Surgeons		
Do	American Frozen Food Institute		
Do	American Physical Therapy Assn		
Do	American Registry of Pathology		45.37
Do	Amgen, Inc.	14,126.25	121.00
Do	Ansell	50.00	
Do	Auburn University	12,118.68	1,072.70
Do	B.P. America, Inc.		
Do	Berg Steel Pipe Corp	1,126.25	4.00
Do	Blount, Inc.		
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn		
Do	Brother International Corp	12,454.98	2,060.09
Do	Burger King Corp	14,420.00	317.21
Do	BE&K Construction		
Do	C C Distributors, Inc. et al.		
Do	California State Teachers Retirement System	4,542.50	
Do	Cholestech Corp	4,237.50	332.31
Do	Computer & Business Equipment Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Drummond Company, Inc.	56,308.75	2,186.69
Do	Ductile Iron Pipe Research Assn		
Do	Farm Credit Bank of Baltimore	15,000.00	706.55
Do	Farm Credit Bank of Texas	12,137.50	1,404.52
Do	Freightliner Corp		
Do	Genentech, Inc.		8.50
Do	General Electric Co	3,898.75	283.80
Do	General Mills, Inc.	4,512.50	453.37
Do	Glaxo, Inc.	210.00	
Do	Government of Haiti	137,550.00	9,083.19
Do	Grand Metropolitan	15,000.00	953.97
Do	Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.		
Do	Group Hospitalization and Medical Services, Inc.	11,957.64	1,449.79
Do	Gulf Citrus Growers Assn	12,499.98	1,901.47
Do	Harbert Corp	79,115.00	1,554.23
Do	Hardie-Tynes Mfg Company	4,120.00	289.96
Do	Humane Society of the United States		84.31
Do	Infectious Diseases Society of America, Inc.	2,402.50	28.00
Do	Intergraph Corp		
Do	JKC Stadium, Inc.		
Do	May Department Stores Co	4,601.25	
Do	Medtronic, Inc.	6,765.00	
Do	Mercedes-Benz of North America, Inc.		
Do	Michelin Tire Company	37,432.50	6,458.67
Do	Michigan Consolidated Gas Co	15,079.06	650.40
Do	Mortgage Insurance Companies of America	23,000.00	1,578.65
Do	National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering, Inc.		
Do	National Apparel	20,580.00	940.86
Do	National Assn of Community Health Centers		
Do	National Broiler Council		
Do	National Child Care Assn	9,000.00	910.81
Do	National Consumer Bankruptcy Coalition	14,000.00	1,902.26
Do	National Hospice Organization	1,058.25	
Do	National Osteoporosis Foundation	36,955.95	238.85
Do	National Structured Settlements Trade Assn		
Do	National Tissue Bank Council		
Do	New York Assn of Homes & Services for the Aging		
Do	New York State Health Facilities Assn, Inc.		
Do	Nuexco Trading Corp, et al.		
Do	Ontario Ministry of Industry, Trade & Technology		
Do	PepsiCo, Inc.	8,699.40	1,116.21
Do	Polyisocyanurate Insulation Manufacturers Assn (PIMA)	22,372.50	1,791.30

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Private Child Care Providers	24,000.21	1,230.09
Do	Product Liability Coordination Committee	30,000.00	2,071.51
Do	Rust Engineering	30,000.00	1,944.69
Do	Sierra Forest Products	4,116.25	155.20
Do	Soap & Detergent Assn	26,551.25	1,165.58
Do	Society of Critical Care Medicine		
Do	Southeast Peanut Assn	7,500.00	230.12
Do	Southern Company Services	40,000.00	4,748.77
Do	Storage Technology Corp		
Do	Tektronix, Inc		
Do	Timex Corporation		
Do	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc		
Do	United States Sugar Corp	7,765.00	1,070.20
Do	Visiting Nurse Service of New York		
Do	Vulcan Materials Company	40,000.00	3,591.07
Do	Jim Walter Corp	9,000.00	3,375.54
Do	Williams Telecommunications	37,036.25	1,249.37
Do	XXSYS Technologies Inc		
Linda M. Hoggatt, 412 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Automobile Dealers Assn	1,000.00	
Bruce E. Holbein, 111 Powdermill Rd. (b79) Maynard, MA 01754	Digital Equipment Corp	28,000.00	
Niels C. Holch, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	McGuinness & Holch (For Arch Mineral Corporation)		
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For National Assn of Health Underwriters)		
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For National Horse Show Commission)	787.50	
Do	Oneida Indian Nation		
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For RJR Nabisco)		
Robert A. Holland, 1020 19th Street, NW, #420 Washington, DC 20036	SmithKline Beecham Corp (Beecham, Inc)	2,500.00	800.00
Holland & Knight, 888 17th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	American Life Resources Corp	1,030.00	
Do	Homestead Community Bank	1,000.00	
Do	International Taxicab & Livery Assn	400.00	
Do	Pan American Satellite Corp		
Do	Spaceport Florida Authority	690.00	
Do	United Bus Owners of America	17,500.00	
Do	VITAS HealthCare Corp of Florida	3,450.00	
Do	David Turch & Associates	2,200.00	
Brant Patrick Hollenkamp, 517 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Peabody Holding Co, Inc		
Jessica J. Holliday, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 240 Washington, DC 20001-2109	Ford Motor Co	2,432.40	227.46
Wendell M. Holloway, 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Holly Corp		1,638.34
Holly Corporation, 100 Crescent Court, #1600 Dallas, TX 75201	Georgia-Pacific Corp	500.00	
Stewart E. Holm, 1875 Eye Street, NW, Suite 775 Washington, DC 20006	National Education Assn	4,217.25	35.50
Moses D. Holmes Jr., 1201 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
John W. Holt, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Petroleum Institute		
John F. Holtz, NJ Petroleum Council 150 West State Street Trenton, NJ 08608		25,000.00	24,610.69
Home Recording Rights Coalition, P.O. Box 33576 1145 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20033	Distilled Spirits Council of the US	2,000.00	
Rebecca Honeycutt, 1250 Eye Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	Organization Opposed to the Supercollider	18,000.00	531.35
Jocelyn Hong & Associates, 207 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, #2 Washington, DC 20003	National Trust for Historic Preservation	2,577.20	
Helen Hooper, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Waterways Operators	11,375.00	
Hooper Hooper Owen & Gould, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #730 Washington, DC 20004	Arka, Inc	7,800.00	
Do	Cap Rock Electric Cooperative, Inc	750.00	
Do	Catellus		
Do	City of San Francisco (Water & Power Div)	10,545.00	
Do	CSX/Yukon Pacific Corp	3,600.00	
Do	Destec Energy, Inc	1,582.00	
Do	Ebasco Services	5,400.00	
Do	Entergy Corp	7,500.00	
Do	Ewing Kauffman Foundation	7,135.00	
Do	ENSERCH Corp	1,500.00	
Do	ENSERCH Exploration	1,500.00	
Do	Fluor Corp		
Do	Goldstrike Mine	8,625.00	
Do	Guadalupe Valley Electric Cooperative, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	Hallmark Cards	4,687.00	
Do	Herzog Heine Gedold, Inc		
Do	Hubbell, Inc	7,500.00	
Do	Integrated Resources Group, Inc	5,250.00	
Do	Integrated Waste Services Assn	3,150.00	
Do	International Paper Co	7,500.00	
Do	IFINT, S.A.	3,000.00	
Do	Jena Bank of Choctaw		
Do	John Hancock Mutual Life Ins Co	15,000.00	
Do	Kansas City Southern Industries	5,000.00	
Do	Mobil Corp	9,413.00	
Do	National Assn of Royalty Owners	625.00	
Do	National Rural Letter Carriers' Assn		
Do	Panhandle Eastern Corp	22,200.00	
Do	Pennsylvania Engineering Co	4,506.00	
Do	Phlcorp	9,369.00	
Do	Science Applications Intern Corp	11,250.00	
Do	Trammell Crow Co		
Do	Tulane University	2,400.00	
Do	TECO Energy, Inc	7,580.00	
Do	Ultramar, Inc	5,500.00	
Do	United Asset Management		
Do	Utilicorp United, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Water Island Civic Assn		
Do	WMX Technology & Services	5,490.00	
Edward Hopkins, 1120 19th Street, NW, Suite 630 Washington, DC 20036	Citizen Action Fund	4,250.00	52.00
Mark D. Hopkins, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20005	Chevron Companies		
Mark M. Hopkins, 2439 25th Street Santa Monica, CA 90405	SpaceCause	630.00	
Stephen A. Hopkins, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Citicorp Washington, Inc	2,000.00	
Virginia E. Hopkins, 1302 Noble Street, #3H Anniston, AL 36201	Campbell & Hopkins (For Wald Manufacturing Company, Inc)	1,012.50	194.83
Hopkins & Sutter (Washington), 888 16th Street, NW, 6th floor Washington, DC 20006	Cook Inlet Region, Inc	1,890.00	
Do	Geonex Corp	1,518.75	
Do	Grand Trunk Corp	980.00	
Do	Puerto Rico Bankers Assn	24,000.00	125.00
Sue E. Hopkinson, 777 N. Capitol St., SE, #803 Washington, DC 20002	American Assn of Nurse Anesthetists	5,000.00	
Mern Horan, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Public Citizen	7,700.00	
Darnell K. Horio, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20004	GPU Service Corporation	11,243.00	302.92
Bernard Horn, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	3,199.00	
Robert Jack Horn, 801 13th Street, NW, #650 N Washington, DC 20005-3808	Detroit Edison Company	1,320.00	40.00
John R. Horner, 8524 Bradford Rd, Silver Spring, MD 20901	Campbell-Raupe, Inc (for: NMTBA-Assn for Mfg Technology)		
Charles H. Hossack, 50 South First Avenue Coatesville, PA 19320	Lukens, Inc	364.00	239.00
Peggy A. Houlihan, 1801 K Street, NW, Floor 8 Washington, DC 20006	Coalition for Employment Through Exports		
John H. F. Hoving, 1575 Eye Street, NW #325 Washington, DC 20005	Society of American Value Engineers		
Hoving Group, 1762 Church Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Film Marketing Assn	750.00	
Do	Eagle-Picher Industries, Inc	19,650.00	93.35
Do	Western-Southern Life Insurance Co	2,625.00	150.00
Robert M. Howard, 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Ford Motor Co	2,574.70	2,530.74
Susan Howe, 1300 North 17th Street Rosslyn, VA 22209	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Jackie G. Howell, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	4,613.76	
James P. Howell, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	1,900.50	
Clifford T. Howlett Jr., 1875 Eye St., NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	7,000.00	
Paul R. Huard, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1500N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	9,000.00	
David S. Hubbard, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005	American Cement Alliance, Inc	6,250.00	306.24
Walter D. Huddleston, P.O. Box 456 Elizabethtown, KY 42702	Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co	36,000.00	1,200.79

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	MCI Telecommunications		
Margaret Ranken Hudson, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	American Portland Cement Alliance	12,500.00	487.87
Stewart Hudson, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation		
Thomas H. Hudson, P.O. Box 2787 Baton Rouge, LA 70821	Coastal Corporation		
Do	Louisiana State University	1,000.00	
Do	Philip Morris, USA		
Do	United Gas Pipe Line Co		
Gary E. Hughes, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
Gerald F. Hughes, 1600 Wilson Blvd., Suite 807 Arlington, VA 22209	Roadway Services, Inc	100.00	250.00
James J. Hughes Jr., 3128 Kinross Circle Herndon, VA 22071	Child Protection Lobby, Inc	12,000.00	768.73
John P. Hughes, The West Tower, 8th Floor 1333 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Electricity Consumers Resource Council (ELCON)		
Kevin M. Hughes, 200 Second Avenue North Seattle, WA 98109	Pacific Science Center	1,890.00	
Sharon M. Hughes, 1735 I St., NW, Suite 704 Washington, DC 20006	National Council of Agricultural Employers	875.00	13.00
Vester T. Hughes Jr., 1717 Main Street, Suite 2800 Dallas, TX 75201	Mrs. H. E. Butt		
Do	Holly Corp		
Do	Sammons Enterprises, Inc	500.00	1,375.67
William Hughes, 27357 Avonbourne Lane Easton, MD 21601-7655	National Assn of Federal Veterinarians	27.75	
Walter E. Huizenga, 99 Canal Center Plaza, Suite 500 Alexandria, VA 22314	AIADA	13,950.00	
B. Jeanine Hull, 1667 K Street N.W. #585 Washington, DC 20006	LG&E Power Systems, Inc	10,000.00	
Steven E. Humerickhouse, 3333 Highway, 100 North Minneapolis, MN 55422	Adoptive Families of America	8,447.50	868.50
Gregory A. Humphrey, 555 New Jersey Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	American Fed of Teachers	25,050.24	64.00
Margot Smiley Humphrey, 1150 Connecticut Avenue, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Koteco & Nafatin (For:Alascom, Inc)		
Do	Koteco & Nafatin (For:Telephone & Data Systems, Inc, et al.)	10,725.00	9.00
John M. Humphries, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	United Technologies Corp	2,250.00	2,782.99
Frances A. Hunt, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Wildlife Federation	1,486.03	
Francis M. Hunt, 11100 Post House Court Potomac, MD 20854-2534	Hunt Consulting, Inc	1,000.00	1,470.00
Harnet Hunt-Burgess, 456 Montgomery Street #1800 San Francisco, CA 94104	American Land Conservancy (ALC)	365.82	3,381.68
Angela M. Hunter, 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	11,155.26	
Beverly A. Hunter, 100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights	9,499.98	
William N. Hunter, 2104-A Gallows Road Vienna, VA 22180	W.N. Hunter & Associates	2,000.00	
W.N. Hunter & Associates, 2104-A Gallows Road Vienna, VA 22180			2,000.00
John A. Hurson, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Case Management Society of America)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)		
Cathy Hurwitz, 1120 19th Street, NW, Suite 630 Washington, DC 20036	Citizen Action Fund	4,400.00	104.00
Geoffrey B. Hurwitz, 1667 K St., NW #1210 Washington, DC 20006	Rohm & Haas Co	2,300.00	271.22
Mark Hurwitz, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Building Owners & Managers Assn Int'l	1,250.00	400.00
Philip A. Hutchinson, 1001 N. 15th Street #1200 Arlington, VA 22209	Assn of International Automobile Manufacturers, Inc		200.00
Suzanne C. Hutchinson, 805 15th Street NW, Suite 1110 Washington, DC 20005	Mortgage Insurance Companies of America	7,375.00	37.34
Lindalyn L. Hutter, 1605 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2792	National Assn of Convenience Stores		
Randy Huwa, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	12,343.14	885.57
Brian M. Hyatt, 5301 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, #630 Washington, DC 20015	American Osteopathic Hospital Assn	1,200.00	
J. William Ichord, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #760 Washington, DC 20036	Union Oil Company of California		1,853.47
Torbjorn Ihre, 1634 I Street, NW and Suite 600 Washington, DC 20006-4083	Ericsson Corporation	2,000.00	
Immigration Services Associates, 211 Wilson Boulevard, #850 Arlington, VA 22201-3008	Professionals for Spouse Reunification	348.00	5.78
Scot E. Imus, 1199 North Fairfax Street, #801 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Truck Stop Operators		
Independent Data Communications Manufacturers Assn, c/o Squire Sanders & Dempsey 1201 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20044		1,549.00	1,549.00
Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc, 127 S. Peyton Street Alexandria, VA 22314		71,068.00	71,068.00
Independent Lubricant Manufacturers Assn, 651 South Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314		1,412.50	1,412.50
Infant Formula Council, 5775 Peachtree-Dunwoody Rd., #500-D Atlanta, GA 30342			
Information Technology Assn of America, Inc, 1616 North Ft. Myer Dr., #1300 Arlington, VA 22209		5,000.00	164.00
Charles E. Ing, 1850 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc	12,060.00	224.61
Edwin T. C. Ing, 2000 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #3310 Washington, DC 20006	Hawaiian Electric Industries, Inc		
Do	Kamehameha Schools/Estate of Bernice P. Bishop		
Do	U.S. Windpower, Inc		
Charles W. Ingram, 1615 H Street NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	650.00	
Doug Inkley, 1400 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation	2,464.96	
Institute for Responsible Housing Preservation, 2300 M Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20037		2,000.00	2,000.00
Institute of Clean Air Companies, Inc, 1707 L St., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Institute of International Bankers, 299 Park Avenue New York, NY 10171			28,706.59
Int'l Union, United Auto Aerospace & Agric Implement Workers, of America (UAW) 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue Detroit, MI 48214		143,537.14	143,537.14
International Advisers, Inc, 2300 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Embassy of Turkey	150,000.00	21,883.00
International Advisory Services Group, 2550 M Street, NW, Suite 275 Washington, DC 20037	Steel Service Center Institute		
International Assn of Bridge Struct & Ornamental Iron Wkrs, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006		22,992.60	36,983.66
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001			49,276.14
International Business-Government Counsellors, Inc, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006	Brandy Export Assn	825.00	274.43
Do	Fashion Accessories Shippers Assn	4,315.50	60.85
Do	Hercules, Inc	1,006.25	
Do	Procter & Gamble	1,125.00	363.00
Do	Totes, Inc		
Do	Universal Chemical Company, Inc	3,412.50	60.85
Do	USR Optonix, Inc		
Do	Wine Institute	17,213.69	275.28
Do	Xerox Corp	1,350.00	233.67
International Council of Shopping Centers, 665 Fifth Ave. New York, NY 10022		22,141.48	22,141.48
International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL-CIO, 17 Battery Place, #1500 New York, NY 10004			61,492.93
International Taxicab and Livery Assn, 3849 Farragut Avenue Kensington, MD 20895			
International Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen, 815 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005			6,123.00
International Union of Operating Engineers, 1125 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036		10,500.00	554.30
Investment Company Institute, 1600 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036			30,968.83
Peter A. Iovino, 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Ford Motor Co	2,600.00	1,540.57
Richard M. Irby III, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20004	Tenneco, Inc	1,750.00	139.00
Thomas L. Irmen, P.O. Box 119 Maumee, OH 43537	Andersons		
Iron Ore Lessors Assn, Inc, W-1290 First National Bank Bldg, St. Paul, MN 55101-1361		7,533.95	9,461.99
William Robert Irvin, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Wildlife Federation	1,668.89	
Edne Irvine, 750 17th Street, NW, #901 Washington, DC 20006	Nissan North America, Inc	9,240.00	
Amy F. Isaacs, 1625 K Street, NW, #1150 Washington, DC 20006	Americans for Democratic Action	14,056.86	
Mark Isakowitz, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business	3,401.00	200.00
Michele Isele, 1250 H Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Citizens for a Sound Economy	393.75	
Susan A. Ishmael, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Associated Builders & Contractors	2,500.00	
Sally D. Iskenderian, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1260 Washington, DC 20004	French & Company (For:International Electronics Manufacturers & Consumers of Amer.)	350.00	
William A. Isokait, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Russel Iuculano, 1620 L Street, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	300.00	
Suzanne Iudicello, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation		386.73
Kenneth M. Iwashita, 29400 Lakeland Boulevard Wickliffe, OH 44092	Lubrizol Corp		
Robert A. Jablon, 1350 New York Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005-4798	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For:Michigan Municipal/Cooperative Group, et al.)		
Dennis J. Jackman, 1700 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20006	Du Pont Merck Pharmaceutical Company	7,000.00	102.04
Alvin B. Jackson Jr., 1400 K Street, NW, #801 Washington, DC 20005	General Aviation Manufacturers Assn	4,086.00	
Charles R. Jackson, 225 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn of the USA	9,300.00	832.03
Glenn Jackson, 1667 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Williams Companies, Inc	250.00	
Jacquelyn L. Jackson, 1875 I Street #1110 Washington, DC 20006	Times Mirror Co		
Joseph C. Jackson, 1600 Wilson Boulevard, #1008 Arlington, VA 22209	Suppliers of Advanced Composite Materials Assn		
Thomas C. Jackson, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Beveridge & Diamond (For:Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, Inc)	153.75	
P. Bernard Jacob, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Mississippi Power Company	23,943.00	9,199.61
Stephen Jacobs, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Broadcasters	10,000.00	317.04
Jaffe, Raitt, Heur & Weiss, P.C., One Woodward Avenue, #2400 Detroit, MI 48226	Jaffe Raitt Heur & Weiss, P.C.		
Edward L. Jaffee, 655 - 15th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	ISP Management Company, Inc		
Do	Primary Glass Manufacturers Council		
Daniel M. James, P.O. Box 61473 Vancouver, WA 98666-1473	Pacific Northwest Waterways Assn	6,525.00	101.10
Harnet James, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business	3,401.00	200.00
Jerry James, 8303 Mopac Expressway, #146-C Austin, TX 78759	LDSDMetromedia Communications		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Thomas M. James, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1020 Washington, DC 20006	Furman Group	5,000.00	406.46
Timothy P. James, 1125 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	International Union of Operating Engineers	2,500.00	
Jamin Ebell Bolger & Gentry, 323 Carolyn Street Kodiak, AK 99615	Old Harbor Native Corp	50,932.50	36,927.24
Cy Jamison, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20007	Sodak Gaming, Inc.	2,000.00	
J. Jancin Jr., 1800 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-5886	American Bar Assn	300.00	30.00
Japan Economic Institute of America, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036		1,675.00	1,675.00
Japanese American Citizens League, 1765 Sutter Street San Francisco, CA 94115		8,617.00	14,940.00
Joseph J. Jaquay, 5025 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20015	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO		
Richard B. Jarman, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #S-1050 Washington, DC 20007	Eastman Kodak Co	300.00	18.00
Marc R. Jartman, 175 Admiral Cochrane Drive Annapolis, MD 21401	UNC, Inc.		
Steve Jarvis, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Pulpwood Assn, Inc.		
Jerry J. Jasinowski, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N. Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	2,000.00	
Michael A. Jawer, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Building Owners & Managers Assn Int'l	1,250.00	400.00
Kevin Jefferson, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc.	884.00	
Jefferson Group, 1341 G Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Alliance for Corporate Growth		
Do	American Maritime Congress		
Do	Bell Atlantic		
Do	Council on Confortia		
Do	Compton & Knowles		
Do	Currituck County-Outer Banks		
Do	COBIA		
Do	First Hospital Corp		
Do	Health Plus, Inc.		
Do	Healthsource, Inc.		
Do	ISEA Warning Labels		
Do	(For:Keystone Health Plan East, Inc)		
Do	Latin American Management Assn (LAMA)		
Do	Novo Nordisk		
Do	REN Corporation		
Do	Smith Corona		
Do	Torrington Company		
Do	Western Ohio Health Care Corp		
Jeford McManus International, Inc, 513 Capitol Court, NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	Aerojet-General Corp	300.00	
Do	Rotary Power International, Inc	200.00	
Do	Abbott Laboratories	10,000.00	
Joseph S. Jenckes, Suite 300 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Schwann's Sales Enterprises, Inc		
David M. Jennings, 115 West College Drive Marshall, MN 56258	American Wind Energy Assn	8,054.55	378.24
Jennifer M. Jensen, 777 North Capitol Street, NE, Suite 805 Washington, DC 20002	Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc		
Nancy H. Jessick, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20004	TeleCheck Services, Inc		2,803.45
Hugh Jewett, 3025 South Parker Road Aurora, CO 80014	National Association of Federal Credit Unions	1,250.00	
David C. John, 3138 North 10th Street Arlington, VA 22201	Compressed Gas Assn/Helium Advisory Council		
Carl T. Johnson, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy, #1004 Arlington, VA 22202-4102	Compressed Gas Assn/Industrial Gas Manufacturers Council		
Do	Federation of Behavioral Psychological & Cognitive Sciences	283.00	
Do	W. R. Grace & Co		
Do	U.S. Beet Sugar Assn		
Do	March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation	2,400.00	
Do	Maersk, Inc	2,500.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Central South West Corp)	102.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Citicorp)	280.50	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Electronic Data Systems)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Mesa Petroleum)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:National Assn of Broadcasters)	400.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Tesoro Petroleum)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:United Services Automobile Assn)	127.50	
Rady A. Johnson, 1615 M Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20038	Amoco Corporation		
Richard W. Johnson Jr., 225 N. Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn of the USA	8,700.00	303.43
Susan E. Johnson, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #3100 Washington, DC 20006	Coldwell Banker Real Estate Group		
Johnson & Gibbs, P.C., 1301 K Street NW Suite 800 East Washington, DC 20005	Centex Corp		
Do	Marine Preservation Assn	43,137.50	
Do	Permanente Medical Group, Inc	18,802.00	
George A. Johnston, 2000 K St., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	3,600.00	8,257.36
James D. Johnston, 1660 L St., NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp	15,500.00	3,369.98
Robert L. Johnston, 285 Cambridge Avenue Holland, MI 49423	Herman Miller, Inc	1,652.63	88.32
Mary K. Jolly, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rifle Assn of America	950.00	
Herbert A. Jolovitz, 7531 Seaboard Road Bethesda, MD 20817	Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation	6,250.00	
Allan R. Jones, 430 First Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	American Trucking Assns, Inc	1,500.00	
Earl Jones Jr., 401 West 18th Street Little Rock, AR 72206	Philip Morris, Inc		
Ernest W. Jones Jr., 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Randall T. Jones, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	3,000.00	
Robert L. Jones, 4647 Forbes Blvd. Lanham, MD 20706	AMVETS	6,800.00	
Suzanne Jones, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Wildlife Federation	661.52	
Wiley N. Jones, 816 Connecticut Ave., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	Southern Pacific Transportation Company	1,000.00	500.00
Jones Day Reavis & Pogue, 1450 G Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2088	Affiliated Computer Services, Inc	3,865.00	25.00
Do	County of Los Angeles	16,549.00	116.00
Do	Genentech	12,365.00	85.00
Do	Marathon Oil Co	2,304.00	
Do	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company	1,336.00	
Do	NexTel Communications, Inc	3,456.00	
Do	Pfizer, Inc	327.00	
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc	12,640.00	51.00
Do	Sungard Data Systems, Inc	2,315.00	156.19
Do	Upjohn Company	3,366.00	32.00
Jones Walker Waechter Poitvent Carrere & Denegre, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #245 Washington, DC 20006	General Atomics		
Do	International Shipholding Corp	1,050.00	
Do	Jefferson Parish Council	225.00	
Do	Montana Sulphur & Chemical Company		
Do	Port of New Orleans	150.00	
Do	Tulane University	150.00	
Do	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc		
Patricia Jordan, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW #300 Washington, DC 20036	Aerospace Sales Tax Coalition		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of Alhambra)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of Inglewood)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of Livermore, CA)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of Norwalk)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of Provo)		
Do	City of Redondo Beach		
Do	City of Santa Ana		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:City of South Salt Lake)		
Do	Imperial Irrigation District		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:Irvine Company)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:Long Beach Transit)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:Oceanside Redevelopment Agency)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:Oceanside Small Craft Harbor)		
Do	The Ferguson Company (For:Southeast Water Coalition)		
Do	Ferguson Company (For:West Valley City)		
James Jordan Associates, Inc, 1825 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Columbia University	14,000.00	14,150.50
Do	Consortium for International Earth Science Info. Network	18,000.00	18,729.13
Do	Polytechnic University	4,000.00	4,000.00
Robert R. Jorgensen, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn	50.00	
David C. Jory, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Citicorp Washington, Inc	3,500.00	
Melissa J. Kahn, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance		
Walter Kallaur, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Northern Telecom, Inc	1,250.00	
Edward D. Kaiman, 6 Beacon Street Boston, MA 02108	National Assn of Long Term Hospitals	1,731.50	
John F. Kamp, 1899 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Assn of Advertising Agencies	1,250.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Susan Kamp, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn	1,100.00	
John E. Kane, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc	2,000.00	
Lesley Kane, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 401 Washington, DC 20003	Trust for Public Land	3,480.00	49.47
Gerald Kaplan, 51 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10010	New York Life Insurance Company		
Phillip J. Kardis, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International	3,000.00	1,958.44
Gene Karpinski, 215 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	U.S. Public Interest Research Group	8,307.72	
Barry Kasinitz, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	International Assn of Fire Fighters	10,915.00	
Michael E. Kastner, 1350 New York Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005-4797	National Truck Equipment Assn	2,500.00	148.00
Alice Katayama, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Suite 230 Washington, DC 20004	Texas Instruments		
Katten Muchin Zavis & Dombroff, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, #700 E Washington, DC 20007	Baxter Healthcare Corporation		
Do	Intercargo Insurance Co		
Do	NutraSweet Co		
Do	G.D. Searle		
Paul C. Katz, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Savings and Community Bankers of America		
Everett E. Kavanaugh, 1101 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Cosmetic Toiletry & Fragrance Assn, Inc		
Edward M. Kavjian, 1660 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	3,349.64
Thomas O. Kay, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Kay Associates	17,500.00	
George R. Kaye, 125 North West Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2754	Fleet Reserve Assn		
Kaye Scholer Fierman Hays & Handler, 901 15th St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Benjamin Moore & Co		
Do	Kraft, Inc		
Do	Londontown Corporation		
Do	Pepsico		
Do	Spanish Broadcasting System		
Do	United Television, Inc		
Carolyn Kazdin, 815 16th Street, NW, #507 Washington, DC 20006	Amalgated Clothing & Textile Workers Union	6,569.00	183.00
David Keane, 655 15th Street, NW, Suite 410 Washington, DC 20005	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	1,000.00	
Kearney & Gleason, One State Street - 8th Floor Boston, MA 02109	New England Telephone Co	1,250.00	1,658.69
Do	NYNEX Government Affairs	1,250.00	
Judith A. Kearsse, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Marine Spill Response Corp		
Robert J. Keefe, 444 N. Capitol Street, #711 Washington, DC 20001	TKC International (For:International Public Relations Co, Ltd)		
Do	Keefe Co (For:Sanders Associates, Inc)		
Jeffrey R. Keeler, 1627 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006	National Newspaper Assn		
J. Michael Keeling, 1726 M Street, NW, #501 Washington, DC 20036	ESOP Association		
John R. Keeling, 600 Maryland Ave., SW Washington, DC 20024	American Farm Bureau Federation	7,406.00	102.38
Lana Keely, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	6.55	
Keene Shirley & Associates, Inc, 919 Prince Street Alexandria, VA 22314	American Freedom Coalition		
Melvin Keener, 655 15th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Laidlaw, Inc (For:Laidlaw Environment Service)	2,500.00	
David Keepnews, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses Assn	1,625.00	
Joan F. Keiser, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	35.00	
William D. Kelleher, 1415 Elliot Place, NW Washington, DC 20007	National Stone Assn	4,000.00	500.00
Robert H. Kellen, 5775 Peachtree-Dunwoody Rd., Suite 500-G Atlanta, GA 30342	Robert H. Kellen Co (For:Calorie Control Council)		
August Keller, Signature Place II 14785 Preston Road, Suite 1100 Dallas, TX 75240	North American Coal Corporation	24,750.00	16,339.00
Keller & Heckman, 1001 G Street, NW, #500 West Washington, DC 20001	Specialty Advertising Assn Int'l	1,607.50	176.00
Andrew R. Kelley, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work Committee	600.00	47.16
John T. Kelley, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Food Marketing Institute	500.00	
W. Curtis Kelley, 1150 17th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York	3,437.50	
Kelley Drye & Warren, 2300 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Shaw Pittman et al (For: Institute of International Bankers)		
Joseph T. Kelliher, One Massachusetts Ave., NW, #710 Washington, DC 20001	Public Service Electric and Gas Company		
Stephen S. Kelliner, 1913 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Chemical Specialties Manufacturers Assn, Inc		
Paulette M. Kellogg, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Association	25.00	
Carol A. Kelly, 1620 L Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Metropolitan Life Insurance Companies	400.00	
Glenn F. Kelly, 2000 M Street, NW, Suite 550 Washington, DC 20036	North American Telecommunications Assn	3,000.00	
John A. Kelly, 1025 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #105 Washington, DC 20007	BMW of North America, Inc	14,000.00	
Do	Perdue Farms Inc	22,500.00	
John F. Kelly, 3000 K Street, NW, #906 Washington, DC 20007	Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc	2,000.00	
Jane Kelso, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	7,609.00	
Mark L. Kemmer, 1660 L Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	4,771.60
Jackson Kemper Jr., 1215 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	Diagnostic/Retrieval Systems, Inc	6,000.00	
Kemper Corporation, 1 Kemper Drive Long Grove, IL 60049			
Kemper Reinsurance Company, One Kemper Drive Building 3, R-5 Long Grove, IL 60049-0015			
Kemper Securities, Inc, Chicago, IL 60601			234.92
Jackson Kemper, III, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	Diagnostic/Retrieval Systems, Inc		
Jonathan Kempner, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036-5803	National Multi Housing Council	7,725.00	
Kendall & Associates, Inc, 50 E St., SE Washington, DC 20003	ALC Communications Corp		
Do	Manville Corporation	2,500.00	
Do	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc	1,500.00	
John Kendrick, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Grumman Corporation	625.00	2,448.61
Joseph W. Kennebeck, 490 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, #7204 Washington, DC 20024	Volkswagen of America, Inc	650.00	50.00
David Kennedy, 500 E Street, SW, #920 Washington, DC 20024	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	7,892.75	2,513.68
Jerry W. Kennedy, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, #407 Washington, DC 20007	General Atomics	2,775.00	246.79
Do	Pemco Aeroplex	4,875.00	99.00
John Paul Kennedy, 1385 Yale Avenue Salt Lake City, UT 84105	Edwards McCoy & Kennedy (For:Western Shoshone Judgment Distribution Assn)		3,329.22
Judith Kennedy, 1050 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Student Loan Marketing Assn	600.00	107.00
Michael E. Kennedy, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Robert P. Kennel, 12500 Fair Lakes Circle, #260 Fairfax, VA 22033-3822	LG&E Development Corp		
Do	National Wood Energy Assn, Inc		
Brendan Kenny, 1625 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Air Line Pilots Assn	12,500.00	582.30
Cathy Ann Kenny, c/o NYS Petroleum Council 39 Broadway, #2705 New York, NY 10006	American Petroleum Institute	260.00	
J. H. Kent, 1825 K Street, NW, #305 Washington, DC 20006	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Adria Laboratories)	325.00	199.55
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:American Soc of Plastic & Reconstructive Surgery)		
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:American Supply Association)	6,000.00	3,193.08
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Carter Footwear, Inc)	1,791.88	898.00
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:International Assn of Airport Duty Free Stores)	5,500.00	2,893.53
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Liz Claiborne, Inc)		
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:MBI, Inc)	304.25	199.56
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:National Customs Brokers & Forwarders Assn of America)	9,000.00	4,789.34
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Vista Chemical Company)	1,000.00	498.89
Kathy Lee Kent, 1730 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	League of Women Voters of the US	6,797.88	231.99
William Kenworthy, 410 First Street SE, Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council	1,943.80	804.17
Vytautas Kerbelis, P.O. Box 336 Seal Harbor, ME 04675	ARAS		
Michael C. Kerby, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Grumman Corp	625.00	292.24
John P. Kerekes, P.O. Box 10070 Lansing, MI 48901	American Petroleum Institute	1,154.00	
Eleanor W. Kern, 1020 19th Street, NW, #420 Washington, DC 20036	SmithKline Beecham Corp	2,500.00	800.00
Christopher J. Kersting, 1317 F Street, NW, #550 Washington, DC 20004	Auto International Assn	99.00	62.48
Do	Coalition of Automotive Associations	227.00	79.53
Do	Specialty Equipment Market Assn	909.00	490.00
Richard S. Kessler, 709 2nd Street, NE, #200 Washington, DC 20002	Distilled Spirits Council of the US	5,000.00	366.53
Do	Kessler & Associates (For:National Assn of Beverage Importers)	7,500.00	443.60
Do	Kessler & Associates, Inc (For:Sandoz Corp)	9,700.00	929.08
Do	Kessler & Associates (For:Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc)	9,000.00	1,253.61
Do	National Cattlemen's Assn	15,000.00	6,373.60
Do	Toyota Motor Sales, USA	1,000.00	
Do	Business Roundtable	5,070.00	
Do	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	5,562.20
Do	Retired Officers Assn	1,396.15	
Do	Tetron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Do	American Insurance Assn		
Do	Royal Teton Ranch		
Do	Tetron Defense Systems	1,500.00	
Do	National Guard Assn of Texas	7,000.00	131.88
Do	Freepoint McMoran D.C., Inc	25,000.00	152.50
Do	Alliance for Small Issue Bonds, Inc		
G. Chandler Keys III, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004			
Mary Turner Khim, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036			
Richard F. Kibben, 200 Park Ave., #2222 New York, NY 10166			
Ingolf N. Kiland Jr., 1660 L Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036			
Thomas J. Kilcline, 201 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314			
John J. Killeen, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave, NW #400 Washington, DC 20004			
James L. Kimble, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036			
Kimmit Coates & McCarthy, Inc, 1730 M Street, NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036			
Do			
Lewis O. King, P.O. Box 10045 Austin, TX 78766			
W. Russell King, 50 F St., NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20001			
King & Spalding, 1730 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG)	6,558.00	24.00
Do	Banca Nazionale del Lavoro		
Do	Charter Medical Corp	1,806.00	8.00
Do	Estate of Anne Grant Owens		
Do	Estate of Irene W. Michael		
Do	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Assn		
Do	Geowaste Incorporated		
Do	GPIA-Animal Drug Alliance		
Do	Martin-Marietta	752.50	
Kinghorn & Associates, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	American Metalcasting Consortium (AMC)	7,125.00	
Do	Ferroalloys Association		
Do	Macalloy Corporation		
Do	Nuclear Metals, Inc		
Do	South Carolina Research Authority	4,400.00	39.98
Kathleen N. Kingscott, 6600 Rockledge Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	IBM Corp	301.41	29.00
Roger P. Kingsley, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Steven Kingsley, 845 Ninnow Road, SE Vienna, VA 22180	Citizens Scholarship Foundation of America	6,000.00	
Do	National Computer System	10,500.00	
Kevin J. Kinnaw, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036	Toyota Motor Sales USA, Inc		
Jan Kinney, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Distilled Spirits Council of the United States	2,000.00	
Richard J. Kinney, 1850 K Street, NW, #1195 Washington, DC 20006	Schenck-Plough Corp	11,000.00	1,414.69
Kevin Kirchner, 1531 P Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund	2,904.08	677.55
John R. Kirk, Bingham, Dana & Gould 150 Federal Street Boston, MA 02110	First National Bank of Boston		
Walter B. Kirkwood, 111 Monument Circle Indianapolis, IN 46277	Banc One Corp	12,093.75	10,066.38
Girlin Campbell & Keating, One Farragut Square South, Second Floor Washington, DC 20006	Council of European & Japanese National Shipowners' Assn	14,856.00	1,364.96
Rhona Kisch, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20003	U.S. Public Interest Research Group	1,326.93	
Marie Kissel, 1620 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn		
Steven B. Kistulentz, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	National Cooperative Business Assn	5,000.00	164.00
Sam Kito Jr., P.O. Box 210575 Anchorage, AK 99521-0575	Kito, Inc (For-Sealaska Corporation)	38,762.50	11,479.90
Do	Kito, Inc (For-Southeast Alaska Landless Native Coalition)		
Sandra D. Kjellberg, 1133 15th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	Maritime Institute for Research & Industrial Development	3,550.98	
Dean Kleckner, 225 Touthy Avenue Park Ridge, IL 60068	American Farm Bureau Federation	4,362.00	
Kenneth H. Klein, 490 L'Enfant Plaza East, SW, #4200 Washington, DC 20024	Xerox Corp	2,100.00	
Stephan O. Kline, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union		
Michael R. Klipper, 1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20009	Association of American Publishers	3,000.00	292.50
David M. Klucsik, 1415 Wyckoff Road Wall, NJ 07719	New Jersey Natural Gas Co		
John A. Knebel, 1920 N Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress	450.00	
Theresa Knieriem, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1500 Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	1,500.00	
Knights of Columbus, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004-2404			8,300.00
Keith R. Knoblock, 1920 N St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress	60.00	
Albert B. Knoll, 555 13th Street, NW, #1010 East Washington, DC 20004-1109	Sun Co, Inc	2,000.00	1,455.45
Robert P. Koch, 1575 Eye Street, NW, Suite 325 Washington, DC 20005	Wine Institute	5,100.00	126.00
Koch Industries, Inc, P.O. Box 2256 Wichita, KS 67201			
Karil L. Kochenderfer, 1801 K Street, NW, #900K Washington, DC 20036	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc		
David G. Koenig, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc		
Kogovsek & Associates, Inc, 1801 Broadway, #1420 Denver, CO 80202	Colorado Water Congress	1,300.00	
Do	Dolores Water Conservancy District		610.56
Do	Great-West Life Assurance Co	5,000.00	1,112.98
Do	Rio Grande Water Conservation District	3,000.00	427.58
Do	Rick Mountain Health Care Corp	8,775.00	2,711.59
Do	San Juan Water Commission	1,755.00	1,233.97
Do	Southern Ute Indian Tribe	12,500.00	5,847.28
Do	Southwestern Water Conservation District, Durango County		10,238.23
Do	Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	21,667.00	
Howard Kohr, 440 First Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20001	Water Protection Assn of Central Kansas		
Leonard R. Kojm, 1850 K Street, NW, Suite 1190 Washington, DC 20006	American Israel Public Affairs Comm	9,596.25	
James P. Kolb Jr., 101 Constitution Ave, NW Washington, DC 20001	EG&G, Inc	125.00	
Stanley E. Kolbe Jr., 305 4th Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	8,076.96	62.84
Ann Kolker, 1616 P Street, NW, #100 Washington, DC 20036	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors National Assn		376.15
David Kolker, 1350 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	National Women's Law Center		53.00
Do	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-American Communities for Cleanup Equity (ACCE))	28,653.75	4,517.53
Do	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For-Guam Power Authority)		
Diane J. Koller, 1101 17th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	American Airlines, Inc	3,500.00	369.10
George S. Kopp, 2121 K Street, NW, #650 Washington, DC 20037	Global USA, Inc (For-Earth Observation Satellite Co)		
Steven Kopperud, 1501 Wilson Boulevard, #1100 Arlington, VA 22209	American Feed Industry Assn	3,240.00	
Horace R. Kornegay, P.O. Box 3463 Greensboro, NC 27402	Adams Kleemeier Hagen Hannah & Fouts (For-American Tobacco Company)		
Paul A. Korody Jr., 888 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	ConAgra, Inc	7,500.00	9,200.00
Michael V. Kostiw, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco Inc		
Gerald J. Kovach, 1801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp		
Alan M. Kranowitz, 1725 K Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Wholesaler-Distributors		
Lawrence B. Kraus, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062-2000	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.		
Stephen W. Kraus, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
Raymond R. Krause, 712 Fifth Avenue, # 4600 New York, NY 10019	Grand Metropolitan, Inc	2,000.00	273.00
Robert S. Krebs, 12600 Fair Lakes Circle Fairfax, VA 22033-4904	AAA Potomac		75.00
Earl R. Kreher, 1620 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Association	418.00	
Kreig DeVault Alexander & Capehart, 2800 One Indiana Square Indianapolis, IN 46204	Kreig, DeVault, Alexander & Capehart		
Cecile B. Kremer, 1655 North Fort Myer Drive, #700 Arlington, VA 22209	CM Services	500.00	
Steven L. Kreseski, 1101 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Cosmetic Toiletry & Fragrance Assn	850.00	25.00
Mark Kronenberg, 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	McDonnell Douglas Corp		
Keith R. Krueger, 1555 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	U S West Communications	3,500.00	431.38
James S. Krzyminski, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives		
M. J. Kuehne, P.O. Box 11345 Tacoma, WA 98411	Northwest Independent Forest Manufacturers	800.00	137.00
Jake Kuitwaard, 777 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	2,500.00	1,332.03
Ruth M. Kurtz, 5517 Chevy Chase Pkwy, NW Washington, DC 20015	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio Ext	6,875.00	364.53
Ester Kurz, 440 First Street, NW, 6th Floor Washington, DC 20001	American Israel Public Affairs Comm	29,650.32	117.81
Peter Dev Kurze, 1843 Mintwood Place, NW, #110 Washington, DC 20009	Daimler-Benz Washington, Inc		
Jeffrey Kurzwel, 601 13th street, n.w. #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Jenner & Block (For-Marriott Corp)		
John R. Kyte, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Manufacturers	1,500.00	
Do	New England Council, Inc		
James La Sala, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO		
Labor Bureau, Inc, 1101 15th Street, NW, #1010 Washington, DC 20005		2,928.03	3,750.52
Labor Policy Assn, Inc, 1015 15th St., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Scott Paper Co		
Robert A. Ladig, Scott Plaza Philadelphia, PA 19113	Outdoor Advertising Assn of America, Inc		
Myron F. Laible, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 1040 Washington, DC 20036	Associated Builders & Contractors	2,500.00	
Betsy Laird, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Marine Spill Response Corporation	3,836.25	
David N. Lakin, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores	500.00	
David F. Lambert III, P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313	USA Group, Inc	4,440.00	681.01
Martha D. Lamkin, 11100 USA Parkway Fishers, IN 46038	McDonnell Douglas Corp	721.00	
Robert Joseph Lamoureux, 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Common Cause	8,290.00	
Jennifer Lamson, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rifle Assn of America	3,000.00	224.11
Susan Lamson, 1600 Rhode Island Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Frozen Food Institute	500.00	
Dina Moses Land, 1764 Old Meadow Lane, #350 McLean, VA 22102	Leboeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae		
L. Charles Landgraf, Leboeuf, Lamb, Leiby & MacRae 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20009-5728			
David W. Landside, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Abbott Laboratories	5,000.00	
Bruce Alan Landy, 2601 Virginia Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	B.A.L. Co		
Do	Cryogenic Vacuum Technology Co		
Do	FAA-Congress Watch		
Do			
Scott H. Lane, 412 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Automobile Dealers Assn	7,500.00	
William C. Lane, 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20006	Caterpillar, Inc	7,000.00	824.64
Adrienne C. Lang, 1101 Vermont Ave, NW, #506 Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Anesthesiologists	15,000.00	
Marly J. Langilli, 1275 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc		
Roger W. Langsdorf, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	ITT Corporation	240.00	14.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Fern M. Lapidus, 6736 Hillandale Road Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Association of Proprietary Colleges	7,500.00	678.01
Do	New York City Partnership, Inc	6,000.00	237.55
Do	School of Visual Arts	7,760.00	839.50
Peter J. Larkin, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006	Food Marketing Institute	200.00	
Richard Eugene Laroche, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	1,000.00	
Christopher D. Larsen, 412 First Street, SE, #300 Washington, DC 20003	Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc (IIAA)	11,100.00	
Mary Ellen Larson, 1513 16th Sreet, NW Washington, DC 20036	Air Conditioning Contractors of America	2,000.00	
Reed E. Larson, 8001 Braddock Road, #600 Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work Committee		
Rod Larson, 4510 13th Avenue Fargo, ND 58121-0001	Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Dakota		
Robert L. Laszewski, 1225 Connecticut Ave., NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Alliance of American Insurers)	6,250.00	4,057.26
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Massachusetts)	6,250.00	3,806.49
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Liberty Mutual Insurance Group)		
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Northwestern National Life Insurance Co.)	7,500.00	5,112.60
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Pan American Life Insurance Co.)	8,300.00	5,148.62
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Washington National Life Insurance Co.)	9,375.00	7,584.45
Do	Health Policy & Strategy Associates, Inc (For:Wausau Insurance Companies)	5,000.00	2,556.30
William M. Latimer, 6162 Castletown Way Alexandria, VA 22310	American Group Practice Assn	23.59	
Sabrina Laudati, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1250 Washington, DC 20036	Major League Baseball		
Karl F. Lauenstein, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1000 Arlington, VA 22202	General Dynamics Corp	1,000.00	554.67
Lorraine Lavet, 1615 H St., NW Washington, DC 20062	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	7,000.00	131.90
Kathryn M. Lavriha, P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313-1417	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores, Inc		
Elizabeth Kopley Law, 700 13th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Family Research Council	5,062.00	
M. S. Lawrence, 40 Franklin Rd, SW P.O. 2021 Roanoke, VA 24022	Appalachian Power Company	39.09	
Elizabeth Lawson, 1730 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	League of Women Voters of the U.S.	8,440.70	13.85
Keith Lawson, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Investment Company Institute		
Richard C. Lawson, 1300 I Street, NW, Suite 520 West Washington, DC 20005	Hoffman-La Roche, Inc	2,417.00	150.85
Laxalt Corporation, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #747 Washington, DC 20004	Bodie Consolidated Mining Company		
Do	Lamb-Weston, Inc		
Do	Mesa, Inc	2,000.00	
Do	Milliken & Company	2,560.00	
Do	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	Natural Gas Vehicle Coalition	2,560.00	
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co	3,000.00	
Do	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Assn, et al.	5,000.00	
Paul Laxalt Group, 801 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20004	Home Finance Coalition		
Do	Martin Marietta Corp	2,000.00	
Do	Milliken & Company	2,500.00	
Do	NTS Contractors Assn	6,250.00	
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co	6,250.00	
Do	Transcontinental Properties, Inc	2,000.00	
Do	Entergy Services, Inc	1,853.50	178.44
Randall R. LaBauve, P.O. Box 8082 Little Rock, AR 72203	Reinsurance Assn of America		
Sandra L. LaFevre, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #900 Washington, DC 20004	LaRock Associates, Inc		
Joan W. LaRock, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1213 Washington, DC 20004	Associated General Contractors of America		
Joan H. LaVor, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Career College Assn		
Barbara Leach, 750 First Street, NE, #900 Washington, DC 20002	Animal Health Institute		
Laurel Leach, 501 Wythe Street P.O. Box 1417-050 Alexandria, VA 22313-1480			
League of American Investors, 2416 Oakshore Dr. Westlake Village, CA 91361			
League of Women Voters of the U.S., 1730 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036		76,717.11	76,717.11
League to Save Lake Tahoe, 989 Tahoe Keys Blvd., #6 South Lake Tahoe, CA 96150			2,274.28
Edward R. Leahy, 1500 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For:Chicago Board Options Exchange)		
Thomas B. Leary, Hogan & Hartson 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004-1109	Business Roundtable		
Wendy Lechner, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business (NFIB)	3,401.00	100.00
Robert F. Lederer Jr., 1735 North Lynn Street, Suite 950 Arlington, VA 22209	National Staff Leasing Assn	2,000.00	
Cara Lee, 9 Vassar Street Poughkeepsie, NY 12601	Seanie Hudson, Inc		
Laura Murphy Lee, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union	16,000.00	100.00
Preston Y. Lee Jr., 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn.	5,700.00	
Do	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp		
Susan J. Lee, 1383 Piccard Drive P.O. Box 1725 Rockville, MD 20849-1725	American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc	2,500.00	46.50
Gary A. Lee Group, Inc, P.O. Box 271 Sanibel Island, FL 33957	AutoZone, Inc		
Do	Harnischfeger Industries		
Do	Midas International		
Do	Pet, Inc		
Lee Toomey & Kent, 1200 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Society for Payroll Management		
Do	Avon Products, Inc		5.00
Do	ACX Technologies, Inc		5.00
Do	Beckman Instruments, Inc		5.00
Do	Becton Dickinson & Co		5.00
Do	BellSouth Corp		5.00
Do	Briggs & Stratton Corp		5.00
Do	Burroughs Wellcome Co		5.00
Do	Carolina Power & Light Co		5.00
Do	Colgate-Palmolive Co	1,000.00	
Do	Coors Brewing Company and Subsidiaries		5.00
Do	Data General Corp	1,000.00	
Do	Deere & Co	1,000.00	
Do	Dun & Bradstreet Corp	1,000.00	
Do	Ecolab, Inc		5.00
Do	First Data Corp		5.00
Do	GTE Corp		5.00
Do	Johnson & Johnson		5.00
Do	Millipore Corp	1,000.00	
Do	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co		5.00
Do	Nestle Holdings, Inc		
Do	Premark International, Inc		5.00
Do	Raytheon Co		5.00
Do	Reynolds Metals Company		5.00
Do	Riviana Foods, Inc		5.00
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc		
Do	Sterling Winthrop, Inc		5.00
Do	Tandem Computers, Inc		
Do	Thiokol Corp		5.00
Do	Fireman's Fund Insurance Cos	4,500.00	2,235.85
Peter A. Lefkin, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #1117 Washington, DC 20036	RJR Nabisco, Inc	1,400.00	
Marsha P. Lefkovits, 530 N Street, SW, Apt. S308 Washington, DC 20024	Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	500.00	110.58
Mary James Legatski, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia	10,000.00	500.00
Carroll H. Leggett, 660 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	NationsBank Corporation	2,160.00	894.94
J. Mark Leggett, 100 North Tryon Street (NC1-007-11-05) Charlotte, NC 28255	University of Pittsburgh	30,000.00	2,277.87
Legislative Management Services, 136 Calmont Drive Pittsburgh, PA 15235	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
Jack Legler, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	8,762.00	44.00
Mary Nell Lennhard, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	American Immigration Lawyers Assn	5,253.00	
Warren R. Leiden, 1400 Eye Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Truck Stop Operators, Inc		
G. Timothy Leighton, 1199 N. Fairfax Street, #801 Alexandria, VA 22314	Seniors Coalition		
Sarah Elizabeth Leitner, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	Greenpeace		
Ann Leonard, 1436 U Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	RJR Nabisco, Inc	3,665.00	141.54
Burleigh C. W. Leonard, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004	Coca-Cola Company	1,356.00	1,719.00
Earl T. Leonard Jr., P.O. Drawer 1734 Atlanta, GA 30301	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:Council of Prison Locals)		
Jerris Leonard, 1000 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #609 Washington, DC 20007	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:Federal Correctional Vendors Assn)	15,253.66	
Do	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:Krueger, Inc)	6,777.97	
Do	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:SICPA Industries of America, Inc)	35,824.23	
Do	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:Council of Prison Locals)		
Do	Leonard Raiston Stanton & Danks (For:Federal Correctional Vendors Assn)	15,253.66	
Kathleen A. Leonard, 1000 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, #609 Washington, DC 20007			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Krueger, Inc)		
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Save the Greenback Assn)	10,000.00	
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:SICPA Industries of America, Inc)	35,824.23	
Lloyd Leonard, 1730 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	League of Women Voters of the U.S.	10,185.55	543.49
Lepore McCarthy Jutkowitz & Holzworth, 1146 19th Street, NW, Third Floor Washington, DC 20036	Chilean Exporters' Assn		
Charles Leppert Jr., 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW #720 Washington, DC 20004-2360	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	159.60	
Richard L. Leshner, 1615 H St., NW Washington, DC 20062	Leshner & Russell, Inc		
William Gene Leshner, 1919 South Eads Street, Suite 103 Arlington, VA 22202-3028	Monsanto Co		
Leshner & Russell, Inc, 1919 S. Eads Street, #103 Arlington, VA 22202-3028	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	4,295.00	
William J. Lessard Jr., 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Education Assn	4,217.25	450.43
Dale Lestina, 1201 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Direct Marketing Assn	1,000.00	1,000.00
Robert John Levering, 1101 17th St., NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	Price Waterhouse (For:Ad Hoc Group to Preserve the Deduction for Advertising)	900.00	34.00
Jeff Levey, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Frank Russell Co		
Do	Price Waterhouse (For:Royalty Coalition)		
Do	Price Waterhouse (For:US Multinational Corp Tax Policy Coalition)	300.00	21.00
Ted Levi, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	Alabama Power Company	17,500.00	23,046.95
Peter Levine, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	2,529.33	
Roger N. Levy, 901 15th Street, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005-2301	Travelers Companies	4,000.00	
James E. Lewin, 1850 M Street, NW, 11th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Sprint	14,000.00	811.81
Raymond A. Lewis, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	American Methanol Institute	3,000.00	594.00
Richard Lewis, 1025 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Pulpwood Assn		
Howard Lewis III, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	3,000.00	200.00
Lewis Rice & Fingersh, 611 Olive St., #1400 St. Louis, MO 63101	John E. Simon Trust	940.00	913.23
Lewis White & Clay, P.C., 1300 First National Building Detroit, MI 48226	Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy		
John F. Leyden, 815 16th Street, NW, #308 Washington, DC 20006	Public Employee Department, AFL-CIO	6,288.91	
LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009	Federal Employees Tax Group		
Do	Feibel-Garek Realtors/Environmental Standard Group		
Do	Maritans Operating Partners, L.P.		
Do	Physicians Insurers Assn of America		
Do	Underwriters at Lloyd's London		
Harris W. Lefew, 300 Pratt Street Luke, MD 21540-1099	Westvaco Corporation	1,200.61	144.48
Lynn H. LeMaster, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW 4th Floor Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute	4,000.00	
Roger J. LeMaster, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
William J. Lhotka, One Riverside Plaza Columbus, OH 43215	American Electric Power Service Corp		
Bill Libro, 601 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 600N Washington, DC 20004	Northern States Power Company	4,400.00	845.00
Jack W. Liddle, 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	McDonnell Douglas Corp	280.00	2,833.79
Robert Y. Linder, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Citicorp	2,500.00	
Richard A. Lidinsky Jr., 700 13th Street, NW, #220 Washington, DC 20005	Sea Containers America, Inc		
Brett E. Lief, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities	10,584.00	117.00
Susan A. Lightfoot, 1640 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, First Floor Washington, DC 20007	American College of Surgeons		83.22
Diane Palmer Lilly, 1200 Peasey Building Minneapolis, MN 55479	Norwest Corporation		
Jennifer S. Lim, 1101 Vermont Avenue NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn		4,012.09
Lincoln National Corp, 1300 South Clinton Street Fort Wayne, IN 46801	Southern Forest Products Assn	2,812.50	
Karl W. Lindberg, 2322 Easter Lane New Orleans, LA 70114	Philip Morris Management Corp	7,200.00	205.00
Kathleen M. Linehan, 1341 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Colorado School of Mines Foundation	15,944.83	
Linton Mields Reisler & Cottone, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Michigan Dept of Transportation	17,680.15	
Do	State of Colorado, Dept of Highways	11,820.93	
Do	State of IL, Dept of Transportation, Div of Water Resources	34,518.30	
Do	Water Reclamation District of Greater Chicago	40,204.34	
Do	Wisconsin Power & Light Co	7,725.00	
Lionel Sawyer & Collins, 50 West Liberty Street, Suite 1100 Reno, NV 89501	Circus Circus		
Do	General Motors		
Do	Nevada Resort Assn		
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co		
Lipe Green Paschal Trump & Gourley, P.C., 15 East Fifth Street Suite 3700 Tulsa, OK 74103-4344	Thrifty Rent-A-Car System, Inc		
Nelson Litterst, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20024	National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB)	3,189.00	200.00
Melvin J. Littig, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Westinghouse Electric Corp	1,200.00	
Charles B. Little, 820 First St., NE, #400 Washington, DC 20002	UBA, Inc	1,000.00	
William F. Little, 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20007	Ford Motor Co	520.00	652.75
Little Sandy Hunting & Fishing Club, P.O. Box 6950 Longview, TX 75608	American Retreaders' Assn	200.00	
Roy E. Littlefield III, 1707 Pepper Tree Court Bowie, MD 20716	Greater Washington/Maryland Service Station Assn	100.00	
Do	Scherling-Plough	7,260.00	4,485.90
Robert W. Lively, 1850 K Street, NW, #1195 Washington, DC 20006	ITT Corp	33,500.00	18,255.00
Livestock Marketing Association, 7509 Tiffany Springs Parkway Kansas City, MO 64153	American Methanol Institute	400.00	80.00
Wingate Lloyd, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Biocraft Laboratories, Inc	8,810.00	108.25
Lobel Novins Lamont & Flug, 1275 K St., NW, #770 Washington, DC 20005	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Assn	330.00	0.23
Do	San Francisco Bay Guardian	22,600.00	125.86
Do	Atlantic Richfield Co		
Michael A. Lobue, 1333 New Hampshire, NW Washington, DC 20036	Edward J. Rollins Companies (For:City of America)		
Paul Locigno, 2550 M Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20037	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Boy Scouts of America)		
W. Timothy Locke, 499 S. Capitol Street, SW, #507 Washington, DC 20003	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp)		
Do	Digitran Systems Inc.		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Mid-American Waste Systems, Inc)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:MCI Telecommunications)		
Do	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:National Automatic Merchandising Assn)		
Do	Pennzoil Company	1,300.00	
Robert F. Lockhart Jr., 1155 15th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	National Confectioners Assn		3,000.00
Lockheed Information Management Services Company, Inc, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Arter & Hadden (For:Central & South West Corp)		390.00
Stephen G. Lodge, 7900 Westpark Drive, #A-320 McLean, VA 22102	Arter & Hadden (For:Citicorp)		
Thomas G. Loeffler, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For:Electronic Data Systems Corp)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Girling Health Care)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Mesa Petroleum)	435.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:National Assn of Broadcasters)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Tesoro Energy)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:United Services Automobile Assn)		
Do	American Short Line Railroad Assn		
William E. Loftus, 1120 G Street NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005	Energy Services, Inc	1,110.00	119.62
Frank P. Lombardo II, 317 Baronne Street, N-25 New Orleans, LA 70112	Jewelers of America	6,000.00	
London & Sataga, 1156 15th Street, NW, #510 Washington, DC 20005	National Home Furnishings Assn	6,000.00	
Do	Small Business Legislative Council	6,000.00	
Linda A. Long, 1156 15th Street, NW, #550 Washington, DC 20005	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For:Pilots Assn of the Bay and River Delaware)	412.50	
Do	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For:Ports of Philadelphia Maritime Exchange)	165.00	
Do	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For:US Healthcare)	676.50	
Patricia Davitt Long, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, 1500 North Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	390.00	
Robert Michael Long, McElroy & Sullivan First State Bank Tower 400 West 15th Street Austin, TX 78701	American Telephone and Telegraph	13,000.00	70.41
Long Law Firm, 8550 United Plaza Blvd., #800 Baton Rouge, LA 70809	Coca-Cola Co	1,200.00	
Do	Employee Stock Ownership Assn		
Do	General Health, Inc		
Do	Greater New York Hospital Assn		
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	1,200.00	
Do	MicroGeneSys, Inc	1,200.00	
Do	Occidental International, Inc		
Do	United Companies Financial Corp	4,175.00	699.68
Shelley A. Longmuir, 1707 L Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	United Airlines, Inc	2,000.00	
Dennis Longoria, Central Power & Light Co P.O. Box 3400 Laredo, TX 78044	Central Power & Light Co		
Laura Loomis, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Parks & Conservation Association	225.00	
Gerald D. Lore, 1300 I St., NW, Suite 520 West Washington, DC 20005	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc	5,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Philip J. Loree, 50 Broadway New York, NY 10004	Federation of American Controlled Shipping	1,000.00	416.50
Robert E. Losch, P.C., 1716 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20009	American Dredging Co., et al.	8,376.00	2,488.65
Franklin W. Losey, 4301 North Fairfax Drive, #330 Arlington, VA 22203	Shipbuilders Council of America	1,000.00	
Bill Loughrey, One Technology Parkway Box 105600 Atlanta, GA 30348	Scientific-Atlanta	300.00	
Timothy Lovain, 3713 Gunston Road Alexandria, VA 22302	Denny Miller Associates	5,000.00	
Celia C. Lovell, 1500 K Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20005	Norfolk Southern Corp.	1,000.00	
James Lovell, 20361 Middlebelt Livonia, MI 48152	National Hearing Aid Society	250.00	
Monica M. Lovell, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	6,247.50	742.10
Suellen Lowry, 1531 P Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund	100.00	
Amy Loy, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute	5,000.00	
P. Vincent LoVoi, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company	10,000.00	600.00
Arthur M. Luby, 1300 L Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005-4178	O'Donnell Schwartz & Anderson (For:Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO)		
Joe O. Luby Jr., 1899 L Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20036	Exxon Corp		
Paula D. Lucak, 815 16th Street, NW, #308 Washington, DC 20006	Public Employee Department, AFL-CIO	13,888.56	
William L. Lucas, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	32.00
Michael S. Lucy, One Bowdoin Square Boston, MA 02114	J. Makowski Associates, Inc		
Kenneth M. Ludden, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Beirut University College)		
Do	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)		
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of the United Arab Emirates)		
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of Egypt)	9,000.00	132.00
Leslie G. Ludwick, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
David R. Lukens, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
Sylvester Lukis, One East Lenox Street Chevy Chase, MD 20815	City of Miami	11,250.00	
Do	City of Miami Beach	18,333.36	
Do	City of Palm Springs	6,000.00	
Do	Houston Independent School District	6,400.00	
Do	Metropolitan Dade County	23,124.00	
Do	School Board of Dade County, Florida	17,000.00	
J.C. Luman & Associates, 1030 15th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Personnel Services		4,927.30
Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company, Long Grove, IL 60049			40.08
Lund & O'Brien, 1825 K St., NW, #1010 Washington, DC 20006	Pennsylvania Mines Corporation	481.50	274.14
Do	Pennsylvania Power & Light Co	2,160.00	
Francis M. Lunnier Jr., 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500 N. Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Manufacturers	1,500.00	
Kenneth N. Luongo, 1616 P Street, Suite 310 Washington, DC 20036	Union of Concerned Scientists	4,462.00	380.00
R. J. Lyerly, 1667 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	Amdahl Corp	1,000.00	
Marshall L. Lynam, 101 D Street SE Washington, DC 20003	Dallas/Ft. Worth International Airport	20,000.00	
Do	Tandy Corp	10,500.00	
Timothy P. Lynch, 430 First Street SE Washington, DC 20003	American Trucking Associations, Inc	15,000.00	
Eaton Lynn, 1735 North Lynn Street, Suite 950 Arlington, VA 22209	National Staff Leasing Assn	5,000.00	
M.O.A.A.I.O.A. & Subs, Inc, 701 S. 22nd, #107 Omaha, NE 68102			
Marcia S. Mabey, 11490 Commerce Park Drive Reston, VA 22091	Coalition for American Trauma care (CATC)		
James H. Mackie, 7901 Westpark Dr. McLean, VA 22102	AMT - The Assn for Manufacturing Technology	28,240.00	500.00
Robb S. Mackie II, 1957 E Street NW, Washington D.C.	Associated General Contractors of America	3,000.00	500.00
Robert A. Macrony, c/o Alabama Petroleum Council P.O. Box 4220 Montgomery, AL 36103-4220	American Petroleum Institute	1,576.00	
Mark MacCarthy, 6305 32nd Street, NW Washington, DC 20015	Citital Cities/ABC, Inc	952.80	
Timothy MacCarthy, 750 17th Street, NW, #901 Washington, DC 20006	Nissan North America, Inc	15,000.00	
Gordan D. MacKay, 501 Boylston Street Boston, MA 02117	New England Mutual Life Insurance Co, ("The New England")	2,125.00	1,010.15
Edward R. Madigan, 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	State Farm Insurance Co	1,000.00	72.00
Cliff Madison Government Relations, Inc, 1611 Landfall Drive Wilmington, NC 28403	Burbank-Glendale-Pasadena Airport Authority	7,500.00	
Do	Federal Express Corp	12,000.00	
Do	Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority	8,333.00	
Do	MarkAir, Inc	6,000.00	
Do	Sarasota-Bradenton Airport	6,500.01	
Do	Public Citizen	1,850.00	
Bill Magavern, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.	4,500.00	
Magic Line, Inc, 23400 Michigan Avenue Dearborn, MI 48124-1999	American Ship Building Company		
James N. Magill, 200 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Bath Iron Works Corp		
Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc, 1755 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1107 Arlington, VA 22202	Chamberlain Manufacturing Corp		
Do	Diagnostic Retrieval Systems, Inc		
Do	Dynamics Research Corp		
Do	Electronic Warfare Associates, Inc		
Do	Era Aviation Services		
Do	Foundation Health Corp		
Do	Grumman Corporation		
Do	Hughes Aircraft Company		
Do	Laurel Technologies, Inc		
Do	Medco Containment Services, Inc		
Do	MIC Industries, Inc		
Do	Options Mental Health		
Do	Orange Shipbuilding Co, Inc		
Do	Schat-Watercraft		
Do	Schweizer Aircraft Corp		
Do	Shipbuilders Council of America		
Do	Short Brothers (USA), Inc		
Do	Sunquest Information Systems, Inc		
Do	Technology Applications and Service Co		
Do	Tenneco, Inc		
Do	Textron, Inc		
Do	Trinity Marine Group		
R. Gary Magnuson, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation		665.75
A. John Maguire, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036-1205	National Cotton Council of America	9,375.99	86.22
David L. Mahan, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	DGA International, Inc (For:Societe Nationale D'Etude et de Const de Moteurs D'Aviation)		
Do	DGA International, Inc (For:Sofreavia)		
Jean Mahan, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,951.00	
Linda F. Maher, 9000 Montgomery Ave Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc	550.00	
Terence P. Mahony, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #930 North Washington, DC 20004	National Broadcasting Co, Inc	3,250.00	
Christopher J. Mailander, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For:Unisys Corp)		22,830.84
Major League Baseball Players Assn, 805 Third Avenue New York, NY 10022			
Anthony S. Makris, 116 Waterford Place Alexandria, VA 22314	National Rifle Assn of America		
Andrew T. Malleck, 400 North Capitol St., NW, #852 Washington, DC 20001	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees	14,922.46	
Michelle Mallory, 453 New Jersey Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Beneficial Management Corp		
Claudia Malloy, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	6,090.00	
Lawrence R. Malone, 4 Belknap Lane Rumson, NJ 07760	Hoechst Celanese Corp		
Robert H. Maloney, 3900 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20016	Fannie Mae	2,500.00	
Anne Mancer, P.O. Box 530187 Birmingham, AL 35253-0187	Vulcan Materials Co		
Susan Rachel Weiss Manes, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	16,382.57	36.00
Jennifer A. Mann, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company	3,000.00	
Mary Jo Manning, 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Hill & Knowlton (For:Motorola)	5,000.00	
Do	Hill & Knowlton, Inc (For:Television Operators Caucus)		
Cynthia Mansfield, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 310 Washington, DC 20004	GPU Service Corporation	20,013.00	104.39
Manufactured Housing Institute, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #511 Arlington, VA 22202			22,466.00
Albert Manville II, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife	456.12	
Anthony Manzanarez Jr., 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
Robert Y. Maples, 2550 M Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20037	Smokeless Tobacco Council, Inc.	222.91	55.72
Marine Preservation Association, 8777 North Gainey Drive, Suite 165 Scottsdale, AZ 85258			
Marine Spill Response Corporation, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005			6,336.25
Maritime Institute for Research & Industrial Development, 1133 15th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005			21,852.60
Lawrence D. Markley, Rt. 1, Box 130-A Mt. Solon, VA 22843	Alaska Electric Light & Power Co	15,000.00	
Do	Alaska Village Electric Cooperative	12,500.00	
Do	Anchorage Municipal Light & Power	7,560.00	
Do	City of Kake	10,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	INN Electric Cooperative	10,000.00	
Do	Kotzbu Electric Association	4,400.00	
Morry B. Markowitz, 1001 19th Street North, #1200 Arlington, VA 22209	Assn of International Automobile Manufacturers, Inc	3,000.00	20,700.00
Marc L. Marks, 1227 25th Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Marks & Murase, 399 Park Avenue New York, NY 10022	Inductotherm Industries, Inc	2,646.00	2,705.54
Luther A. Markwart, 1156 15th St., NW, #101 Washington, DC 20005	American Sugarbeet Growers Assn		
Marlowe & Company, 1667 K Street, NW, #480 Washington, DC 20006	Town of Longboat Key		
Stephanie Marrone, 1350 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005-4798	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For American Communities for Cleanup Equity)	9,690.00	1,540.06
Edward C. Marshall, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America	3,000.00	500.00
Ellen M. Marshall, 1199 North Fairfax Street, Suite 204 Alexandria, VA 2314	International Council of Shopping Centers	600.00	
Lynn Martenstein, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Cornel Martin, 300 Robin Street Wharf New Orleans, LA 70130	American Waterways Operators, Inc		
Cynthia L. Martin, 1215 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	Diagnostic Retrieval Systems, Inc	5,000.00	
David F. Martin, Plumbing Manufacturers Institute 1655 N. Ft. Myer Drive, #700 Arlington, VA 22209	CM Services, Inc	500.00	
Howard R. Martin, 1156 15th Street, NW, Suite 1015 Washington, DC 20005	L.C. Penney Co., Inc		
Stan Martin, 7101 Wisconsin Avenue, #1390 Bethesda, MD 20814	National Burglar and Fire Alarm Assn		
Antonio C. Martinez II, 11128 Church Street Fairfax, VA 22203-4901	Nutritional Health Alliance	13,500.00	
Joseph J. Martynak, 655 15th Street, NW, #225 Washington, DC 20005	Rhone-Poulenc, Inc		
Maryland People's Counsel, 231 E. Baltimore Street, 9th Fl. Baltimore, MD 21202	Chubb & Son, Inc		
Robert A. Marzocchi, P.O. Box 1615 15 Mountain View Road Warren, NJ 07061-1615	Conference of State Bank Supervisors	462.50	
Anna M. Maschino, 1015 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Farm Bureau Federation	8,288.00	302.68
Mark A. Maslyn, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	American Petroleum Institute	9,000.00	75.00
Michael J. Mason, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	Westvaco Corporation		
Ned W. Massee, 299 Park Avenue 13th Floor New York, NY 10171	National Assn of Federal Credit Unions	1,250.00	
Jacquelyn Massey, 3138 North 10th Street Arlington, VA 22201	American Society of Composers, Authors & Publishers		
Theodore W. Mastroianni, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Company		
Do	Cerrell Associates, Inc (for Calif Independent Mortgage...)	1,155.00	20.00
Do	Government Employees Hospital Assn	1,762.50	157.84
Do	Proctor & Gamble	600.00	17.50
Sandra Masur, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20006	Eastman Kodak Company	1,200.00	96.00
Mary Cheryl Matheis, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	827.88	41.53
Dawson Mathis, 1900 L Street, NW, #250 Washington, DC 20036	Dawson Mathis & Associates (For Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co)	3,000.00	
Do	United Parcel Service	3,000.00	
Dawson Mathis & Associates, 1900 L Street, NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co	3,000.00	
Robert A. Matthews, 700 North Fairfax St. Alexandria, VA 22314	Railway Progress Institute	1,423.62	
Joseph M. Mattingly, 1901 North Moore Street, #1100 Arlington, VA 22209	Gas Appliance Manufacturers Assn, Inc		
Harry D. Mattison, P.O. Box 660164 Dallas, TX 75266-0164	Central & South West Corporation		
Michael N. Matton, 1735 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Suite 1200 Arlington, VA 22202	McDonnell Douglas		
Daniel J. Mattoon, 1133 21st St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	BellSouth Corp	3,162.50	565.96
William C. Mattox, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Mutual of Omaha Cos	1,125.00	
Marshall L. Matz, 1400 16th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Olsson Frank & Weeda (For American Commodity Distribution Program)	1,500.00	
Do	Olsson Frank & Weeda (For American School Food Service Assn)	9,000.00	
Do	Olsson Frank & Weeda (For United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Assn)	3,000.00	
Robert V. Maudlin, 1511 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	C.V. & R.V. Maudlin (For Southern Company Services, Inc)	500.00	120.00
William W. Maurer, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1000 Arlington, VA 22202	General Dynamics Corp	1,000.00	1,241.00
Michael Mawby, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	15,645.00	443.98
John A. Maxwell, New Jersey Petroleum Council 150 West State Street Trenton, NJ 08608	American Petroleum Institute		
Gerald M. May, 1608 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Legion	9,300.00	47.00
James C. May, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Broadcasters	30,000.00	
Peter G. Mayberry, 1001 G Street, NW, #500 West Washington, DC 20001	Keller and Heckman (For INDA (Association of the Nonwoven Fabrics Industry))		
Joseph T. Mayer, 1745 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International Corp	18,135.00	2,628.00
Marion R. Mayer, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	833.94	163.36
Mayer Brown & Platt, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #5500 Washington, DC 20006	Accountants' Liability Assurance Co, Ltd		
Do	Arthur Andersen & Co, et al.	2,300.00	26.44
Do	Attorneys' Liability Assurance Society Ltd		
Do	Black & Decker Corporation	233.00	
Do	Brunswick Corp	233.00	
Do	Cabot Partners Limited Partnership		
Do	Chicago Stock Exchange, Inc		
Do	Comdisco, Inc	1,175.00	
Do	Continental Bank, N.A.	2,700.00	2,762.28
Do	First Chicago Corp	350.00	
Do	FMC Corporation		
Do	GATX Corporation		
Do	Household Commercial Financial Services, Inc		
Do	Inland Steel Corp		
Do	JMB Realty Corp		
Do	L & B Estate Counsel		
Do	LaSalle Partners, Inc		
Do	Mayer Brown & Platt Sentencing Commission Coalition		
Do	Merrill Lynch Capital Markets		
Do	Morton International	233.00	
Do	Nalco Chemical Co		
Do	NICOR, Inc	1,850.00	
Do	Outboard Marine Corporation		
Do	Quaker Oats Company		
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc		
Do	Santa Fe Pacific Corp		
Do	Sara Lee Corporation		
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co		
Do	Solid Waste Agency of Northern Cook County		
Do	Tele-Communications, Inc		
Do	Vulcan Materials Company, Midwest Division		
Do	American Optometric Assn		
Do	J. G. Boswell Co	3,000.00	
Do	New York Cotton Exchange	2,000.00	
Do	Supima Association of America	2,000.00	
Do	Union Pacific Corp	13,750.00	1,987.85
Do	Public Securities Assn	3,500.00	
Do	Asociacion de Hospitales de Puerto Rico	1,000.00	
Do	Association of Progressive Rental Organizations	1,000.00	
Do	Athens Global Management (former: Greenwich)	1,000.00	
Do	Buena Vista Golf & Country Club		
Do	Chabot Observatory & Science Center	300.00	
Do	City of Chattanooga	750.00	
Do	Conservation Trust Fund of Puerto Rico	1,000.00	
Do	Cooper Hospital/University Medical Center		
Do	Council of American Overseas Research Centers	100.00	
Do	Creative Discovery Museum	750.00	
Do	Dean Witter Realty, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Fl. Worth Transportation Authority	3,000.00	
Do	Golden Hill Pausussett Tribe	2,500.00	
Do	HealthInfusion, Inc	1,000.00	
Do	Investment Management Services (former: Moore Capital)	1,000.00	
Do	Johnson Controls, Inc	800.00	
Do	Medi-Vu, Inc		
Do	MASSPORT/Commonwealth of Massachusetts	15,000.00	
Do	National Medical Care	15,000.00	
Do	National Realty Committee	2,000.00	
Do	National Restaurant Assn	2,000.00	
Do	Nevada Power		
Do	Nevada Resort Assn		
Do	Orlando-Orange County Expressway Authority	1,200.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	RAILTRAN		
Do	Soros Fund Management	1,000.00	
Do	Tucker Flyer & Lewis	2,000.00	
Do	Tudor Investment Corp	2,000.00	
Do	University of Nevada/Las Vegas Research Center	7,500.00	
Do	University of Nevada, Reno	12,000.00	
Do	Viacom International	1,000.00	
Ann McBride, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	17,675.04	160.00
Susan P. McCaffrey, 3901 N. Meridian Street P.O. Box 88409 Indianapolis, IN 46208-0409	Community Service Council of Central IN, Inc	3.71	
John D. McCallum, 1900 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20068	Potomac Electric Power Co	42.11	
Mary Stuart McCamy, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 4 Washington, DC 20003	Trust for Public Land	3,986.00	33.50
Carolyn Kim McCarthy, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Enseco, Inc	9,000.00	300.00
Do	MelPath, Inc	30,000.00	1,000.00
James A. McCarthy, 1711 King Street, Suite One Alexandria, VA 22314	Snack Food Assn		
James R. McCarthy, 1801 K St., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Ritor America Corp)	1,150.00	10.00
Do	Price Waterhouse (For:Orasco Management Services, Inc)		
John B. McCarthy, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn		
Brian McClay, c/o Rogers & Wells 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Canadian Pulp and Paper Association		
Donald N. McClure Jr., 20 Erford Road #115 Lemoyne, PA 17043	Pennsylvania Assn of Home Health Agencies	9,885.36	505.45
McClure Gerard & Neuschwander, Inc, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #820 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Amax, Inc	30.00	
Do	American Mining Congress	30.00	
Do	Asarco, Inc	30.00	
Do	Barrick Resources (USA, Inc)	30.00	
Do	Battle Mountain Gold Company	30.00	
Do	Brush Wellman, Inc	30.00	
Do	Coeur d'Alene Mines Corp	30.00	
Do	Cray Research, Inc	200.00	
Do	Crown Butte Mines, Inc	30.00	
Do	Cyprus Minerals	30.00	
Do	Echo Bay Mines	30.00	
Do	FMC Gold	30.00	
Do	Hecla Mining Co	30.00	
Do	Homestake Mining	30.00	
Do	Idaho Power Company	125.00	
Do	Kennecott Corp	30.00	
Do	Magma Copper Company	30.00	
Do	Minerco, USA	30.00	
Do	National Endangered Species Act Reform Coalition	925.00	
Do	National Rifle Assn	400.00	
Do	Newmont Mining Corp	30.00	
Do	Pacific Gas Transmission Company		
Do	Pegasus Gold Corp	30.00	
Do	Phelps Dodge Corp	30.00	
Do	Placer Dome US, Inc	30.00	
Do	Santa Fe Pacific Gold Corp	30.00	
Do	Stillwater Mining Company	30.00	
Do	World Cup USA 1994, Inc	650.00	
McClure Trotter & Mentz, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Coca-Cola Company	20,001.38	764.00
Do	Motion Picture Assn America, Inc	3,866.25	39.66
Do	Paramount Communications, Inc	9,004.50	534.40
Do	Perpetual Corp	1,664.63	106.22
Do	Rank Video Services America	405.38	16.69
Mark L. McConaghy, 1801 K St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Ad Hoc Group to Preserve the Deduction for Advertising)	1,975.00	72.00
Do	Price Waterhouse (For:Queen Emma Foundation)		
Do	Price Waterhouse (For:Royalty Coalition)		
Robert S. McConaughy, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
Judith A. McCormick, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	228.43	
John E. McDade, 1700 North Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209	American Meat Institute		
John McDavitt, 2000 K St., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	3,723.00	
McDermott Will & Emery, 1850 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute	1,064.00	
Do	American Meat Institute		
Do	California Avocado Commission	6,290.00	100.00
Do	California Canning Peach Assn	2,035.00	
Do	California Energy Commission		
Do	California Kiwifruit Commission		
Do	California Raisin Advisory Board	4,579.00	
Do	Chiquita Brands, Inc		
Do	Crop Protection Coalition	5,735.00	14.00
Do	Fundesa		
Do	Good Sam Club	185.00	
Do	Minor Crop Farmer Alliance	6,660.00	40.00
Do	National Potato Council	1,064.00	40.00
Do	Public Employees Retirement Assn of Colorado	480.00	
Do	Tropicana		
Do	U.S. Mink Export Development Council	648.00	
Do	Welch Foods, Inc	601.00	
Jack McDonald, 901 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2301	Outboard Marine Corp	7,500.00	30.00
Jennifer B. McDonald, 1200 18th Street, NW Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	National Business Aircraft Assn	500.00	35.00
John P. McDonough, 99 Commerce Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772	O'Malley & Miles (For:National Hockey League)	1,951.00	
Marian E. McDowell, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, 4th Floor Washington, DC 20004	Pacific Telesis Group	10,812.00	
Robert M. McDowell, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For:Nintendo of America)		
Deborah Costolo McElroy, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Regional Airline Assn	1,000.00	
Robert H. McFadden, 1620 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn	4,080.00	
Randall H. McFarlane, 900 19th Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	Savings & Community Bankers of America	14,750.00	296.68
Paul J. McGeady, 27 Hampton Place Nutley, NJ 07110	Morality in Media, Inc	12.21	
Becky McGee, P.O. Box 2880 Dallas, TX 75221-2880	Oryx Energy Company		
Meredith McGee, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	12,382.50	118.50
Patricia McGill, 1700 K Street, NW, Suite 906 Washington, DC 20006	National Council of Community Hospitals	10,781.70	315.24
Phyllis M. McGovern, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Tobacco Institute	250.00	
Joseph M. McGrail, 52 Washington Ave. Williamstown, NJ 08094	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn		
Do	AT&T Federal Systems		
Do	NYMA, Inc		148.65
Do	System Resources Corp		
Daniel H. McGrath, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2300 Arlington, VA 22209	Northrop Corp		
Lisa Stollenberg McGreevy, 1015 18th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Conference of State Bank Supervisors	400.00	
Kevin S. McGuinness, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	McGuinness & Holch (For:American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business)	3,847.50	
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:Arch Mineral)	1,800.00	
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:Barr Laboratories)		
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:Consolidated Rail Corp)	675.00	
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:National Nutritional Foods Assn)	6,075.00	
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:PepsiCo, Inc)		
Do	McGuinness & Holch (For:RJR Nabisco)	875.00	
McGuinness & Williams, 1015 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	American Sod Producers Assn	2,663.50	198.45
Do	Farm Labor Alliance	7,360.00	120.05
Do	Workers Compensation Integrity Stability & Equity (WISE)	18,608.00	475.28
Mary Lee McGuire, 2300 Clarendon Blvd., #1010 Arlington, VA 22201-3367	Cook Inlet Region, Inc	12,000.00	
McIntyre Kahn & Kruse Co., L.P.A., The Galleria & Towers At Erieview 1301 East Ninth Street, #1200 Cleveland, OH 44114	Grumman Corporation	625.00	292.24
Thomas J. McKee, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Fertilizer Institute	468.00	
McKenna & Cuneo, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Edison Electric Institute	3,251.89	231.18
Jan E. McKenzie, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Yough Aircraft Co	2,500.00	125.00
F.J. McKewen, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #900 Arlington, VA 22202	National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB)	4,875.00	400.00
Kim F. McKernan, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20024	American Pulpwood Assn		
William Colm McKeveny, Chadbourne & Park 30 Rockefeller Plaza New York, NY 10112	Kelly Services, Inc	6,600.00	556.51
McKevitt Group, 1101 16th Street, NW, #333 Washington, DC 20036			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Robert E. McKew, 919 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Financial Services Assn	250.00	
Robert L. McKinney, 1101 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-4877	National Soft Drink Assn		
Bernard A. McKinnon, 1757 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	United Automobile Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers	19,512.59	140.95
Monette McKinnon, 2000 K Street, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	1,892.00	
Timothy P. McKone, 1667 K St., NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20006	Southwestern Bell Corp	15,000.00	9,360.45
Patrick M. McLain, 1000 Vermont Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For American Assn of Blood Banks)	812.50	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For C.R. Bard, Inc)		
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For IAVX Corp)		
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Medtronic, Inc)	2,500.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Monsanto Company)	6,375.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For North American Vaccine, Inc)		
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Par Pharmaceutical, Inc)	375.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Rhone-Poulenc Rorer)	750.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Scripps Research Institute)	250.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Upjohn Company)	750.00	
Do	Rowan & Blewitt, Inc (For Wadley Research Institute)	875.00	
James D. McLaughlin, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	2,000.00	
Laure C. McLaughlin, 555 13th Street, NW, Suite 430 West Washington, DC 20004	Transco EnergyCo	3,000.00	275.21
Bob McLean, 490 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, #3200 Washington, DC 20024-2120	National Assn of Postal Supervisors	13,809.00	123.58
Thomas J. McLeod, 610 Opperman Drive P.O. Box 64526 St Paul, MN 55164-0526	West Publishing Company		
Kevin Patrick McMahon, 1001 19th St. N., #800 Arlington, VA 22209	TRW, Inc	13,640.00	143.00
Brian McManus, 7440 Woodland Drive Indianapolis, IN 46278	Golden Rule Insurance Company		3,133.84
Roger E. McManus, 4019 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20011	Center for Marine Conservation		113.00
P. E. McManus Associates, 513 Capitol Court, NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	AAI Corporation	50.00	
Do	Hydroacoustics, Inc	50.00	
Do	Littion Data Systems	50.00	
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp	100.00	
James D. McMillan, 1899 L St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Exxon Corporation	750.00	
Rachel A. McMillan, 1850 K Street, NW, Suite 950 Washington, DC 20006	McDermott/Babcock & Wilcox	8,000.00	3,867.63
Stephen D. McMillan, 501 Wythe Street P.O. Box 1417-D50 Alexandria, VA 22313-1480	Animal Health Institute	20,000.00	382.33
Gerald R. Murray, 3900 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016	Fannie Mae	2,500.00	
McNair & Sanford, P.A., 1155 15th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Allied-Signal, Inc		
Do	American University of the Caribbean		
Do	Association of Banks in Insurance (ABI)		
Do	Coalition for Auto Repair Equality		
Do	Georgia-Pacific Corp		
Do	Harnischfeger Industries, Inc		
Do	International Assn for Financial Planning		
Do	New York State Bankers Assn		
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp		
Do	Phillips Petroleum Co		
Do	South Carolina Research Authority		
Do	SCANA Corp		
Do	W.R. Grace & Company		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Susan McNally, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Lockheed Information Management Services Company, Inc		
Kathryn M. McNamara, 633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Dean Witter, Discover & Co	220.00	210.00
Laramie Faith McNamara, 1001 19th Street North, #800 Arlington, VA 22209	TRW, Inc	24,133.00	
Michael J. McNamara, 2300 M Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20037	International Advisers, Inc (For Embassy of Turkey)	7,154.00	214.00
John P. McNeerney, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		
John J. McNichol, 900 2nd Street, NE, Suite 303 Washington, DC 20002	Tierney Group	22,500.00	83.50
John P. McNicholas, 8008 Westpark Drive McLean ton, VA 22102	Unisys Corp	2,500.00	762.99
Larry McNickle, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2873	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Laura J. McPherson, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #511 Arlington, VA 22202	Manufactured Housing Institute	5,000.00	
Michael J. McShane, 1001 19th Street North, #800 Arlington, VA 22209	TRW, Inc	13,974.00	111.00
Martha McSteen, 2000 K Street, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security	15,628.00	
George G. Mead, 1908 Ednor Road Silver Spring, MD 20905	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	1,500.00	
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp	1,500.00	
Do	North American Van Lines, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	63.00	
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For Federal Employees Tax Group)		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For Feibel-Garek/Environmental Standard Group)		
Do	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For Physicians Insurance Assn of America)		
James Gregory Means, 1317 F Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20004	Alliance of Nonprofit Mailers	4,500.00	
Do	Center Energy Corp	7,500.00	
Do	Elitech Systems Corp	6,000.00	
Do	Systech Environmental Corporation	5,200.00	
Paul N. Means, P.O. Box 551 Little Rock, AR 72203	Arkansas Power & Light Company		
William A. Meaux, 1600 M Street, NW, #702 Washington, DC 20036	ICI Americas, Inc	5,000.00	
Charles M. Meehan, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 1140 Washington, DC 20036	Utilities Telecommunications Council	105.00	
John N. Meeks, 50 West Broad Street, Suite 2900 Columbus, OH 43215	Urbanistics, Inc (For Dayton Area Health Plan)	5,000.00	5,000.00
Mehl & Pickens Associates, Inc, 1400 L Street NW Suite 625 Washington, DC 20005	Bogan Aerotech, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	Cessna Aircraft Company		
Do	Lockheed Aircraft Service Company	10,000.00	
Do	Sycron Corp	3,000.00	
Do	TCOM, LP	1,000.00	
Larry Mehlhoff, 23 N. Scott, #27 Sheridan, WY 82801	Sierra Club	9,450.00	186.80
Marilyn F. Meigs, 9300 Lee Highway Fairfax, VA 22031	ICF International, Inc	990.00	110.00
John Melcher, 230-B Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, DC 20002	Monsanto Co	17,000.00	6,771.00
Do	National Rural Cooperative Business Center	3,000.00	336.00
Kenneth F. Melley, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Education Assn	5,697.45	
Margaret Mellon, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation	37.00	
Scott Melville, 1776 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1060 Washington, DC 20006	Sterling Winthrop, Inc	1,250.00	
Mark Menezes, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For Central South West Corp)	200.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Citicorp)	90.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Electronic Data Systems)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Girling Health Care)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For International Hardwood Products Assn)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Mesa Petroleum)	270.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For National Assn of Broadcasters)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Southwest Florida Enterprises, Inc)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For Tesoro Petroleum)	390.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For United Services Automobile Assn)	60.00	
Do	Rhone-Poulenc, Inc	540.00	568.50
William P. Mengebier, 655 15th Street, NW, #225 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Federal Veterinarians	93.40	
Edward L. Menning, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Amway Corp)	120.75	
J. Roger Mentz, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Citibank)		
Do	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Commodities Corp (USA))		
Do	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Mercedes-Benz of North America, Inc)		
Do	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Methanex, Inc)	405.38	
Do	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For Princeton University Investment Co. et al.)		
Jane Mentzinger, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	5,843.76	100.00
Melinda Mercer, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, 100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses Assn	9,740.10	278.79
Sandra K. Meredith, 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	DGA International, Inc (For Sofreavia)		
Do	DGA International, Inc (For SNECMA)		
Do	DGA International, Inc (For Zenith Data Systems)		
Cynthia E. Merfield, 1101 Vermont Ave, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
Nancy Jo Merrill, 1901 L St., NW, #260 Washington, DC 20036	March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation	1,325.00	
Peter R. Merrill, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For US Multinational Corp Tax Policy Coalition)	875.00	30.50
Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc, 3000 K Street, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20007			37,530.00
Richard P. Merski, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	American International Group, Inc	5,000.00	50.00
Neil T. Messick, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	General Electric Co	600.00	97.45
Raymond A. Messina, 633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Dean Witter Discover & Co	2,500.00	154.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Jean L. Mestres, 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	OXY USA, Inc.	216.30	7.00
Keith R. Mestrich, 815 16th Street, NW, #408 Washington, DC 20006	Food & Allied Service Trades Dept (FAST)	2,434.00	
Matthew S. Metcalfe, P.O. Box 6422 Mobile, AL 36660	American Family Corp		
Metropolitan Chicago Healthcare Council, 222 S. Riverside Plaza Chicago, IL 60606	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Jeremy Metz, 260 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10016	Davis Graham & Stubbs		
David P. Metzger, 1200 19th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Central & South West Corp		
Ferd C. Meyer Jr., P.O. Box 660164 Dallas, TX 75266-0164	Aluminum Assn, Inc	50.00	25.00
M. Barry Meyer, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
John B. Meyers, P.O. Box 4067 Louisville, KY 40204			
Basil J. Mezzines, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Automotive Warehouse Distributors Assn	3,500.00	4,500.00
Daniel Mica, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc	5,000.00	
David R. Mica, Florida Petroleum Institute 215 South Monroe Street, #800 Tallahassee, FL 32301	American Petroleum Institute	88.46	
Mark A. Micali, 1101 17th Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	Direct Marketing Association, Inc	4,000.00	450.00
Michael Best & Friedrich, 135 South LaSalle Street, #1610 Chicago, IL 60603	DePaul University	1,000.00	
Frank G. Michelenia, 1918 Kauai Place Costa Mesa, CA 92626	Landsdale Company		
Kathleen Michels, 777 N. Capitol Street, NE, #803 Washington, DC 20002	American Assn of Nurse Anesthetists	5,000.00	86.28
Michigan Biotechnology Institute (MBI), 3900 Collins Road Lansing, MI 48909			1,627.50
Michigan Hospital Assn, 6215 West St. Joseph Highway Lansing, MI 48917			4,659.51
Michigan International Trade Coalition, 1760 South Telegraph Road, Suite 207 Bloomfield Hills, MI 48302			25,691.54
Edmund Mierzwinski, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003			
Migrant Legal Action Program, Inc, 2001 S St., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20009	U.S. Public Interest Research Group	8,045.94	
Nelson L. Milder, 1828 L Street, NW, #906 Washington, DC 20036			
Brent V. B. Miller, 4207 South 7th Road Arlington, VA 22204	American Soc of Mechanical Engineers		
Chaz Miller, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Group Practice Assn	1,204.66	
Claude W. Miller Jr., 410 Middle Street New Bern, NC 28560	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
Dale Miller, 4000 Reno Road, NW Washington, DC 20008			
Denny Miller, 2311 South Queen Street Arlington, VA 22202	Texasgulf, Inc		
Douglas Miller, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Denny Miller Associates	7,500.00	
Edward C. Miller, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2599	Software Publishers Assn	1,125.00	
Ellen S. Miller, 1320 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc	1,000.00	
Jeffrey T. Miller, 295 Madison Ave 19th Floor New York, NY 10017	Center for Responsive Politics		
John C. Miller, Suite 201, Blohm Building Elko, NV 89801	Lead Industries Association, Inc		
Joseph A. Miller, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 830 Washington, DC 20036	Newmont Mining Corp	1,500.00	613.97
Linda B. Miller, 818 18th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Southern Nuclear Operating Company	17,803.40	12,864.21
Richard G. Miller, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Volunteer Trustees of Not-For-Profit Hospitals		
Robert G. Miller, 9124 Hardesty Drive Clinton, MD 20735	American Health Care Assn	16,000.00	1,092.72
Sandra Miller, 2311 South Queen Street Arlington, VA 22202	Air Force Sergeants Assn, Inc		
Sarah Miller, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Denny Miller Associates	1,250.00	
Thomas M. Miller, 1005 Elm Avenue Tacoma Park, MD 20912	American Bankers Assn	453.20	
Vincent J. Miller, 225 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Center for Marine Conservation		217.11
Miller & Holbrooke, 1225 19th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Non Commissioned Officers Assn	2,400.00	
Do	City of Dubuque, Cable Television Division		
Do	City of Jamestown		
Do	City of Laredo		
Do	City of St. Louis, Communications Division		
Do	Montgomery County Government, Cable Television Office		
Do	PRO-NAFTA		
Denny Miller Associates, Inc, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #363 Washington, DC 20001	Ace Novelty Company	1,000.00	826.00
Do	Alaska Air Group, Inc	1,500.00	1,230.00
Do	Boeing Company	3,000.00	2,460.00
Do	Comprehensive Health Education Foundation		
Do	Gamma-Metrix	1,500.00	1,235.00
Do	Makah Indian Council	300.00	245.00
Do	Momentum 93	1,875.00	1,530.00
Do	Montana Technology Center	300.00	245.00
Do	Muckleshoot Indian Tribe	300.00	245.00
Do	Olin Corporation	3,000.00	2,460.00
Do	Pacific Nuclear Systems, Inc	1,062.00	862.00
Do	Port of Tacoma	1,125.00	928.00
Do	State of Washington, Dept of Transportation	1,500.00	1,235.00
Do	Troutledge, Inc	1,000.33	833.33
Do	Waste Management Environmental Services, Inc		
Amy J. Millman, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	American Trucking Assns, Inc	9,000.00	
Richard V. Minck, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
William Miner, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Beirut University College)		
Do	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)		
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of the U.A.E.)	2,000.00	72.00
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of Egypt)	2,000.00	112.00
Joseph G. Minish, 66 Sheridan Avenue West Orange, NJ 07052	Prudential Insurance Co of America	6,668.00	
Mintz Levin Cohn Ferris Glovsky & Popeo, P.C., 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	National Cable Television Assn, Inc	7,500.00	454.53
Do	Newspaper Assn of America	15,000.00	246.98
Do	Sprint	5,000.00	
Lawrence H. Mirel, 1614 20th Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	Liberty Mutual Insurance Company	5,000.00	500.00
Anthony F. Mitchell, 1050 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Student Loan Marketing Assn	50.00	
Brian C. Mitchell, 18715 Martins Landing Germantown, MD 20874	Clark Atlanta University	10,345.70	
Do	Worldspace, Inc	1,500.00	
Edward F. Mitchell, 1900 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20068	Potomac Electric Power Co		
Mitchell Williams Selig Gates & Woodyard, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #750 Washington, DC 20005	Axiom Corp	200.00	245.00
Do	Entergy	337.50	
Do	Golden Rule Insurance Co		
Do	Innotek Corporation		
Do	Loral Corp		
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	750.00	608.40
Do	Network Systems		
Mark A. Mix, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work Committee	3,437.00	1,474.95
David T. Modi, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	540.00	
Albert L. Modiano, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 840 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Assn	6,000.00	150.00
Karen Ann Mogan, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	National Food Processors Association	4,000.00	100.00
Martha Mohler, 2000 K Street, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,640.00	
Brian R. Moir, 1235 23rd Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20037	International Communications Assn		
Do			
Peter A. Molinaro, 1100 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Union Carbide Corp	6,062.50	
John V. Moller, 1707 L Street NW, #725 Washington, DC 20036	Policy Consulting Services, Inc (For:Nissan Motor Company, Ltd)		
Do	Policy Consulting Services, Inc (For:Nissan Motor Manufacturing, U.S.A.)		
Do	Policy Consulting Services, Inc (For:Nissan North America, Inc)		
Robert A. Molofsky, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO	5,000.00	235.00
John M. Moloney, 1629 K Street, NW, #501 Washington, DC 20006	Delta Airlines, Inc	200.00	45.00
Ark Monroe, 1420 New York Ave, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20005-Mon	Axiom Corp	848.00	245.00
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	245.00	348.40
Louis Mark Monroe, 1750 New York Avenue Washington, DC 20006	International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades		
James M. Montgomery, 1401 I Street, NW, Suite 1220 Washington, DC 20005	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc	1,125.00	
John H. Montgomery, 2715 M St., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	National Rural Water Assn	4,550.00	263.75
Do	Murray Scheer & Montgomery (For:Oklahoma State Medical Assn)	1,200.00	148.00
Do	Underground Injection Practices Council	650.00	45.00
Peter Montgomery, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	8,820.00	
Lisa C. Moody, 1101 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		
Karl R. Moor, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Balch & Bingham (For:Alabama Power Co)	791.03	791.03
Alan J. Moore, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #5500 Washington, DC 20006	Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co	1,000.00	
Albert W. Moore, 7901 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102	AMT-Association for the Manufacturing Technology	1,425.00	25.00
Carlos Moore, 1801 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc	300.00	10.00
Donna Moore, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Veterinary Medical Assn	3,481.25	
Powell A. Moore, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20036	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:Agusta Group)	600.00	
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:Equifax Corp)	600.00	
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:EH Industries, Inc)	500.00	
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:Lockheed Corporation)	1,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For:National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider)		
Do	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For:National Association of Broadcasters)	2,100.00	
Do	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For:Republic of Azerbaijan)		
Do	DGA International, Inc (For:Societe Nationale d'Etude et de Const de Moteurs d'Aviation)		
Do	Capitol International Group, Ltd (For:U.S. Cane Sugar Refiners Assn of America)		
Walter K. Moore, 1901 L Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	Eli Lilly & Company	3,000.00	625.57
Fred P. Moosally, 1745 Jeff Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International Corp	20,000.00	2,009.91
Morality in Media, Inc, 475 Riverside Dr., #239 New York, NY 10115		11.89	12.27
Peter J. Moran, 1601 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Society of American Florists	1,000.00	
Robert J. Moran, 1120 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	3,000.00	
Dudley Digges Morgan III, 4900 Baronne Street New Orleans, LA 70115	Southern Forest Products Assn	15,673.50	
E.M. Chip Morgan, P.O. Box 257 Stoneville, MS 38776	Delta Council		
John Morgan, 501 3rd Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Communications Workers of America		
Peter Denis Morgan, 777 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	2,000.00	
Stephen L. Morgan, 5201 Leesburg Pike, #1111 Falls Church, VA 22041	American Cemetery Assn		
Morgan Lewis & Bockius, 1800 M St., NW, #800 N. Washington, DC 20036	Chemical Manufacturers Assn	797.50	
Do	City of San Antonio	1,350.00	10.50
Do	Coalition for an Undercharge Relief Bill	4,570.00	6.00
Do	Coalition of Supporters of the Shipping Act		
Do	Leadership Council on Advertising		
Do	National Fuel Gas Distribution Co		
Do	United Distribution Companies	1,500.00	41.34
William G. Morin, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	81.75	
James A. Morrill, 1726 M St., NW, #901 Washington, DC 20036	Scott Paper Co	10,000.00	
Gerald D. Morris, 555 New Jersey Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	American Fed of Teachers	21,363.42	108.00
Andrew Morrison, 51 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10010	New York Life Insurance Co	90.00	
Gary L. Morrison, 10 Lafayette Square Buffalo, NY 14203	National Fuel Gas Company, et al.	513.74	2,167.02
John W. Morrison, 5535 Hempstead Way Springfield, VA 22151	National Assn for Unformed Services	931.22	
Lynn Morrison, 311 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002		40,150.00	
William C. Morrison, 2001 North Adams St. Arlington, VA 22201	Meat Importers Council of America, Inc		
Morrison & Foerster, 2000 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	City and County of San Francisco		
Do	Consolidated Freightways		
Do	Mastercard International, Inc, et al.	4,062.50	7.00
Do	National Electrical Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Valent U.S.A. Corp		
Philip D. Morrisson, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Baker & McKenzie (For:Continental European Insurance Coalition)		95.00
Morrow Realty Co, Inc, P.O. Box 020887 Tuscaloosa, AL 35402-0887	Beneficial Management Corp of America		
Valerie T. Morse, 453 New Jersey Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Assn of Retired Persons	752.19	357.63
Evelyn M. Morton, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Boiler Manufacturers Assn, Inc	40.00	84.00
Russell N. Mosher, 950 N. Glebe Rd., #160 Arlington, VA 22203	National Solid Wastes Management Assn (NSWMA)	500.00	
Richard Moskowitz, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Reserve City Bankers	540.00	
Moss Associates, Inc, 2450 Virginia Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037	Committee for Equitable Compensation		
Kate Moss Company, 2550 M Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20037	Dean Witter Discover & Co		
Do	National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider		
Do	NationsBank, Inc		
Do	Southwestern Bell Corp	450.00	
Do	Trans Union Corp		
Gerald J. Mossinghoff, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	1,000.00	
John J. Motley III, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business	9,570.00	300.00
Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association, 1325 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004			7,952.60
Thomas O. Moulton Jr., 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Pacific Telesis Group	20,000.00	
Susan Connolly Moya, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Asa Brown Bowen, Inc	7,500.00	1,098.63
Muldoon Murphy & Faucette, 5101 Wisconsin Ave., NW, #508 Washington, DC 20016	Anchor Savings Bank, FSB		
Do	Carteret Savings Bank, F.A.		
Do	Glendale Federal Savings & Loan Assn		
Do	Pelican Homestead and Savings Assn		
Do	Talman Home Federal Savings and Loan Assn		
Do	United Savings of Texas, FSB		
Mullenholz & Brimsek, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Civic Education	3,186.33	20.87
Do	City of Fergus Falls, MN		
Do	Constitutional Rights Foundation	3,186.33	20.87
Do	Delaware & Hudson Railroad	2,500.00	
Do	Douglas County Hospital	297.00	
Do	Equifax	1,519.90	29.37
Do	Florida East Coast Railway Co	1,000.00	
Do	Lake Region Hospital Corp	297.00	
Do	National Institute for Citizens Education in the Law	3,186.33	20.87
Do	North American Equipment Dealers Assn	2,500.00	
Do	Search Group Inc.	9,100.00	253.98
Do	Soo Line Corporation	10,000.00	
Do	Trade Assn Healthcare Coalition	1,875.00	
Do	TACA International Airlines		
William J. Mulligan, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20005	Chevron Companies		
Thomas S. Mullikin, 1315 Monument Square P.O. Box 745 Camden, SC 29020	Mullikin Law Firm (For:Blue Cross Blue Shield)	9,600.00	2,100.00
Do	Laidlaw Environmental Services	22,500.00	5,835.81
Do	Saluda River Cooperatives, Inc	30,000.00	2,100.00
Tracy Mullin, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	National Retail Federation	2,500.00	35.00
Edgar J. Mullins, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	United Technologies Corp	5,000.00	2,265.36
Kevin C.W. Mulvey, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	American International Group, Inc	2,000.00	50.00
James Brian Munroe, 1300 Eye Street, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc		135.00
Cyril D. Murphy, 1707 L Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	United Airlines, Inc	2,500.00	
Edward L. Murphy, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn Inc	3,000.00	
Linda Luniewski Murphy, 1601 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Society of American Florists	1,000.00	
Michael M. Murphy, 1101 17th St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	American President Companies, Ltd, et al.	20,000.00	
Paul T. Murphy, P.O. Box 619500 Dallas, TX 75261	Caltex Petroleum Corp		
Murphy & Demory, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Village of Schaumburg		
Daniel H. Murray, 1133 21st St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	BelSouth Corp	2,955.00	433.01
Hyde H. Murray, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	American Farm Bureau Federation	9,063.00	173.60
James V. Murray, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #230 Washington, DC 20004	Union Carbide Corp		
Richard D. Murray, 1133 15th Street, NW, #640 Washington, DC 20005	American Logistics Assn		
Rosemary Griffin Murray, Crystal Park Four, 2345 Crystal Drive Arlington, VA 22227	USAir, Inc		
Murray Scheer & Montgomery, 2715 M Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	American Assn of Dental Schools	375.00	5.50
Do	American Assn of Public Health Dentistry	250.00	16.50
Do	Atchem, N.A.	750.00	16.50
Do	Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co	350.00	15.00
Do	Coalition for Oral Health	2,125.00	27.50
Do	Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co	500.00	40.00
Do	Delaware River Port Authority	1,250.00	38.50
Do	Dynatech Corporation	150.00	35.00
Do	Independence Blue Cross		
Do	Independent Laboratory Consortium		
Do	Industry Council for Tangible Assets	100.00	
Do	International Assn of Environmental Testing Laboratories	500.00	35.00
Do	Iron Ore Assn	400.00	25.00
Do	LTV Corporation	300.00	20.00
Do	National Council of Coal Lessors	400.00	30.00
Do	New England Life Insurance Co	500.00	40.00
Do	North American Philips Corp		
Do	Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co	500.00	30.00
Do	Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co	500.00	30.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	PepsiCo	400.00	45.00
Do	Philadelphia Regional Port Authority		
Do	Porsche Cars North America, Inc.	150.00	22.00
Do	Qualimetrics, Inc.		
Do	Shubert Organization, Inc.	2,200.00	75.00
Do	Student Loan Interest Deduction Restoration Coalition		
Do	Swaziland Sugar Assn.	300.00	25.00
Do	Sweetener Users Assn.		
Do	Technology Development & Education Corp.	625.00	5.50
Do	Temple University	3,750.00	55.50
Do	Wisconsin Central Transportation Corporation		
Do	NICOR, Inc.	300.00	
Richard Murrell, Maritime Building, 3rd Floor 4 East Port Road Riviera Beach, FL 33404	Fertilizer Institute	4,500.00	185.65
Mutual Life Insurance Co Tax Committee, 213 Washington Street Newark, NJ 07102-2992	National Cattlemen's Assn.	1,000.00	
Gary D. Myers, 501 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Agricultural Retailers Assn.	16,200.00	5,982.00
William G. Myers, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004	Koteen & Naftalin (For:Alascom, Inc)		
Christopher Alton Myrick, 1155 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Koteen & Naftalin (For:Telephone & Data Systems, Inc)		
Alan Y. Naftalin, 1150 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Johnson & Johnson HMI	3,500.00	
Do	Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.	5,000.00	1,650.00
Martha Naismith, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 810 Washington, DC 20005	Miliken & Company		
Gerald F. Nalepa, 805 15th Street, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20005	League to Save Lake Tahoe		
John Francis Nash Jr., 1100 Connecticut Ave NW #1300 Washington, DC 20036	Beer Institute		
Rochelle Nason, 989 Tahoe Keys Blvd, Suite 8 South Lake Tahoe, CA 96150			
Gary M. Nateman, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #825 Washington, DC 20005			
National Air Carrier Assn, 1730 M St., NW, #806 Washington, DC 20036			
National Assn for Biomedical Research, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #303 Washington, DC 20006		221,750.00	21,447.23
National Assn for Uniformed Services, 5535 Hempstead Way Springfield, VA 22151		2,100.11	12,562.39
National Assn of Air Traffic Specialists, 11303 Amherst Avenue, Suite 4 Wheaton, MD 20902			7,800.00
National Assn of Broadcasters, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		224,221.57	224,221.57
National Assn of Chain Drug Stores, Inc. P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313			27,549.00
National Assn of Federal Employers, 1140 N.W. 63rd Street, #301 Oklahoma City, OK 73116			
National Assn of Federal Veterinarians, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005			121.15
National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities, 122 C St., NW, #750 Washington, DC 20001			117,587.00
National Assn of Insurance Brokers, Inc. 1401 New York Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20005			
National Assn of Manufacturers, 1331 Penn Ave., NW #1500-North Washington, DC 20004-1703		2,250,051.51	2,250,051.51
National Assn of Mutual Insurance Cos, 3601 Vincennes Road P.O. Box 68700 Indianapolis, IN 46268		2,650.00	2,766.33
National Assn of Police Organizations, Inc. 750 First Street, NE, Suite 935 Washington, DC 20002-4241		26,500.00	26,368.77
National Assn of Realtors, 777 14th St., NW Washington, DC 20005			57,071.67
National Assn of Stevedores, 2011 I Street, NW, #601 Washington, DC 20006			
National Assn of Truck Stop Operators, Inc. 1199 N. Fairfax Street, #801 Alexandria, VA 22314			
National Automobile Dealers Assn, 8400 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102			42,275.00
National Broiler Council, 1155 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005		3,025.00	3,025.00
National Business Aircraft Assn, 1200 18th St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036-2598		58,036.00	22,128.68
National Clay Pipe Institute, 206 Vassar Place Alexandria, VA 22314			
National Club Association, Washington Harbour 3050 K Street, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20007			12,100.00
National Coal Assn, 1130 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		1,540,069.40	18,482.63
National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship, 1010 Wayne Avenue, Suite 300 Silver Spring, MD 20910			
National Coalition for Marine Conservation, Inc. 5105 Paulsen Street, #243 Savannah, GA 31405		15,713.20	37,059.58
National Comm for Citizens in Education, 900 2nd Street, NE, Suite #8 Washington, DC 20007			
National Comm of Cities & States for Air Service, Transportation Bldg., Room 417 St. Paul, MN 55156		6,181.07	
National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006		3,436,235.00	3,436,235.00
National Community Action Foundation, Inc. 2100 M Street, NW, #604A Washington, DC 20037		102,189.39	48,501.00
National Cooperative Business Assn, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005		27,500.00	18,500.00
National Cotton Council of America, P.O. Box 12285 Memphis, TN 38182		35,122.45	35,122.45
National Council for Languages & Int'l Studies, 300 Eye Street, Suite 211 Washington, DC 20002		22,122.29	30,660.72
National Council of Agricultural Employers, 1735 I Street, NW, #704 Washington, DC 20006		675.00	953.00
National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001		9,614.58	8,014.34
National Council on Alcoholism & Drug Dependence, 1511 K Street, NW, #926 Washington, DC 20005			4,780.00
National Electrical Manufacturers Assn, 2101 L Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20037		6,616.44	6,616.44
National Employee Benefits Institute, 2445 M St., NW, #410 Washington, DC 20037			255.62
National Employment Lawyers Assn, 535 Pacific Avenue San Francisco, CA 94133			
National Fed of Independent Business, 53 Century Blvd., #300 Nashville, TN 37214			47,466.00
National Food Processors Assn, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005		1,250.00	15,050.00
National Grain Trade Council, 1300 L Street, #925 Washington, DC 20005			15.10
National Grass Roots & Communications, Inc. 116 N. Saint Asaph Street Alexandria, VA 22314			
Do	Coalition for Auto Repair Equality	852.00	358.00
National Grocers Assn, 1825 Samuel Morse Drive Reston, VA 22090	Wal-Mart	2,500.00	2,500.00
National Guard Assn of the U.S., One Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001		3,000.00	1,542.82
National Hearing Aid Society, 20361 Middlebelt Livonia, MI 48152		7,850.60	35,433.98
National Independent Energy Producers, 601 13th Street, NW, #320 South Washington, DC 20005			
National Leased Housing Assn, 2300 M St., NW, #260 Washington, DC 20037		75,000.00	12,031.65
National Milk Producers Federation, 1840 Wilson Blvd, Arlington, VA 22201		2,000.00	2,000.00
National Multi Housing Council, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036		15,118.10	45,118.10
National Newspaper Assn, 1627 K St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006			22,177.45
National Pest Control Assn, 8100 Oak St. Dunn Loring, VA 22027		6,300.00	6,300.00
National Realty Committee, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #630 Washington, DC 20036		19,890.00	19,890.00
National Retail Federation, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004			26,983.00
National Right to Work Committee, 8001 Braddock Rd., #600 Springfield, VA 22160		9,465.58	9,465.58
National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036			2,600.22
National Society of Professional Engineers, 1420 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314		11,100.00	11,100.00
National Soft Drink Assn, 1101 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20036			987.36
National Spa & Pool Institute, 2111 Eisenhower Ave. Alexandria, VA 22314			16,128.00
National Stone Assn, 1415 Elliot Place, NW Washington, DC 20007			
National Strategies, Inc. 888 17th Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20006			
Do	American International Group	10,000.00	1,211.12
Do	Columbia Communications Corp	14,000.00	790.51
Do	DWG Corporation (Triun Group, L.P.)		13.99
Do	Ferrell Gas	540.63	22.96
Do	Instinet		105.11
Do	Mothers & Others for a Livable World		
Do	Propane Gas Marketers Coalition	22,500.00	2,016.15
Do	Reuters North America, Inc	6,465.63	48.59
Do		27,000.00	3,229.63
National Telephone Cooperative Assn, 2626 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037			5,068.00
National Truck Equipment Assn, 38705 Seven Mile Road, #345 Livonia, MI 48152			78,992.84
National Wildlife Federation, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001			4,000.00
National-American Wholesale Grocers' Assn, 201 Park Washington Court Falls Church, VA 22046		306,852.00	91,020.37
Natural Gas Supply Assn, 1129 20th St., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036			
Michael W. Naylor, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004-2502	Allied-Signal, Inc.		
Rick J. Neal, 1800 South Baltimore Ave. Tulsa, OK 74119	Mapco, Inc.	5,250.00	141.20
Katherine Ben Neas, 8630 Fenton Street, Suite 410 Silver Spring, MD 20910	American Assn of University Affiliated Programs	45,000.00	150.00
Mark Nebergall, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn	2,175.00	
Janet E. Neigh, 519 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Hospice Assn of America/National Assn for Home Care	35.00	
Neighbor-to-Neighbor Action Fund, 2601 Mission Street, #400 San Francisco, CA 94110		74,433.00	108,793.00
Frederick W. Neill, 600 5th Street Aurora, IL 60505			
Neill & Company, Inc. 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006			
Do	Community Services Society		74.02
Do	Embassy of the Republic of Korea	75,000.00	3,896.31
Do	General Electric Industrial and Power Systems		2,875.20
Do	Government of Jamaica	55,000.00	3,631.77
Do	Government of Trinidad and Tobago		2,714.34
Do	Islamic Republic of Pakistan		2,319.61
Do	Joint Diseases North General Hospital		22.44
Do	Kingdom of Morocco		1,020.08
Do	Marks & Murase	7,000.00	99.18
Do	Pasmico, Inc.	6,000.00	458.25
Do	Queens Borough Public Library	24,000.00	915.78
Do	Republic of Cote d'Ivoire		69.62

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Republic of Guinea	798.94	
Do	Republic of Kenya	10,610.85	
Do	Republic of Tunisia	135.83	
Do	Saipan Garment Manufacturers Assn	20,000.00	7,137.26
Do	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture	4,000.00	12.72
Do	State of Bahrain	180,000.00	17,748.00
Do	SEMATECH, Inc	5,313.00	2,103.75
Mark E. Nelson, 1825 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Associated Credit Bureaus		
Paul Nelson, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006	Institute of International Bankers		
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	78.00
Lynda L. Nersesian, 1100 15th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	International Assn of Fire Fighters	16,331.00	
Frederick H. Nesbitt, 1750 New York Avenue NW Washington, DC 20006	Cox Enterprises, Inc		589.42
Alexander Netchvolodoff, 1320 19th Street, N.W. #200 Washington, DC 20036	Career College Assn	3,132.00	
Tommie E. Netting, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002		50,498.00	51,943.00
Network, 806 Rhode Island Ave., NE Washington, DC 20018	Southern Company Services, Inc	3,566.72	6,112.41
E. John Neumann, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036		4,500.00	
New York for NAFTA, 70 Pine Street, 36th Floor New York, NY 10270	Sidney Frank Importing Co, Inc		520.50
New York Capitol Consultants, Inc, 120 Washington Avenue Albany, NY 12210			2,933.00
New York State Assn of Fire Chiefs, 1670 Columbia Turnpike Castleton, NY 12033			2,165.00
New York State Bankers Assn, 485 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10017			100.00
Peter E. Newbould, 750 First Street, NE Washington, DC 20240-4242	American Psychological Assn	950.00	
Newman & Holtzinger, P.C., 1615 L St., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	Utility Nuclear Waste & Transportation Program		
Sharon Newsome, 1400 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation	3,771.62	
Sara S. Nichols, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Public Citizen	8,250.00	
Marlene Nicholson, 1722 Eye St., NW, Fifth Floor Washington, DC 20006	Barclays Bank PLC	4,000.00	493.15
Ronald G. Nickson, 1850 M Street, NW, #540 Washington, DC 20036	National Multi Housing Council	1,850.00	
David P. Nicoli, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	1,375.00	
Alan Nissalke, 1133 15th Street, NW, #640 Washington, DC 20005	American Logistics Assn		
Michael E. Nix, 231 W. Michigan Street, #P453 Milwaukee, WI 53203	Wisconsin Electric Power Co	75.00	
Nixon Hargrave Devans & Doyle, One Thomas Circle, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	American Free Trade Assn		
Barbara D. Nocera, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, #5300 Washington, DC 20024	Honda North America, Inc	50.00	
Allan Noe, 1155 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Agricultural Chemicals Assn		
Walker F. Nolan, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW 4th Floor Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute	7,663.42	67.45
Non Commissioned Officers Assn, P.O. Box 33610 San Antonio, TX 78265			74,567.94
Nonprescription Drug Manufacturers Assn, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036			3,550.00
David F. Norcross, 1156 15th Street, NW, #550 Washington, DC 20005	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For: Pilots Assn of the Bay and River Delaware)	475.00	
Do	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For: Ports of Philadelphia Maritime Exchange)	125.00	
Do	Montgomery McCracken Walker & Rhoads (For: US Healthcare)	2,300.00	
Julia J. Norrell, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Amenitas Life Insurance Corp	45.00	
Do	Health Insurance Association of America	450.00	
Do	Lincoln National Corp	450.00	
Do	Mutual of Omaha	450.00	
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores	450.00	
Do	Provident Life & Accident Insurance Co	450.00	
Do	UNUM Life Insurance Co	100.00	
Do	Washington National Insurance Company	450.00	
North American Telecommunications Assn, 2000 M St., NW, #550 Washington, DC 20036			3,000.00
Clifford R. Northup, 50 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Assn of American Railroads	5,433.32	336.89
Rita Ersfeld Norton, 1300 Eye Street, NW, Suite 520 West Washington, DC 20005	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc		4,126.17
Julie Noutler, 8607 Westwood Center Drive, #204 Vienna, VA 22182	Professional Services Council	2,500.00	
Mary Ann Novak, 700 11th Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20001	Parsons Brinkerhoff Quade & Douglas, Inc	288.00	
Patrick J. Nugent, 1133 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	MCI Communications Corp	2,000.00	
Victoria S. Nugent, 2000 P Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Public Citizen	500.00	
Nussbaum & Wald, One Thomas Circle, NW #200 Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers		
Do	National Football League Players Assn	6,000.00	
Franklin W. Nutter, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Reinsurance Assn of America		
Hubert K. O'Bannon, 50 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Association of American Railroads	1,508.31	1,603.41
O'Bannon & Gibbons, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Florida Citrus Mutual		
Do	Kellogg Company	1,625.00	
Do	Mutual Life Insurance Co of New York		
Do	Natural Disaster Coalition	1,050.00	
Do	Underwriters at Lloyd's London		
Do	Zeneca, Inc	9,000.00	
David D. O'Brien, O'Brien & Associates 600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, #1010 Washington, DC 20037	Harley-Davidson, Inc	5,333.33	143.45
Do	Primerica Financial Services		
Rosemary L. O'Brien, 1401 Eye Street, NW, #340 Washington, DC 20005	CF Industries, Inc	500.00	
Urban F. O'Brien III, 2000 Post Oak Boulevard Houston, TX 77056-4400	Apache Corporation		468.42
O'Brien Callio, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 690 Washington, DC 20005	Anheuser Busch Co	117.00	
Do	Federal National Mortgage Assn		
Do	General Electric Co	500.00	
Do	Health Insurance Assn of America	94.00	
Do	Morgan Stanley & Co, Inc	125.00	
Do	Sears Roebuck & Co	73.00	
Do	Storage Technology Corp	500.00	
Do	Tax Reform Action Coalition	104.00	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	500.00	
Do	New England Council, Inc		
Carolyn O'Connor, 444 North Capitol Street, #418 Washington, DC 20001	Savings and Community Bankers of America	3,458.75	
James E. O'Connor, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	20,493.00	
John T. O'Connor, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Florists' Transworld Delivery Assn	2,000.00	
Kelley E. O'Connor, 666 Pennsylvania Ave, SE, #403 Washington, DC 20003	Albers & Company (For: May Department Stores Co)		
Michael J. O'Connor, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Albers & Company (For: Profit Recovery Group)		
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For: American College of Occupational Medicine)	800.00	428.58
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For: American Supply Association)	6,000.00	3,428.93
Do	American Warehousemen's Association	1,200.00	642.85
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For: National Assn of Fleet Administrators)		
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For: Transportation Lawyers Assn)		
O'Connor & Hannan, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Allergan Inc	23,521.00	
Do	Alliance of Marine Parks and Aquariums	7,547.37	
Do	American Clinical Laboratory Assn	3,750.00	
Do	American Family Life Assurance Co	4,558.00	
Do	American Soc of Cataract & Refractive Surgery		
Do	Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc	12,000.00	
Do	Bear Stearns & Company, Inc	4,590.00	
Do	Bobby Berosini, Ltd		
Do	Center for Marine Conservation, Inc		
Do	China External Trade Development Council		
Do	Citizens Savings and Loan		
Do	Coalition for Tax Equity	7,900.00	110.00
Do	Coca-Cola Company		
Do	Colt's Manufacturing Company, Inc		
Do	Concerned Domestic Flower Growers and Handlers	715.00	
Do	CNA Insurance Co	9,626.00	
Do	Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S., Inc	1,000.00	
Do	Eastern Michigan University	395.00	
Do	Ecomarine USA		
Do	Electronic Data Systems Corp		
Do	Evangelical Lutheran Good Samaritan Society		
Do	First Winthrop Corp		
Do	Fishing Assn of Mexico		
Do	Glass Packaging Institute		
Do	Golden Nugget, Inc	2,000.00	
Do	Government of the Philippines	30,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Government of Israel		
Do	Government of Netherlands Antilles	7,154.00	
Do	Government of Peru	24,000.00	
Do	Health Images, Inc.	675.00	
Do	Healthcare Financing Study Group		
Do	J.C. Penney Company, Inc.		
Do	Kellogg Company	500.00	
Do	Liquidity Fund Management, Inc.		
Do	MasterCard International, Inc.		
Do	Mercedes-Benz of North America, Inc.	2,185.00	
Do	Miller & Schroeder		
Do	Mirage		
Do	Mullendore & Watt		
Do	National Apartment Assn		
Do	National Assn of Optometrists and Opticians, Inc.	2,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Portable X-Ray Providers	200.00	
Do	O'Sullivan Graev & Karabell		
Do	Pacific Seafood Processors Assn		
Do	Pacific Telesis Group	5,860.00	
Do	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.	142.00	
Do	Securities Industry Assn	7,500.00	
Do	Soka University Los Angeles	6,927.25	
Do	Solid Waste Agency of Northern Cook County		
Do	State of Alaska		
Do	State Street Bank & Trust Company	11,250.00	
Do	Student Loan Funding Corp	9,662.65	
Do	Support Systems International, Inc.	4,125.00	
Do	UST	3,680.00	
Do	VISA, USA, Inc.		
Do	Wards Cove Packing Company	806.56	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Do	American Fiber Manufacturers Assn, Inc.		
Do	Alliance of American Insurers	15,000.00	
Do	Cable Television Assn of MD, DE & DC	23,750.00	
Do	Georgia-Pacific Corp		
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council	1,160.44	237.36
Do	National Rifle Assn of America	1,489.48	732.83
Do	American Soc of Travel Agents	75.00	
Do	Pennsylvania Power & Light Company		
Do	Chubb Corporation	250.00	
Do	Union Pacific Corp	10,000.00	1,091.54
Do	Klukwan, Inc.	30,000.00	875.50
Do	Mutual of America	71,312.50	7,478.95
Do	American Mining Congress		
Do	National Rifle Assn of America		
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co		1,324.67
Do	American Nurses' Assn	2,875.00	105.17
Do	National Rural Telecom Assn	2,200.00	
Do	ITT Defense Technology Corp	1,000.00	50.00
Do	American Bankers Assn	1,260.00	
Do	Beth Israel Hospital		
Do	Bingham and Women's Hospital, Inc.		
Do	Business Roundtable		
Do	Coalition of Boston Teaching Hospitals		
Do	Cruise America Line, Inc.		
Do	General Mills, Inc.		
Do	Glass Packaging Institute		
Do	JM Family Enterprises, Inc.	2,355.00	
Do	Massachusetts General Hospital		
Do	New England Deaconess Hospital		
Do	New England Medical Center		
Do	Texas Utilities Co		
Do	University Hospital		
Do	USX Corporation		
Do	Viacom International, Inc.	2,750.00	
Do	Blue Cross of Western Pennsylvania	12,800.00	29,627.00
Do	Philip Morris Companies, Inc.	278.18	41.44
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Brooklyn Hospital Center)		
Do	Greater New York Hospital Assn	20,001.00	175.00
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Healthcom International)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Hospital for Special Surgery)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Lenox Hill Hospital)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Maimonides Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:MicroGeneSys, Inc)	7,500.00	200.00
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Montefiore Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Mount Sinai Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center)		
Do	Strategic Management Associates, Inc (For:Our Lady of Mercy Medical Center)		
Do	Northrop Corp	1,400.00	302.60
Do	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	3,775.82
Do	Entergy Services, Inc.	4,429.40	266.13
Do	Association of American Railroads	7,200.14	
Do	Edison Electric Institute	3,720.24	476.66
Do	Direct Selling Association		
Do	American Bankers Assn	2,500.00	
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc.	4,000.00	
Do	Student Loan Funding Corp	7,503.48	109.04
Do	International Council of Shopping Centers	650.00	
Do	National Business Aircraft Assn	1,750.00	445.76
Do	Aetna Life & Casualty	5,000.10	93.58
Do	Allegheny Health Education & Research Foundation		
Do	Alliance for Managed Competition	7,500.00	141.94
Do	American Airlines, Inc.	8,000.00	
Do	American International Group	7,499.25	112.00
Do	Ashland Oil, Inc.	1,875.00	27.66
Do	Association of American Railroads	12,500.00	407.58
Do	Avis, Inc.	4,500.00	
Do	Baxter Healthcare Corp	500.00	10.58
Do	Burlington Resources, Inc.	750.00	
Do	Commonwealth Edison	1,875.00	
Do	Federal Express	4,500.00	361.75
Do	Ford Motor Co	1,000.00	5.86
Do	General Electric Co	8,000.00	
Do	Investment Company Institute	7,500.00	329.19
Do	MCI Communications Corp	1,125.00	
Do	National Cable Television Assn	12,500.00	609.59
Do	Pfizer, Inc.	4,500.00	172.95
Do	Phillip Morris, Inc.	7,250.00	95.22
Do	Procter & Gamble co	8,000.00	
Do	Republic National Bank	1,750.00	10.43
Do	Building Trades Assn, Inc.		
Do	IBM Corp	3,631.16	451.82
Do	Merck & Co, Inc.	3,000.00	500.00
Do	Richard Oleck, 1181 South Rogers Circle, #6 Boca Raton, FL 33487-2724		
Do	Mike Oliva, 1301 K Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20005		
Do	R. Teel Oliver, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW North Building, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20004-2601		
Do	Paul T. O'Day, 1150 17th Street, NW #310 Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Thomas A. O'Day, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Wayne O'Dell, 6004 Wilmington Dr. Burke, VA 22015		
Do	Denise M. O'Donnell, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006		
Do	John O'Donnell, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003		
Do	Terri O'Grady-Smith, 1600 Rhode Island Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Barbara E. O'Hara, P.O. Box 23992 Washington, DC 20026-3992		
Do	Robert J. O'Hara Jr., 2 North 9th Street Allentown, PA 18101		
Do	Dean O'Hare, 15 Mountain View Road Warren, NJ 07061		
Do	Sean B. O'Hollaren, 555 13th Street, NW, Suite 450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004		
Do	O'Keefe Ashenden Lyons & Ward, 30 North La Salle, #4100 Chicago, IL 60602		
Do	John O'Leary, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Patrick G. O'Malley, 1600 Rhode Island Ave, NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	O'Melveny & Myers, 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004		
Do	Daniel J. O'Neal III, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571		
Do	Law Offices of John O'Neal, P.C., 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004		
Do	Joseph O'Neil, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #3000 Arlington, VA 22209		
Do	O'Neil and Athy, P.C., 1310 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Paul O'Palika Jr., Fifth Avenue Place, Suite 1924 Pittsburgh, PA 15222		
Do	Rita W. O'Rourke, 1875 Eye St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006		
Do	John J. O'Shaughnessy, 112 S. West Street Alexandria, VA 22314		
Do	M. Diane O'Toole, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #2300 Arlington, VA 22209		
Do	Stephen E. O'Toole, 1660 L St., NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Jana R. Oakley, 1776 I Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20006		
Do	Paul C. Oakley, 50 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20001		
Do	James C. Odum Jr., 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2696		
Do	Neil H. Offen, 1776 K Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006		
Do	Donald G. Ogilvie, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Marion Browne Oglesby Jr., 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004		
Do	Ohio Students for Loan Reform, c/o Andrew Goldner 29 West Daniels Cincinnati, OH 45219		
Do	Philip M. Oia, 1199 North Fairfax Street, #204 Alexandria, VA 22314		
Do	John W. Olcott, 1200 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036		
Do	Oldaker Ryan & Leonard, 818 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Lynnea J. Olsen, 400 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Professional Insurance Agents		
Van R. Olsen, 1156 15th St., NW, #1019 Washington, DC 20006	U.S. Beet Sugar Assn		
Laura L. Olson, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Smith Bucklin & Associates (For-Amusement & Music Operators Assn)	5,300.00	
Sydney Olson, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	American-Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Olsson Frank & Weeda, 1400 16th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036-2220	Beef Products, Inc.		
Do	Duramed Pharmaceuticals, Inc.		
Do	Centrac, Inc.		
Do	Milk Industry Foundation		
Do	National American Wholesale Grocers Assn	1,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Margarine Manufacturers		
Do	National Food Processors Assn	1,500.00	
Do	National Frozen Pizza Institute		
Do	Pillsbury Company	200.00	
Do	San Tomo Group		
Do	Schwan's Sales Enterprises, Inc.	500.00	
Do	Southern Star Shipping Company, Inc.		
Do	U.S. Surgical Corporation		
Do	Vicam		
Do	Western States Meat Assn		
Do	International Communications Assn		
Philip C. Onstad, 333 Plainfield Road Edison, NJ 08820		4,275.00	4,275.00
Organ, for Protection & Advancement of Small Telephone Cos, 21 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036		2,252.08	911.18
Organization of Professional Employees of USDA, Rm. SM-3-S U.S. Dept of Agriculture Washington, DC 20250		4,664.06	
Edward R. Osann, 1400 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation	4,300.00	
Sima Osodoby, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Suite 205 Washington, DC 20002	Women's Action for New Directions, et al.	5,000.00	
Alan R. Ott, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	6,500.00	148.35
Michael F. Ouellette, 225 N. Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn	25.00	
Cliff Ouse, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	500.00	2,081.45
Overseas Education Assn, 1201 16th Street, NW, Room 210 Washington, DC 20036	Savings and Community Bankers of America	3,412.00	188.26
Sally LaHue Owen, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Classroom Publishers Assn		
Stephen F. Owen Jr., 107 Park Washington Court Falls Church, VA 22046	National Assn of Social Workers	6,475.00	
Margaret Owens, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20002-4241	Dollar Savings Bank, et al.	57,200.00	19,424.01
Thomas J. Owens, P.O. Box 12266 Seattle, WA 98102	Washington State University	1,500.00	1,077.12
Do	Manufactured Housing Institute	144.00	
William J. Owens, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #511 Arlington, VA 22202		35,392.00	16,459.00
Pacific Northwest Waterways Assn, P.O. Box 61473 Vancouver, WA 98666-1473	National Education Assn	4,217.25	29.50
Joel Packer, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Public Service Co of Oklahoma		
Lee W. Paden, P.O. Box 201 Tulsa, OK 74102	Transportation Communications Union	3,000.00	561.05
Anthony Padilla, 815 16th Street, NW, #511 Washington, DC 20006	Westland Development Co., Inc.	2,115.38	3,955.58
Barbara Page, 401 Coors Boulevard, NW Albuquerque, NM 87121	Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.	3,000.00	303.36
Pagonis & Donnelly Group, Inc, c/o Rogers & Wells 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Commercial Barge Line Co	21,356.25	144.37
Do	Association of High Medicare Hospitals	4,406.25	
Do	Better Communications, Inc.		
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Texas, Inc.	3,600.00	342.20
Do	Burlington Northern Railroad, Inc.	4,500.00	46.29
Do	Burroughs Wellcome Co	6,675.00	
Do	Children's Hospital	2,100.00	66.04
Do	CSK Corp	4,500.00	60.69
Do	Dow Chemical USA	8,293.75	503.29
Do	Government of the Republic of Transkei		
Do	Holiday Inn Corp	8,583.50	27.22
Do	Medi000.00	143.20	
Do	Planned Parenthood Federation of America	3,000.00	20.88
Do	Rowland Company		
Do	Tunisian Association for Freedom		
Denise A. Painter, 4301 N. Fairfax Drive, #330 Arlington, VA 22203	Shipbuilders Council of America	15,000.00	
John Palafoutas, 1111 14th Street, NW, Suite 1001 Washington, DC 20005	AMP Inc	2,000.00	
Brian Pallach, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Benjamin L. Palumbo, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For-American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers)	12,350.00	406.45
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For-Atlantic Richfield Co)	1,987.50	61.00
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For-California Ind Mortgage Brokers...)	287.50	22.00
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For-Government Employees Hospitalization Assn)	175.00	8.00
Do	New Jersey Turnpike Authority	1,037.50	36.00
Do	Proctor & Gamble Mfg Co	4,587.50	193.50
Do	Palumbo & Cerrell, Inc (For-Southern California Rapid Transit District)	1,075.00	11.00
Do	American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers	33,750.00	40,588.73
Do	Atlantic Richfield Co	18,000.00	6,749.84
Do	Cerrell Assocs, Inc (for Calif Indep Mortgage Brokers Assn)	13,000.00	4,256.08
Do	Government Employees Hospital Assn	30,000.00	11,321.62
Do	New Jersey Turnpike Authority	23,999.25	6,707.44
Do	Proctor & Gamble Mfg Co	52,500.00	17,900.84
Do	Southern California Rapid Transit District	18,666.70	8,497.44
Nancy L. Parke, 5410 Grosvenor Lane, #100 Bethesda, MD 20814-2122	American Cong. on Survey, & Mapp/Amer Soc of Photogrammetry	2,692.65	
Alan A. Parker, 1050 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Association of Trial Lawyers of America	5,000.00	100.00
Bruce J. Parker, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
Tom V. Parker, Arkansas Petroleum Council One Riverfront Place, #460 North Little Rock, AR 72114	American Petroleum Institute		
Carl M. Parks, 633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Sears Roebuck & Co	15,000.00	
Leslie Parks, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Nuclear Energy Council	2,062.61	369.76
James Parmelee, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	Seniors Coalition	1,508.54	
Norman T. Parnes, 5503 Mako Court Waldorf, MD 20603	Air Force Sergeants Assn, Inc		
Ronald L. Parrish, 1800 One Tandy Center Fort Worth, TX 75102	Tandy Corporation	12,999.80	3,172.66
Parry and Romani Associates, Inc, 233 Constitution Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Federal Judges Association		
Do	Office of the Immigration Judges	400.00	
Do	Recording Industry Assn of America	1,200.00	
Do	Utah Natural Products Alliance	1,500.00	
Do	Won-Door Corporation	750.00	
Richard N. Parsons, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	1,004.00	
Charles C. Partridge, 5535 Hempstead Way Springfield, VA 22151	National Assn for Uniformed Services	5,224.67	
Robert D. Partridge, 511 Janneys Lane Alexandria, VA 22302	Burns & McDonnell		
Andrea B. Passarelli, 3025 South Parker Road, #1100 Aurora, CO 80014	TeleCheck Services, Inc		2,647.64
Gary B. Patterson, Delaware Petroleum Council P.O. Box 1429 Dover, DE 19903-1429	American Petroleum Institute		16.43
Jerry M. Patterson, 3200 Bristol St., Suite 640 Costa Mesa, CA 92626	City of Alhambra		
Do	City of Alhambra (Long Beach 710 Freeway)	61.50	
Do	City of Bell & Bell Community Redevelopment Agency	6,068.00	116.48
Do	Burke Williams & Sorensen (For-City of Santa Ana)	82.00	
Do	Burke Williams & Sorensen (For-City of Santa Clara)		
C. James Patti, 1133 15th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	Maritime Institute for Research & Industrial Development	11,087.72	
Patton Boggs & Blow, 2550 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Ad Hoc Coalition for Intermarket Coordination	610.00	70.00
Do	Air Products & Chemicals, Inc		
Do	Amenco		
Do	American Bankers Assn	113.75	20.00
Do	American College of Gastroenterologists	615.00	200.00
Do	Armco, Inc		
Do	Association for Manufacturing Technology (AMT)		
Do	Association of Trial Lawyers of America	796.25	90.00
Do	Blair Corporation		
Do	Blue Cross of California		
Do	Bright Beginnings Inc.		
Do	Bristol Myers/Squibb Corp		
Do	BIC Corporation		
Do	Center for Creative Non-Violence	2,968.75	150.00
Do	Center for Molecular Medicine & Immunology		
Do	Center for Strategic Tax Reform (CSTR)	1,800.00	100.00
Do	Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma	2,420.00	350.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Chicago Board Options Exchange	113.75	
Do	Christopher Columbus Center Development, Inc.	1,000.00	
Do	Chrysler Corporation		
Do	City of Baltimore		
Do	City of Cincinnati		
Do	Climate Council		
Do	Clorox Company		
Do	Coalition for Fair Allocation of Interest		
Do	Coalition on State Use Taxes		
Do	College Savings Bank		
Do	Council on Community Blood Centers		
Do	CUC International		
Do	Dairy Institute of California		
Do	Denver Colorado Planning Department		
Do	Dole Food Co.	5,925.00	20.00
Do	Duty Free Shoppers Group, Ltd.	2,370.00	10.00
Do	DuPont-Merck		
Do	Edison Electric Institute	980.00	
Do	Electric Reliability Coalition		
Do	Federation of American Health	728.75	50.00
Do	Federation Against Inequitable & Progressive Taxation		
Do	Flexi-Van Leasing, Inc.	152.50	5.00
Do	Freedom to Advertise Coalition	1,750.00	175.00
Do	FAG Kugelfischer Georg Schager KGaA	181.25	
Do	Genstar Container Corp.		
Do	George Mason University Foundation, Inc.	1,600.00	
Do	Greater Baltimore Committee Foundation	500.00	
Do	Greensboro-Jamestown Neighborhood Assn.		
Do	Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries		
Do	International Fabricare Institute		
Do	International Swaps Dealers Assn., Inc.		
Do	Irvine Industries	135.00	
Do	J.P. Morgan & Co., Inc.		
Do	Jena Band of Choctaw	495.00	20.00
Do	Johanna-Damies, Inc.		
Do	Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.	3,950.00	25.00
Do	Landauer, Inc.		
Do	Liggett Group, Inc.	67.50	
Do	Loro, Inc.		
Do	Loyola University		
Do	Major League Baseball Players Assn.	341.25	40.00
Do	Manhole Adjusting, Inc.		
Do	Manor Care	842.50	110.00
Do	Marathon Oil Co.	555.00	
Do	Marine Engineers' Beneficial Assn.	1,000.00	
Do	Mars, Inc.	1,752.50	85.00
Do	Mashantucket Pequot Tribe	440.00	55.00
Do	Mass Mutual		
Do	Matson Navigation Co.		
Do	Metropolitan Life		
Do	Mitchell Energy & Development Corp.	3,307.50	
Do	Mutual Legislative Committee		
Do	MCI Telecommunications, Inc.	1,678.75	15.00
Do	Nansay Hawaii		
Do	National Assn of Health Underwriters	615.00	50.00
Do	National Assn of Life Underwriters	77.50	
Do	National Assn of Theatre Owners		
Do	National Automatic Merchandising Assn.	3,727.50	50.00
Do	National Cable Television Assn., Inc.	113.75	20.00
Do	National Propane Gas Assn.	3,000.00	
Do	National Retail Federation (RITAC)		
Do	National Soft Drink Assn.		
Do	New England Student Loan Marketing Corp.	4,770.00	400.00
Do	New York Life Insurance Company	2,588.75	69.00
Do	Newspaper Association of America	1,470.00	275.00
Do	Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.	460.00	12.00
Do	NCNB Texas National Bank		
Do	OSG Bulk Ships, Inc.	113.75	10.00
Do	Pepsico, Inc.	980.00	60.00
Do	PNC Financial Corp.		
Do	Reader's Digest Assn., Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	Reinsurance Assn of America		
Do	Reliance Group Holdings, Inc.	152.50	5.00
Do	Republic of Guatemala		
Do	Republic of Uganda		
Do	Republic National Bank of New York		
Do	Scheidt & Bachman		
Do	Raymond F. Schoenke Jr.		
Do	Sedgwick James, Inc.		
Do	Charles E. Smith Companies	590.00	
Do	SmithKline Beecham		
Do	Smokeless Tobacco Council, Inc.	4,350.00	150.00
Do	Sprat Bay Corp.		
Do	State of Louisiana, Office of Conservation		
Do	Sultanate of Oman	520.00	
Do	Susan G. Komen Foundation	1,100.00	200.00
Do	Thomson US, Inc.		
Do	Trans Ocean, Ltd.	152.50	5.00
Do	Travelers		
Do	Triton Container	152.50	5.00
Do	U.S. Tobacco Company		
Do	University of Arizona Foundation	6,000.00	
Do	US Surgical Corp.		
Do	USAir, Inc.		
Do	USX Corporation		
Do	Villa Julie College	5,000.00	
Do	Wayne County Michigan		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp.	1,715.00	
Do	Woodlands Corp.	595.00	20.00
Do	American Mining Congress	40.00	
Do	Satellite Broadcasting & Communications Assn.	3,500.00	61.80
Do	Allegheny Power System Inc., et al.	4,427.50	
Do	Amdahl Corp.		
Do	American College of Neuropsychopharmacology		
Do	American Trucking Assns., Inc.	2,280.00	
Do	Business Council on Indoor Air		
Do	Government Affairs Policy Council of Reg Bell Operating Co's	11,827.50	37.43
Do	Kawasaki Motors Corp., USA		
Do	Morehouse College		
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp.	570.00	
Do	Novo-Nordisk Pharmaceuticals, Inc.	937.50	92.10
Do	Siskiyou Co Board of Supervisors & Office of Education		
Do	Student Loan Marketing Assn.	1,882.50	
Do	Tobacco Institute	712.50	

Alma Hale Paty, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036

Andrew R. Paul, 225 Reinekers Lane, #600 Alexandria, VA 22314

Paul Hastings Janofsky & Walker, 1050 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Gwen Gampel Paulson, 711 Second Street, NE, #200 Washington, DC 20002	Congressional Consultants (For American Assn of Retired Persons)		
Do	Dialysis Clinic, Inc.		
Do	Kinetic Concepts, Inc.	2,000.00	80.00
Do	National Committee to Preserve Social Security & Medicare		
Do	Congressional Consultants (For National Renal Administrators Assn)	3,000.00	
Do	Victims of Insurance Company Errors (Voice)	1,000.00	
Kristin E. Paulson, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	United Technologies Corp.	639.00	287.69
Tommy J. Payne, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #525 Washington, DC 20004	RJR Nabisco, Inc.	2,980.00	
Peabody & Brown, 2300 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Coalition to Preserve the Low Income Housing Tax Credit	2,000.00	
Do	Council for Rural Housing & Development	2,000.00	
Do	Institute for Responsible Housing Preservation	2,000.00	
Do	National Leased Housing Assn	2,000.00	
Do	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn	7,847.00	889.27
Chris Peace, 500 E. Street, SW, #920 Washington, DC 20024	Fleet Reserve Assn		
Norman E. Pearson, 125 N. West Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2754	Pearson & Pipkin (For Physicians Who Care)		
Ronald Pearson, 422 First Street, SE, #208 Washington, DC 20003	Physicians Who Care	1,500.00	
Pearson and Pipkin, Inc., 422 First Street, SE, #208 Washington, DC 20003	American Civil Liberties Union		
Robert Peck, 122 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	IBEW Local 46		
Edward L. Pecotte, 2700 First Avenue Seattle, WA 98121	Trend Star Continental, Ltd.	5,387.50	
John D. Pellegrin, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 606 Washington, DC 20036	National Agricultural Chemicals Assn		
Elin Peltz, 1155 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Audubon Society	2,200.00	455.00
Edward F. Pemberton, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Building Owners and Managers Assn International	1,250.00	400.00
Karen W. Penafiel, 1201 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	National Concrete Masonry Assn	6,166.00	403.00
Randall G. Pence, 2302 Horse Pen Road Herndon, VA 22071-3406	National Assn for Uniformed Services	3,406.27	
James C. Pennington, 5535 Hempstead Way Springfield, VA 22151			521.58
Pennsylvania Mines Corp., P.O. Box 387 Ebersburg, PA 15931			3,360.14
Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., 2 North 9th Street Allentown, PA 18101			
Eugene K. Pentimonti, 1101 17th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	American President Companies, Ltd.	15,000.00	3,919.35
People for America, Inc., 4404 Fairfax Hill Plano, TX 75024	Computer Sciences Corp.		
Pepper Hamilton & Scheetz, 1300 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Warner-Lambert Company	3,000.00	
Laura T. Peralta, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20005	American Coke & Coal Chemicals Institute		
Perkins Coie, 607 14th Street, NW #800 Washington, DC 20005-2011	Boeing Company		
Do	Burlington Resources		
Do	Cook Inlet Region, Inc.		250.00
Do	General Electric Co.		
Do	James River II, Inc.		
Do	Puget Sound Power & Light Company		
Do	Space Labs, Inc.		549.00
Do	Wood Heating Alliance		
Gary J. Perkinson, 453 New Jersey Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Beneficial Management Corp.		
Jeffrey L. Perlman, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	American Advertising Federation	5,000.00	291.02
Leonard Perlman, 1910 Association Drive Reston, VA 22091-1502	National Rehabilitation Counseling Assn		
Anne Powers Perry, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005-3987	Oxy Energy Co.	14,400.00	435.68
Beverly Perry, 1900 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20068	Potomac Electric Power Company	69.39	
Edmund F. Perry, 1301 K Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	IBM Corp.	173.61	30.00
Schley Louie Perry III, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue N.W. Washington, DC 20036	National Cotton Council of America	2,500.00	66.76
Susan Perry, 1100 New York Avenue, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005-3934	American Bus Assn	2,687.50	75.00
John C. Perryman, 333 Piedmont Avenue, 23rd Floor Atlanta, GA 30308	Georgia Power Co.	10,366.99	2,557.09
Mark Pertschuk, 2530 San Pablo Ave., #1 Berkeley, CA 94702	Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights	654.00	
John W. Pestle, 333 Ridge Street NW Grand Rapids, MI 49504	Michigan Municipal Cooperative Group	43,521.00	3,037.00
Phillips S. Peter, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #800-S Washington, DC 20004	General Electric Co.	300.00	
Robert R. Petersen, 1300 L Street, #925 Washington, DC 20005	National Grain Trade Council		15.10
Alan Peterson, 1505 Prince Street, #300 Alexandria, VA 22314	American Optometric Assn		
Cheryl A. Peterson, 600 Maryland Ave., SE, Suite 100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses Assn	5,124.60	
Dan A. Peterson, 1507 Lincoln Way, #304 McLean, VA 22102	Martin Marietta Corporation	6,773.50	
Esther Peterson, 2001 S St., NW, #510 Washington, DC 20009	International Organization of Consumers Unions		
Helena Hutton Peterson, 1101 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.	2,500.00	
Kenneth W. Peterson, Kansas Petroleum Council 1005 Merchants Tower Topeka, KS 66612	American Petroleum Institute		
Lars E. Peterson, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Food Marketing Institute	500.00	
Susan F. Petruinis, 1625 K Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20006	Manville Corporation	500.00	
Michael J. Petrina Jr., 1101 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Cosmetic Toiletry & Fragrance Assn, Inc.	1,200.00	25.00
Petroleum Marketers Assn of America, 1901 N. Fl. Myer Dr. #1200 Arlington, VA 22209		20,000.00	46,120.05
Stephan Petry, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	430.00	
Laura M. Petter, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #575 Washington, DC 20006	Dow Chemical Co.	500.00	6,887.00
Susan M. Petter, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
C. L. Pettit, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Solid Wastes Management Assn		
Brian T. Petty, 1901 L St., NW, #702 Washington, DC 20036	International Assn of Drilling Contractors	500.00	
Steven J. Pfister, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20004	National Retail Federation	3,000.00	34.00
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Southwestern Public Service Co.	42,420.50	42,420.50
Marshall A. Pharr, 6103 Adirondack Amarillo, TX 79106	Pacific Seaford Processors Assn	4,417.80	156.03
Dennis J. Phelan, 1101 17th St., N.W., #609 Washington, DC 20036	Union Oil Co of California	23,750.00	722.00
Mary Frances Phelps, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW, #760 Washington, DC 20036	FINA, Inc.	31,002.42	3,859.42
William W. Phelps, P.O. Box 2159 Dallas, TX 75221	Magnavox Electronic Systems Co.	6,856.74	1,174.62
James R. Phifer, 1700 N. Moore St., #1801 Arlington, VA 22209	Bank of Boston Corporation		
Deirdre B. Phillips, 100 Federal Street Boston, MA 02110	First National Bank of Boston	600.00	1,221.59
Do	National Rifle Assn of America	1,539.94	113.49
Joseph M. Phillips, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Career College Assn	3,820.00	
Lisa Phillips, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002	American Bankers Assn	4,460.00	170.87
William H. Phillips, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Broadcasters	6,800.00	1,335.84
Dan Phythyon, 1771 N St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Public Power Assn	1,000.00	
Lori J. Pickford, 2301 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Baltimore Gas & Electric Co.	828.70	
Paulette C. Pidcock, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1050d Washington, DC 20004	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
Janice Pieper, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Mauritius Sugar Syndicate	1,700.00	
Pierson Semmes & Bemis, 1054 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Oklahoma Natural Gas Company		
Do	American Council of Life Insurance	3,000.00	
Donna M. Pignatelli, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Manufacturers		
Mary C. Pigott, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	American Automobile Assn		
Susan G. Pikrallidas, 1440 New York Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	City of Portsmouth, New Hampshire		
Piliero Mazza & Pargament, Farragut Square 888 17th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006	Latin American Management Assn	3,500.00	
Do	Villa Banfi, U.S.A.		
Piper & Marbury, 1200 19th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Biotechnology Software Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Direct Marketing Assn	5,712.50	78.00
Do	Edison Electric Institute		
Do	Information Industry Assn		
Do	Journal of Commerce, Inc.		
Do	Mead Data Central, Inc.	2,484.00	58.00
Do	PCS Action, Inc.	31,163.75	252.09
Pirtle Morisset Schlosser & Ayer, 1815 H Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20006-3604	Central Council of Tlingit & Haida Tribes of Alaska		
Do	Ketchikan Indian Corp.	42.48	
Do	Little River Band of Ottawa Indians		
Do	Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians		
Do	Michigan Inter-Tribal Council		
Do	Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians	1,997.12	
Do	Organized Village of Kake	29.21	
Do	Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians	2,635.40	
Do	Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians	2,125.42	
Do	Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe	3,558.47	
Do	Sitka Tribe of Alaska	10.50	
Do	Yakutat Native Assn	5.27	
William P. Pitts, 1667 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	Amdahl Corp.	1,000.00	
Frank M. Pizzoli, 1335 North Front Street Harrisburg, PA 17102	Pennsylvania Chiropractic Society		
Plains Cotton Growers, Inc., 4510 Englewood Lubbock, TX 79414			
Planned Parenthood Fed of America, Inc., 2010 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, 5th Fl. Washington, DC 20036		12,928.74	12,028.74

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Reuben C. Plantico, 500 N.E. Multnomah, #1500 Portland, OR 97232-2045	Nerco, Inc.	2,335.00	254.14
Michael L. Platner, 1220 L Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute	11,240.00	140.91
Jon Piebani, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For:Central South West Corp)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Citicorp)	280.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Electronic Data Systems)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Mesa Petroleum)	160.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:National Assn of Broadcasters)	340.00	
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Tesoro Petroleum)		
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:United Services Automobile Assn)	80.00	
Wyll W. Pieger, 1150 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Brown & Root, Inc.		
Martha Rachel Plotkin, 2300 M Street, NW, #910 Washington, DC 20037	Police Executive Research Forum	1,771.90	16.75
E. R. Plourd, 400 N. Capitol Street, NW, #856 Washington, DC 20001	United Transportation Union	2,500.00	
Margaret B. Podlich, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Center for Marine Conservation		136.65
Rebecca S. Poe, P.O. Box 2450 Clarksburg, WV 26302-2450	CNG Transmission Corp	500.00	1,421.89
Kraege Polann, 1315 Nueces Austin, TX 78701	Polan-Ingram Advocacy Group (For:Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corp)	1,250.00	281.67
Thomas C. Polgar, 1875 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1225 Washington, DC 20006	Paramount Communications, Inc.	3,750.00	278.38
Policy Consulting Services, Inc., 1707 L Street, NW, #725 Washington, DC 20036	Nissan Motor Company, Ltd.		
Do	Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corp, U.S.A.		
Do	Nissan North America, Inc.		
Michele Pollak, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	786.73	1,108.01
Alfred M. Pollard, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Savings & Community Bankers of America	21,250.00	260.25
Thomas B. Pollard Jr., P.O. Drawer 2426 Columbia, SC 29202	Nexsen Pruet Jacobs & Pollard (For:Greenwood Development Corp)		4,995.97
Kris D. Polly, 3800 North Fairfax Drive, Suite 4 Arlington, VA 22203	National Water Resources Assn	3,125.00	
James J. Popham, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc.	1,000.00	
Joseph V. Popolo Jr., 1600 Wilson Boulevard, #807 Arlington, VA 22209	Roadway Services, Inc.		
J. Craig Potter, 1850 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	McDermott Will & Emery		
John Pottridge, 400 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Professional Insurance Agents		
Beth Powell, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Health Care Assn	12,000.00	725.27
Robert J. Powers, 101 Constitution Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	8,076.96	351.82
David J. Pratt, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		55.00
Andrew J. Prazuch, 1400 Eye Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	American Immigration Lawyers Assn	5,677.87	
Premark International, Inc., 1717 Deerfield Road Deerfield, IL 60015		4,000.00	4,000.00
Preston Gates Ellis Rouvelas & Meeds, 1735 New York Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	American Fisheries Coalition		
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Do	American President Lines	5,880.00	
Do	ASARCO, Inc.		
Do	Bay Ship Management		
Do	Bellingham Cold Storage		
Do	Brown Forman Corp		
Do	Burlington Northern Railroad Co		
Do	Business Software Alliance	2,385.00	
Do	Calista Corp		
Do	Computer Systems Policy Project	225.00	
Do	Council on Research & Technology	675.00	
Do	Delta Queen Steamboat Company	607.50	
Do	Dynasty Cruise Line, Inc.		
Do	Empire Cruise Line Ltd.		
Do	ENVIROTIRE, Inc.		
Do	Hewlett-Packard Co		
Do	Intelsat		
Do	Intermodal Association of North America		
Do	Kyokuyo Co, Ltd.	7,713.57	
Do	Marine Resources Company International		
Do	Maruha Corporation	7,113.57	
Do	Microsoft Corp	3,375.00	
Do	Mormac Marine Group, Inc/Mormac Marine Transport, Inc		
Do	National Council on Compensation Insurance		
Do	Nichiro Corp	7,713.57	
Do	Nissui Shipping Corp	7,713.57	
Do	OMI Corp	1,862.00	
Do	Pacific Medical Center		
Do	Pitney Bowes		
Do	Port of Seattle		
Do	Printing Industries of America		
Do	Rhone Poulenc, Inc.		
Do	Rokuchu Marine Corp	1,990.54	
Do	Software Publishers Association		
Do	Sunmar Shipping, Inc.		
Do	Transportation Institute		
Do	Tri-City Industrial Development Council		
Do	University of Washington		
Do	Westinghouse Electric Company		
Do	Chrysler Corporation		
Do	DuPont Co, et al.		
Do	General Electric Co		
Do	Investment Company Institute		
Do	Entergy Services, Inc.	1,050.00	66.15
Do	National Wildlife Federation	200.88	
Do	National Solid Waste Management Assn	500.00	
Do	Foster-Miller, Inc.	6,267.00	322.00
Do	Rockwell International Corp	1,875.00	208.68
Do	Kansas City Southern Industries, Inc.	2,000.00	
Do			
Do	American President Companies, Ltd.	11,874.00	
Do	Texaco, Inc.		
Do	Atlantic Richfield Co	250.00	
Do	Grumman Corporation	500.00	
Do		63,075.00	68,175.00
Do		86,921.24	29,045.96
Do			180.00
Do	Hillwood Development Corp	2,400.00	69.07
Do	Southwest Airlines Co	4,800.00	95.53
Do	Advanced Micro Devices	7,500.00	
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn	25,000.00	
Do	American Trucking Assns, Inc.	15,000.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Co, Inc.	30,000.00	
Do	Beneficial Management Corp	30,000.00	
Do	Blue Cross Blue Shield Assn	30,000.00	
Do	Boston Capital Partners, Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	G-Tech Corporation	31,500.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson	10,000.00	
Do	Metalgesellschaft Corp	30,000.00	
Do	Mexican Department of Commerce & Finance	70,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores	24,999.00	
Do	Southwest Airlines	9,000.00	
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:Republic of Azerbaijan)		
Do	American Electronics Assn		
Do	Manville Corporation	500.00	
Do	American Portland Cement Alliance	8,000.00	277.34
Do	Printing Industries of America, Inc.	2,500.00	
Do	Florida Power Corp	4,894.00	1,993.00
Do	Florida Progress Corp	1,088.00	437.00
Do	Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO		
Charles R. Pucie Jr., 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20036			
Theresa Pugh, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703			
David E. Pullen, 1625 K Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20006			
Brenda Pulley, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005			
Thomas W. Purcell, 100 Daingerfield Road Alexandria, VA 22314			
Sue P. Purvis, P.O. Box 14042 St. Petersburg, FL 33733			
Do			
Earle W. Putnam, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Susan Putnam, 1301 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	IBM	1,104.70	251.02
Howard Pyle III, 1050 17th Street, NW, #1250 Washington, DC 20036	Houston Industries, Inc.	8,000.00	
Robert N. Pyle & Associates, P.O. Box 3731 Washington, DC 20007	Elkem Metals Company	4,250.00	
Do	Independent Bakers Assn	3,000.00	
Do	Strator	3,000.00	260.00
Do	Welch Foods, Inc.	3,750.00	
PFL Life Insurance Company, 9151 Grapevine Highway North Richland Hills, TX 76180-5605		937.50	3,037.50
PHP Healthcare Corp, 4900 Seminary Road, 12th Floor Alexandria, VA 22005			33,694.08
Ward L. Quaal, 401 North Michigan Ave Chicago, IL 60611	Ward L. Quaal Company		
Quaker Oats Company, 321 North Clark Street Chicago, IL 60610			3,432.98
Harold P. Quinn Jr., 1130 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Coal Assn	9,700.00	
John E. Quinn, 11 Beacon Street, #415 Boston, MA 02108	American Petroleum Institute	1,500.00	
Patrick H. Quinn, 1913 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Chemical Specialties Manufacturers Assn	2,000.00	
Earl C. Quist, 1850 M Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc.		
Mark J. Raabe, 601 Pennsylvania Ave., NW North Building, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20004	Merck & Co, Inc.	1,500.00	500.00
Glenn S. Rabin, 1801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	MCI Communications Corp	1,000.00	
Alex Radin, 1200 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #311 Washington, DC 20036	Tennessee Valley Public Power Assn	343.75	
Do	Radin & Associates, Inc. (For Washington Public Utility Districts Assn)	1,218.75	
Radio-Television News Directors Assn, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #615 Washington, DC 20036		2,500.00	
Zvi Rafiah, Asia house 4 Weizman Street Tel Aviv, 64239 Israel	Rabintex Industries, Ltd.		
Do	Rafael Armament Development Authority	4,500.00	4,060.00
Do	TAAS, Israeli Industries LTD (IMI)	4,950.00	1,664.00
Do	Urban Industries LTD		
Timothy L. Raftis, 6410 Rockledge Drive, Suite 203 Bethesda, MD 20814	American Society of Hematology	500.00	130.00
Do	Association of American Cancer Institutes	2,000.00	348.50
Do	Friends of the NIDCD	600.00	128.75
Do	P/C Advisors, Inc.	1,500.00	354.20
Do	Washington Center for Internships		
Ragan & Mason, 1156 15th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Savings & Community Bankers of America		
Thomas F. Rallsback, 2000 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Graham & James (For Ameritech, et al.)		
Do	Graham & James (For Attorneys' Title Guaranty Fund, Inc.)	5,100.00	
Do	Graham & James (For R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company)		
Do	Graham & James (For English Bay Corp)		
Do	Graham & James (For Federal Judges Association)		
Do	Graham & James (For Federal Magistrate Judges' Assn)		
Do	Graham & James (For Milk Specialties Co)		
Do			
Railway Progress Institute, 700 North Fairfax St. Alexandria, VA 22314	Genzyme Corp	1,625.00	1,824.67
Lisa J. Raines, 1020 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Independent Insurers	2,250.00	
Jack Ramirez, 499 South Capitol Street, SW, Suite 401 Washington, DC 20003	Automotive Service Assn	30.00	
Donald A. Randall, 321 D Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Independent Dairy-Foods Assn	398.48	
Do	Transportation-Communications Union	1,000.00	
Howard W. Randolph Jr., 815 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20005	Association of Container Reconditioners	2,065.00	200.00
Paul W. Rankin, 8401 Corporate Drive, #425 Landover, MD 20785	Norfolk Southern Corp		
Magda A. Ratajski, Norfolk Southern Corporation Three Commercial Place Norfolk, VA 23510-2191	American Forest & Paper Assn		
John W. Rauber Jr., 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Ashtand Oil, Inc.	2,000.00	
G. David Ravencraft, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	American Boiler Manufacturers Assn, Inc.	30.00	50.00
William Randall Rawson, 950 N. Glebe Road, #150 Arlington, VA 22203-1824	ABB Traction, Inc.	600.75	
Bruce A. Ray, Bruce Ray & Company 636 A Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Bayley Seton Hospital	14,134.19	
Do	Lutheran Medical Center	11,436.42	
Do	Pegasus Foods, Inc.	3,995.11	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	500.00	45.00
John K. Rayburn, 1801 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Mutual of Omaha Companies	300.00	
Helene Rayder, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Ebasco Services, Inc.	3,379.00	669.00
David A. Raymond, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1014 Washington, DC 20036	International Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen	3,000.00	123.00
Joanna E. Reagan, 815 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Advertising Federation		
Clark E. Rector Jr., 1101 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite #500 Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Retail Druggists	700.00	150.00
John M. Rector, 205 Dainfield Rd. Alexandria, VA 22314	American Assn of Retired Persons	749.87	48.00
Donald L. Redfoot, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	Rohm & Haas Company		
Jermine Reed, 1667 K Street, NW, #210 Washington, DC 20006	American Assn of Retired Persons	912.49	56.00
Jo Reed, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	National Fed of Independent Business (NFIB)	3,401.00	200.00
Mary Reed, 600 Maryland Ave., Sw, #700 Washington, DC 20024	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	84.00
Michael L. Reed, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Certified Color Manufacturers Assn		
Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, 1200 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Cincinnati Gas & Electric		
Do	CAFRI		
Do	Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.		
Do	High Speed Rail Assn	8,300.00	321.30
Do	Paging Network, Inc.	34,495.00	34,938.45
Do	Portland Cement		
Do	Radio-Television News Directors Assn	5,000.00	
Do	University of Cincinnati		
Do	Waste Management, Inc.		
Robert K. Reeg, 1420 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	National Society of Professional Engineers	1,250.00	
Joseph M. Rees, 1000 Potomac Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20007	Songwriters Guild of America		
Robert S. Reese Jr., 1341 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Philipp Morris Management Corp	3,000.00	585.87
Reese Communications Companies, Inc, 3050 K St., NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Philipp Morris, USA		
J. Ronald Reeves, 2345 Crystal Drive Arlington, VA 22227	U.S. Air, Inc.	2,000.00	137.50
R. Brent Regan, 1667 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Southwestern Bell Corp	15,000.00	66.44
Timothy J. Regan, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Corning, Inc.	4,000.00	1,384.82
Regional Airline Association, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036		6,732.00	2,150.00
Regional Commerce & Growth Assn, 1021 Kingway, #6 Cape Girardeau, MO 63701		18,493.94	18,887.27
David K. Rehr, 1100 South Washington Street, 1st Floor Alexandria, VA 22314-4494	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	3,500.00	501.81
Law Offices of Paul S. Reichler, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006	Democracy & Dignity Foundation	4,633.16	5,015.53
Do	Embassy of the Republic of Uganda		112.53
Do	Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia		
Do	Republic of Guyana		3,512.38
Do	Republic of Nicaragua	16,823.64	3,544.79
Do	Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic		563.31
Do	Supreme Court of Justice of the Republic of Guatemala		458.38
Do	United Coconut Assn of the Philippines		
Do	United Front for Multiparty Democracy (Malawi)		0.23
Do	United Republic of Tanzania		10.60
Reid & Priest, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Edison Electric Institute		
Do	Kabi Pharmacia, Inc.	3,083.25	106.72
Do	Minnesota Power	1,344.00	59.07
Do	MDU Resources Group, Inc.		
Do	Nishika Corp	6,087.25	364.05
Do	Pride Refining, Inc.		
Do	Tucson Electric & Power Co	2,710.00	
Do	United Illuminating Company	2,725.00	
Do	Digital Equipment Corp	25,000.00	
Do	Ford Motor Co	2,250.00	652.75
Ronald T. Reiling, 111 Powdermill Road Maynard, MA 01754	National Employee Benefits Institute		
Burke G. Reilly, 1350 I Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Assn	500.00	14.00
Reinhart Boerner Van Deuren Norris & Rieselbach, 2445 M Street, NW, Suite 410 Washington, DC 20037	Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries, Inc.	11,000.00	228.84
Reinsurance Assn of America, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., #900 Washington, DC 20004		1,399,400.00	265,630.05
Christine W. Reiter, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Associated Builders and Contractors	2,500.00	
Mark Reiter, 1325 G Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Association of American Publishers	6,500.00	103.93
Renewable Fuels Assn, One Massachusetts Ave., NW, #820 Washington, DC 20002	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	7,580.00	
Julia Renjilian, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
Diane Rennett, 1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20009	Pestic Waterhouse (For Queen Emma Foundation)		
Judy Rensberger, 2000 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Pepsico, Inc.		1,073.34
Edward Repa, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Coca-Cola Company	100.00	53.65
David M. Repass, 1801 K Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006			
Galen J. Reser, 700 Anderson Hill Road Purchase, NY 10577			
Barclay T. Resler, 800 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 711 Washington, DC 20006			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Resource Management Consultants, Inc. 1212 New York Ave. NW, Suite 345 Washington, DC 20005		13,500.00	
Retired Officers Assn. 201 N. Washington St. Alexandria, VA 22314		127,771.95	182,835.63
Vincent P. Reusing, 1620 L Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	500.00	
Alan V. Reuther, 1757 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Int'l Union, United Auto Aerospace & Agric Implement Workers	26,108.88	317.50
Mark E. Rey, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest Resource Alliance		
Jimmie V. Reyna, 808 17th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20006-3910	Stewart & Stewart		
Gregg M. Reynolds, 1441 Gardiner Lane Louisville, KY 40213	KFC Corp		933.87
Larry D. Rhea, 225 N. Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn	4,200.00	
Frederick W. Rhodes, 1111 Jefferson Davis Highway, #811-E Arlington, VA 22202	K & F Industries		
Do	Loral Corporation	4,250.00	
Jeffrey Ricchetti, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	5,626.00	169.85
James R. Ricciuti, 601 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, North Bldg., #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Merck & Co, Inc	1,500.00	500.00
Grace Ellen Rice, 600 Maryland Ave., SW Washington, DC 20024	American Farm Bureau Federation	9,750.00	48.57
James E. Rich Jr., 1401 Eye Street, NW, #1030 Washington, DC 20005	Shell Oil Co	500.00	
Allen Richard, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #202W Washington, DC 20024	Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America	5,541.90	337.51
Alan H. Richardson, 2301 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037	American Public Power Assn	3,500.00	
Donna Rae Richardson, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses' Assn	6,750.00	
John C. Richardson, 101 Park Avenue New York, NY 10178	Morgan Lewis & Bockius (For Underwriters at Lloyd's London)		
John G. Richardson, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036		625.00	4,432.62
Paige Richardson, 2000 K Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Southern Company Services, Inc	2,135.00	
Max Richman, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	28,495.00	15.19
James G. Rickards, 600 Steamboat Road Greenwich, CT 06830-7149	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare		2,000.00
Robert G. Rickles, 3350 Peachtree Road, NE Atlanta, GA 30326	Greenwich Capital Markets, Inc	420.00	1,222.44
Lowell J. Ridgeway, North Dakota Petroleum Council P.O. Box 1395 Bismarck, ND 58502	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Georgia		
E. George Riedel, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #3000 Arlington, VA 22209	American Petroleum Institute	1,000.00	50.00
Francis J. Rienzo, 1455 F Street, NW, Suite 450 Washington, DC 20005	ITT Defense Technology Corp	10,000.00	
Gina J. Rigby-LaDonne, 1901 North Moore Street, Suite 1100 Arlington, VA 22209	Upjohn Company	378.00	360.21
Michael R. Rixsen, 2706 Davis Ave., Alexandria, VA 22302	Gas Appliance Manufacturers Assn	2,025.00	151.12
Dawn Riley R., 1100 17th Street, NW, #505 Washington, DC 20036	Harris Corporation	800.00	
Karen Rindge, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-2266	Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Assn	599.45	
Russell C. Ring, 1700 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	National Wildlife Federation	300.00	
Joan D. Ringel, 511 15th Street, Suite 210 Denver, CO 80202-4227	Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co	125.00	250.00
Carol A. Risher, 1718 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20009-1148			
Mark R. Riso, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Association of American Publishers	4,000.00	
Edward W. Rissing, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Mining Congress		
William R. Ritz, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Edison Electric Institute		
Valentin J. Riva, 501 School Street, SW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20024-2713	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	3,385.00	
Ivette E. Rivera, 412 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Road & Transportation Builders Assn	5,000.00	500.00
Andrew W. Robert, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	National Automobile Dealers Assn	5,000.00	
Wade H. Robert, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	Edison Electric Institute	681.96	762.77
Carole T. Roberts, 901 15th Street, NW, #520 Washington, DC 20005	United Technologies Corp	5,001.00	
David Gwyn Roberts, 411 Fayetteville Street Mail Raleigh, NC 27601	Travelers Companies	2,600.00	
Glenn Roberts, 1620 I Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Carolina Power & Light Company	1,221.00	3,597.00
Do	American Spice Trade Association		
Do	Flavor and Extract Manufacturers Assn	31.00	4.00
Do	Fragrance Materials Assn	31.00	4.00
Perry A. Roberts, 8000 W. Florissant St. Louis, MO 63136	International Assn of Color Manufacturers		
Roselee N. Roberts, 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Emerson Electric Co		711.16
William J. Roberts, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1016 Washington, DC 20009	McDonnell Douglas Corp		
Rebecca Roberts-Malamis, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20001	Environmental Defense Fund	15,750.00	300.00
Steve A. Robertson, 1608 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Chubb Corporation	5,000.00	139.60
Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciresi, 1801 K Street, N.W., #1200 Washington, DC 20006	American Legion	11,791.00	198.13
Do	Crystal Cruises, Inc	2,320.00	21.00
Do	International Group of P&I Clubs		
Do	National Assn of Wheat Growers	6,530.30	1,826.05
Do	Polaris Industries, L.P.	2,370.00	
Do			
Do	U.S. Wheat Gluten Assn	1,045.00	
Davis R. Robinson, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20009	LeBoeuf Lamb Leiby & MacRae (For Feibel-Garek)		
Gail Robinson, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	210.00	
H. Alexander Robinson, 122 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union		
Kenneth L. Robinson, 3138 North 10th Street Arlington, VA 22201	National Assn of Federal Credit Unions		
Nancy J. Robinson, 7509 Tiffany Spgs. Pkwy. Kansas City, MO 64190-1402	Livestock Marketing Association	16,200.00	780.00
Peter D. Robinson, 1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For American Cyanamid Co, Inc)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Blue Cross of Western Pennsylvania)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Case Management Society)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Natural Disaster Coalition)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Natural Gas Vehicles Coalition)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Unisys Corp)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Utilities Telecommunication Council)		
Robinson Lake Lerer & Montgomery, 1667 K St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	American International Group, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Central Valley Project Water Association		
Do	Commission on Self-Determination		
Do	CALCOT, Ltd		
Do	Ingersoll-Rand	2,000.00	
Do	Mesa Limited Partnership		
Do	Napa Flood Control and Water Conservation District		
Do	National Venture Capital Association		
Do	New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX)		
Do	Sun-Diamond Growers of California	1,500.00	
Do	United States Banknote Corp		
Peggy Rochette, 1825 Samuel Morse Drive Reston, VA 22090	National Grocers Assn	300.00	
James Anthony Rock, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., #530 Washington, DC 20004-2514	Montana Power Co, et al.	2,500.00	413.95
James W. Rock, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #560 Washington, DC 20004	American Resort Development Assn	3,000.00	
Michael A. Rock, 555 13th Street, NW, Suite 450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Union Pacific Corp	10,500.00	108.00
David B. Rockland, 1705 DeSales Street, NW 8th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Times Mirror Magazines, Inc		
Quincy Rodgers, 1899 L Street, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	General Instrument Corporation	1,500.00	
Raymond Rodriguez, P.O. Box 982 El Paso, TX 79960	El Paso Electric Co		
Edward M. Rogers Jr., P.O. Box 960 Yazoo City, MS 39194	American Maritime Congress	15,000.00	42.00
Do	American Rice, Inc	15,000.00	66.00
Do	CBS, Inc	15,000.00	22.00
Do	Primerica Financial Services		
Kevin Rogers, 1635 Sunset Avenue, SW Seattle, WA 98116	Washington Citizens for World Trade		
Margaret Rogers, 1775 Eye Street, NW, #575 Washington, DC 20006	Dow Chemical Co	500.00	6,978.00
Robert G. Rogers, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 720 Washington, DC 20004	Siemens Corp		
Rogers & Wells, 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Express Co		
Do	Canadian Pulp and Paper Association		
Do	Canadian Steel Industry Council	360.00	567.21
Do	Defasco, Inc		
Do	Dreyfus Corporation	4,500.00	132.64
Do	Investment Program Assn	2,500.00	
Do	Italian Trade Commission		
Do	Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate		
Do	Major League Baseball Players Assn	3,230.00	228.42
Do	National Assn of Beverage Importers		
Do	National Automobile Dealers Assn		
Do	Onard Refinery		
Do	Republic National Bank		
Do	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey		
Do	RPM Securities, Inc	18,000.00	84.00
Do	Shearson Lehman Brothers, Inc		
Do	Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America, Inc		
Richard A. Rohrbach, 1615 M Street, NW, #570 Washington, DC 20036	Boise Cascade Corp	34,200.00	
Frank G. Rohrbough, 201 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Retired Officers Assn	3,000.00	
Ian M. Rolland, 1300 South Clinton Street Fort Wayne, IN 46801	Lincoln National Corp	900.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Jackie Rollins, 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Overseas Education Assn, Inc		
George L. Rolofson, P.O. Box 18300 Greensboro, NC 27419	CIBA-GEIGY Corp	4,755.00	1,319.11
Dennis G. Romano, 1000 Wilson Boulevard, #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Gruddman Corp	625.00	292.24
Francis P. Rooney, 1400 L Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Biscuit & Cracker Mfgs Assn		
J. Patrick Rooney, 7440 Woodland Drive Indianapolis, IN 46278	Golden Rule Insurance Company		1,925.07
Ropes & Gray, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Cabot Corp		
Do	Enron Corp		
Do	Industrial Development Authority of Ireland		
Do	National Food Brokers Assn		
James C. Rosapepe, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc (For H&R Block, Inc)	1,284.00	33.50
Do	Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc (For Interim Services, Inc)		
Rosapepe & Spanos, Inc, 1331 H Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	H&R Block, Inc	9,750.00	4,300.24
Do	Interim Services, Inc		
Clifton Peter Rose, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Goldman Sachs & Co	2,000.00	
Leslie Rose, 1129 20th St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Rose Communications, Inc, 901 15th Street, NW, #570 Washington, DC 20005	Ad Hoc Coalition on Fuel Cells for Transportation	10,170.00	10,170.00
Do	Johnson Matthey, Inc	1,600.00	
Burt E. Rosen, 655 15th Street, NW, Suite 410 Washington, DC 20005	SmithKline Beecham Corp	2,500.00	600.00
Hilary Rosen, 1020 19th St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Recording Industry Assn of America	1,500.00	
Lester L. Rosen, 7 Fulham Court Silver Spring, MD 20902	Miles, Inc		
Robert M. Rosenberg, 8100 Oak Street, Dunn Loring, VA 22027	National Pest Control Assn		
Herb Rosenbleth, 1811 R Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	Jewish War Veterans of the USA		
Irene Rosenthal, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn	14,122.92	17.00
Roger C. Rosenthal, 2001 S St., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20009	Migrant Legal Action Program, Inc	4,000.00	
John J. Ross, Atticus Consulting, 56 West Main Street, P.O. Box 1143 Freehold, NJ 07728	American Petroleum Institute	1,326.50	
William F. Ross, South Carolina Petroleum Council 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-8	American Petroleum Institute	438.00	961.32
Ross & Hardies, 888 16th Street, NW, 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20006	Air Courier Conference of America	3,587.50	
Joseph L. Rosso, 430 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Trucking Assns, Inc	9,000.00	
Roth VanAmberg Gross Rogers & Ortiz, P.O. Box 1447 Santa Fe, NM 87504-1447	Pueblo de Cochiti	6,019.00	3,130.72
John C. Rother, 1909 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	1,943.51	
Lauren J. Rothfarb, 1126 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Int'l Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine...	13,400.00	354.50
Linda Rothleder, 315 Bonifant Road Silver Spring, MD 20904	Marconi Electronics, Inc, et al.	3,000.00	1,050.95
Do	Ralwin Pacific Properties, Inc, et al.		
Edwin Rothschild, 1120 19th Street, NW Suite 630 Washington, DC 20036	Citizen Action Fund	450.00	55.00
Robert G. Rothstein, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	Interstate Truckload Carriers Conference	700.00	350.00
Karen Rotterman, P.O. Box 99667 Raleigh, NC 27624	Rotterman & Associates (For Genentech)		
Donald D. Rounds, South Dakota Petroleum Council 222 E. Capitol, #16 Pierre, SD 57501	American Petroleum Institute		
Michael O. Roush, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business	4,875.00	300.00
Deborah Rowell, 1101 Sixteenth Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		10.00
Lori Groves Rowley, 1025 Connecticut Ave, NW, #1014 Washington, DC 20036	Enserch Corp	3,032.00	2,583.32
P. Norman Roy, P.O. Box 1938 (10 Madison Ave) Morristown, NJ 07962-1938	Financial Executives Institute		500.00
Robert S. Royer, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Brunswick Bank & Trust Company		
Do	Citizens Savings Bank		
Do	Financial Security Assurance		
Do	International Futures Exchange		
Do	Intex Holdings (Bermuda) Ltd		
Do	Long Island Savings Bank		
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc		
Do	Michigan Trade Exchange		
Do	Municipal Finance Industry Assn		
Do	Philip J. Scutieri		
Royer & Babyak, 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	John Nuveen & Co, Inc		
David R. Rozier Jr., 333 Piedmont Avenue Atlanta, GA 30308	Georgia Power Company	20,478.82	6,922.70
T. Peter Ruane, 501 School Street, SW, #800 Washington, DC 20024-2713	American Road & Transportation Builders Assn	5,000.00	500.00
Eldon Rudd, P.O. Box 873 Scottsdale, AZ 85252	Central Arizona Project Assn		
Rudder-Finn, Inc, 1615 M Street, NW, Suite 220 Washington, DC 20036	Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina		
Robert E. Ruddy, 9106 Drumaldray Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Mortgage Insurance Companies of America	4,500.00	251.80
Paul M. Ruden, P.O. Box 23992 Washington, DC 20092	American Soc of Travel Agents		
Ruder Finn, Inc, 1615 M Street, NW, #220 Washington, DC 20036	Republic of Croatia, Washington Office		
Deborah K. Rudolph, 1828 L Street, NW, #1202 Washington, DC 20036	Institute of Electrical & Electronics Engineers	2,500.00	1,205.00
Gregory Ruehle, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004	National Cattlemen's Assn	1,000.00	
Henry C. Rueppler, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Bankers Assn	5,000.00	
Nicholas L. Ruggieri, 3 Bethesda Metro Cir., #700 Bethesda, MD 20814	Serono Laboratories	1,000.00	225.00
John Runyan, 100 Daingerfield Rd, Alexandria, VA 22314	Printing Industries of America, Inc	1,000.00	
Robert A. Rusch, 412 First Street, SE, #300 Washington, DC 20003	Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc	42,869.00	
Charlotte Rush, 1401 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Mastercard International, Inc		
Tonda F. Rush, 1627 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006-1790	National Newspaper Association		
Robert Rusis, 15 Mountain View Road Warren, NJ 07061	Chubb Corporation		
Glenn S. Ruskin, 444 Saw Mill River Road Ardsley, NY 10022-699	CIBA-GEIGY Corp	4,375.00	28.48
Barry Russell, 1101 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		60.00
Judith L. Russell, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co	500.00	
Randall M. Russell, 1919 S. Eads Street #103 Arlington, VA 22202-3028	Leshner & Russell, Inc		
Richard M. Russell, 444 North Capitol Street Hall of States, Suite 326 Washington, DC 20001	Assn of California Water Agencies	400.00	47.02
Shannon M. Russell, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Ashland Oil, Inc	2,000.00	
Diann Rust-Tierney, 122 Maryland Ave, Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union	1,000.00	
Wally Rustad, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	125.00	
Herman Max Ruth 71990-158, Mail Box 129 3150 Horton Road Fort Worth, TX 76119			
J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc, 1301 N. Courthouse Rd., #1802 Arlington, VA 22201	American College of Radiology	1,700.00	801.20
Do	American Optometric Assn	1,300.00	702.50
Do	American Society for Medical Technology	600.00	127.50
Frank Ryan, 9420 Annapolis Road, #307 Lanham, MD 20706	Greater Wash/MD Service Station & Automotive Repair Assn	100.00	
John G. Ryan, 655 15th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20005	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	1,000.00	
Paul D. Ryan, 750 17th Street, NW, #901 Washington, DC 20006	Nissan North America, Inc	8,775.00	13,576.46
RJR Nabisco, Inc, 1301 Avenue of the Americas New York, NY 10019			338.37
G. J. Thomas Sadler Jr., 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	WMX Technology & Services, Inc	4,246.00	834.79
Susan L. Sadler, 2626 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	National Telephone Cooperative Assn	5,000.00	
Lee Becker Salamone, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 1290 Washington, DC 20005	American Bakers Assn		
Stephen Sale, 910 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Fehrenbacher Sale Quinn & Deese (For CSC Credit Services, Inc)		
R. Gerard Salemm, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036	McCaw Cellular Communications, Inc	15,000.00	10,442.00
Frank Max Salinger, 650 Naamans Road Claymont, DE 19703	ADVANTA Corp	3,000.00	2,500.00
Scott R. Salmon, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #510 Washington, DC 20004	USX Corp		
Shannon Salmon, 1350 Eye Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20005	Johnson & Johnson	500.00	35.00
Joel Saltzman, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute	1,300.00	133.54
Sammons Enterprises, Inc, 300 Crescent Court Dallas, TX 75201			
Wendy B. Samuel, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Savings and Community Bankers of America		
William Samuel, 900 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	United Mine Workers of America	13,249.98	201.30
Charles A. Samuels, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Mintz Levin Cohn Ferris Glovsky and Popeo, P.C. (For Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers)		
Sheldon W. Samuels, 815 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			120.00
Felix R. Sanchez, 3625 R Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	American Methanol Institute	2,000.00	397.00
Petronella C. Sanders, 1200 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Business Aircraft Assn	500.00	
Rose Marie Sanders, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	900.00	166.00
Stuart A. Sanderson, 1920 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
Julie Sanderson-Austin, 4240 Brittany Court Woodbridge, VA 22192	American Group Practice Assn		
Stephen E. Sandherr, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America	4,000.00	500.00
Mike Sandifer, 2419 Chain Bridge Road, NW Washington, DC 20016	American Telemarketing Assn	1,732.50	417.82
Charles E. Sandier, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Petroleum Institute	6,000.00	
Peter G. Sandlund, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 602 Washington, DC 20036	Council of European & Japanese National Shipowners' Assn	300.00	
Leslie Sarasin, 1764 Old Meadow Lane, #350 McLean, VA 22102	American Frozen Food Institute	4,400.00	
Ronald A. Sarasin, 1100 South Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314-4494	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	500.00	
Satellite Broadcasting & Communications Assn, 225 Reinekers Lane, #600 Alexandria, VA 22314			3,561.80
Ernie Satterwhite, 1301 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	IBM		
Klara B. Sauer, 9 Vassar Street Poughkeepsie, NY 12601	Scenic Hudson, Inc		
Albert C. Saunders, 1100 15th St., NW #900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	27.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Mary Jane Saunders, 1801 K Street, NW, #400K Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For Nintendo of America, Inc.)		
Paul R. Savary, 1199 North Fairfax Street, Suite 801 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Association of Truck Stop Operators		
Save Our Children National Alliance, Inc. Collin Creek Crossing P.O. Box 535 Livingston, TX 77351		267.50	1,547.11
Save Our Security, 1331 F Street NW Washington, DC 20004-1171		6,090.00	19,009.99
Savings and Community Bankers of America, 900 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006		51,407.00	94,926.73
Richard N. Sawaya, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Atlantic Richfield Co.		
Victoria V. Schaff, Missouri Electric Utilities 1800 K Street, NW, #1018 Washington, DC 20006	Kansas City Power & Light, et al.	4,756.25	4,507.08
Amy Schaffer, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Harold A. Schaitberger, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	International Assn of Fire Fighters	22,490.45	
Patricia A. Schaub, 1726 M Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036-4502	Pacific Gas & Electric Company	277.40	
Marc J. Scheineson, 1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Bailey & Robinson (For American Cyanamid Co., Inc.)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Oracle Management Services)		
Do	Bailey & Robinson (For Unisys Corp)		
Sam Schertz, P.O. Box 2121 Corpus Christi, TX 78403	Central Power & Light Company		
G. David Schiering, 625 Indiana Avenue, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20004-2901	Taft Stettinius & Hollister (For Special Committee for Health Care Reforms)		
Walter G. Schiller, 1050 17th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc.	22.83	
Jeffrey L. Schlagenhauf, 2550 M Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20037	Smokeless Tobacco Council, Inc.		154.29
Paul Schlegel, 2001 L Street, NW, Suite 304 Washington, DC 20036	Weyerhaeuser Company	1,650.00	
David S. Schless, 1850 M Street, NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20036	National Multi Housing Council		
Terry Schley, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-0001	National Wildlife Federation		
James P. Schlicht, 1350 Eye Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20005-3305	Johnson & Johnson	1,080.00	145.00
Rodger Schlickeisen, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife		
Kenneth D. Schloman, 499 South Capitol, SW, #401 Washington, DC 20003	National Assn of Independent Insurers	400.00	
Richard M. Schmidt Jr., 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Association of American Publishers	500.00	
Do	Career College Assn, Inc.	3,000.00	
Schnader Harrison Segal & Lewis, 1111 19th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	Lafarge Corp	23,952.50	1,956.59
Mahlon C. Schneider, 1000 N.W. 14th Austin, MN 55512	Hormel Foods Corporation		
Richard C. Schneider, 225 N. Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn	4,000.00	
Abraham Schneider, McKewitt Group 1101 16th St. NW, #333 Washington, DC 20036	Kelly Services, Inc.	6,400.00	137.05
Do	PepsiCo, Inc.	9,139.00	114.00
Frank Schreiner, 1957 E St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Associated General Contractors of America		1,202.00
Schnitzer Steel Industries, Inc., 3200 N.W. Yeon Avenue Portland, OR 97210	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For Alton Ochsner Medical Foundation)	3,750.00	
Jan Schoonmaker, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For Coalition of EPSCoR States)	11,250.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For National Assn of Water Companies)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For Tulane University)	6,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For University of Alabama System)	6,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc. (For WINSM Consortium)	12,000.00	
Paul A. Schosberg, 900 19th Street NW Washington, DC 20006	Savings & Community Bankers of America		
Charles G. Schreiber, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	National Guard Assn of the U.S.	8,866.00	592.47
H. B. W. Schroeder, 1016 16th Street, NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Consumers Power Co.	8,000.00	6,998.00
N. Donald Schroeder, Maryland Petroleum Council 60 West St., #403 Annapolis, MD 21401	American Petroleum Institute		
Lynn M. Schubert, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		
Richard F. Schultz, 807 Maine Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	Disabled American Veterans	19,301.52	145.28
Neil D. Schuster, 2120 L Street, NW, #305 Washington, DC 20037	International Bridge Tunnel & Turnpike Assn	1,000.00	
James C. Schwanager, 1156 15th Street, NW, Suite 1015 Washington, DC 20005	J.C. Penney Co., Inc.		
Adam D. Schwartz, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	45.00	
Arthur E. Schwartz, 1420 King St. Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	National Society of Professional Engineers	1,000.00	
Elinor Schwartz, 318 S. Abingdon Street Arlington, VA 22204	Lobel Novins Lamont & Flug (For California State Lands Commission)		
Do	Washington State Department of Natural Resources	1,621.67	7.27
Harry K. Schwartz, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Trust for Historic Preservation	3,910.50	
Michael Schwartz, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #950 Washington, DC 20007	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	12,000.00	208.00
Phillip L. Schwartz, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		
Stephen I. Schwartz, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20002	Tides Foundation	129.91	3,188.28
Richard S. Schweiker, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc.	6,550.00	
Eric M. Schwing, Illinois Department of Nuclear Safety 1035 Outer Park Drive Springfield, IL 62704	Central Midwest Interstate Low-Level Radioactive Waste Comm		30.00
Yael Schy, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Michael C. Sciacca, P.O. Box 10314 Seattle, WA 98110	Washington Oil Marketers Assn		
Sally Sciacca, 777 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Realtors	2,500.00	
Joseph A. Sciarino, 10 Madison Ave., Box 1938 Morristown, NJ 07962-1938	Financial Executives Institute		500.00
Scientific Atlanta, One Technology Parkway Box 105600 Norcross, GA 30092			300.00
William L. Scogland, One IBM Plaza Chicago, IL 60611	Jenner & Block (For Heatherton Staff Leasing, Ltd)		
David A. Scott, 1250 H Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Mobil Corporation	2,000.00	634.40
Ellen Scott, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers International Assn	9,441.25	
Gregory R. Scott, 1341 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	1,237.50	228.79
James L. Scott, 400 N. Capitol Street, NW, #590 Washington, DC 20001	AmHS Institute	11,125.00	291.61
John H. Scott, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
R. Denny Scott, 101 Constitution Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America	715.00	
Scribner Hall & Thompson, 1850 K Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006	California Department of Insurance		
Do	CNA Financial Corp		
Do	Provident Life & Accident Insurance Co		
Do	Security Life of Denver Insurance Co		
Do	Transamerica Corporation		
Kerrill K. Scrivner, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1014 Washington, DC 20036	Enserch Corporation	5,938.00	2,572.26
Michael S. Scrivner, 1300 Eye Street, NW, #250 West Washington, DC 20005	Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities	800.00	935.22
Do	Inouye Gas Transmission Systems	850.00	793.69
Do	J. Makowski Co	600.00	618.33
Do	Mobil Corp	1,100.00	875.75
Do	Pfizer, Inc.	900.00	690.84
Do	RBOC-GAPC Task Force	1,360.00	539.23
Robert T. Scully, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 935 Washington, DC 20002-4241	National Assn of Police Organizations, Inc.	9,230.40	69.50
Timothy Scully, 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	International Brotherhood of Teamsters		
Do	Philip Morris Management Corp		
Murray S. Scureman, 1667 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	Amdahl Corp	1,000.00	
Walter J. Scudzo, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1030 Washington, DC 20005	Shell Oil Co	500.00	
Security Traders Assn, Inc., One World Trade Center, #4511 New York, NY 10048	USAA		9,930.00
Christopher C. Seeger, 655 15th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Outdoor Advertising Assn of America	31,250.00	12,912.00
Ruth L. Segal, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #1210 Washington, DC 20005	American President Companies, Ltd.	1,000.00	128.26
Carl J. Seiberlich, 1101 17th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	American Petroleum Institute		
George H. Seidel Jr., Associated Petroleum Industries of PA P.O. Box 925 Harrisburg, PA 17108	Northwest Airlines, Inc.	10,000.00	100.00
Elliott M. Seiden, 901 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		50.00
Mark K. Seifert, 1101 Sixteenth Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Giant Industries, Inc.		
George M. Seitts, 23733 N. Scottsdale Road Scottsdale, AZ 85255	Federal National Mortgage Assn	2,500.00	19.55
Marisa Senchak, 3900 Wisconsin Ave. NW Washington, DC 20016	NYNEX Government Affairs Company	1,393,824.32	761,828.40
Seniors Coalition, 11166 Main Street, #302 Fairfax, VA 22030	American Israel Public Affairs Comm	8,250.00	1,011.22
W. Edward Senn, 1828 L Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	David Senter & Associates, Inc.	15,330.00	
Wendy Senor, 440 First Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20001			
David Senter, 1901 L Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Alliant Techsystems, Inc.	2,730.00	329.91
David Senter & Associates, Inc., 1901 L Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Heublein, Inc.	17,250.00	4,702.89
Robert A. Seraphin, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #901 Arlington, VA 22202	Enichem America, Inc.		
Peter M. Seremet, 16 Munson Road Farmington, CT 06034-0338	Florida Power & Light Co	3,000.00	3,517.95
Tess Serranti, 350 River Road South, C-1 New Hope, PA 18938	American Soc of Pension Actuaries	15,000.00	25.65
J. Richard Sewell, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #640 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Council of Hawaii Hotels	2,486.25	
Seyfarth Shaw Fairweather & Geraldson, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Twin City Pipe Trades Welfare Trust	8,268.75	233.97
Do	American Petroleum Institute	200.00	
Do	Reinsurance Assn of America		
Thomas A. Shallow, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Pine Waterhouse (For Frank Russell Co)		
James M. Shamberger, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #900 Washington, DC 20004	American Bankers Assn	6,500.00	
James R. Shanahan, 1801 K Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Pine Waterhouse (For Investment Co Institute)		
Deborah L. Shannon, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Pine Waterhouse (For Tenneco, Inc)		
Bernard M. Shapiro, 1801 K Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Natural Gas Supply Assn	395.00	
Do	Cigar Assn of America, Inc.	22,903.02	5,374.31
John Hunter Sharp, 1129 20th St., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036			
Norman F. Sharp, 1100 17th Street, NW, #504 Washington, DC 20036			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Pipe Tobacco Council		
Sharretts Paley Carter & Blauvelt, P.C., 1707 L Street, NW, #725 Washington, DC 20036	Toy Manufacturers of America	1,601.56	1,291.56
Shaw Bransford & O'Rourke, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	PHH Group		
Do	Senior Executives Assn	10,000.00	658.00
Shaw Pittman Potts & Trowbridge, 2300 N Street, NW, #5121 Washington, DC 20037	Atlas Corp	1,930.50	22.72
Do	Edlow International Company		
Do	Embraer Aircraft Corporation		
Do	Emerson Electric Co		
Do	ESCO Electronics Corp		
Do	Institute of International Bankers		29,532.10
Do	Intermountain Health Care, Inc.		
Do	International Small Satellite Organization	1,529.85	34.00
Do	National Automobile Dealers Assn	270.00	8.20
Do	National Marine Manufacturers Assn	9,330.50	185.23
Do	Nuclear Fuel Services, Inc.		
Do	Presbyterian University Hospital		
Do	RJR Nabisco	8,381.85	331.79
Do	Southeastern Star, Inc.		
Do	Spectrum Astro, Inc.	1,825.39	23.00
Do	University of Pittsburgh Medical Center		
Do	Utility Nuclear Waste and Transportation Program		
Do	Vulcan Materials Co	9,073.00	269.23
Do	Waste Management, Inc.		
Do	Workplace Health and Safety Council		
Matthew R. Shay, 1350 New York Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	International Franchise Assn		
Quinlan J. Shea, 1920 N Steet, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress	400.00	50.00
Shea & Gardner, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Societe Generale de Surveillance, S.A.		
James V. Sheahan, 3333 State Bridge Rd, Alpharetta, GA 30202	Siemens Corporation		
P. Scott Shearer, 1600 M Street, NW, #702 Washington, DC 20036	Zeneca, Inc.	12,000.00	949.00
Shearman & Sterling, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20004-2604	Secretariat of Commerce & Ind. Development of Mexico(SECOFI)	416,700.00	157.29
John J. Sheehan, 815 16th St., NW, #706 Washington, DC 20006	United Steelworkers of America	16,852.26	
Mark Sheehan, 1627 K Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	National Newspaper Association		
Shaun M. Sheehan, 1722 Eye Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006	Tribune Broadcasting Co	3,000.00	2,520.01
C. Douglas Shelby, Florida Petroleum Council 215 South Monroe Street, #800 Tallahassee, FL 32301	American Petroleum Institute	105.96	
Jeffrey L. Sheldon, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 1140 Washington, DC 20036	Utilities Telecommunications Council	26.00	
L. Philip Sheldon Jr., 1071 Snapper Dam Road Landisville, PA 17538	Child Protection Lobby	9,000.00	451.94
John E. Shelk, 1600 M Street, NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Hartford Fire Insurance	12,500.00	1,040.00
Zack H. Shelley Jr., 1212 Falster Road Alexandria, VA 22308	Martin Marietta Corp	960.00	
Julian L. Shepard, 1400 16th Street, NW, Suite 610 Washington, DC 20036	Association for Maximum Service Television, Inc	92.00	
Frances R. Shepardson, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 507 Washington, DC 20036	Ashland Oil, Inc.	2,000.00	
Dawn M. Shiley, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturing Assn	500.00	27.00
William Jeffrey Shipp, 50 F St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	Farm Credit Council		
John B. Shlaes, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Global Climate Coalition		
T. V. Shockley III, P.O. Box 660164 Dallas, TX 75266-0164	Central & South West Corp		
Bard D. Shollenberger, 1350 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Lockheed Information Management Services Co, Inc	3,900.00	
Harold A. Shoup, 1899 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Assn of Advertising Agencies	2,500.00	
A. Z. Shows, 1801 Columbia Rd., NW, #203 Washington, DC 20009	Center Energy Corp		
Jennifer M. Shriver, 6200 Oak Tree Blvd, Independence, OH 44131	New York Life Insurance Company		
Walter Shur, 51 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10010	Southwestern Bell Corp	15,000.00	5,345.05
William H. Shute, 1667 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Trinity Industries, Inc.		
Linda S. Sickels, 806 Canal Street Irving, TX 75063	Commonwealth Edison Co		
Sidley & Austin, 1722 Eye Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	Donrey, Inc.	247.24	
Do	W. K. Kellogg Foundation		
David Todd Sidor, One Constitution Square New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1500	New Jersey State Bar Assn		
Susan Siemietkowski, 1601 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Society of American Florists	1,000.00	
William A. Signer, 1625 K Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20006	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Advocates for Flexible Employment)	375.00	
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Alarm Industry Communications Committee (AICC))	1,275.00	62.26
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Committee for Employment Opportunities)	2,000.00	67.99
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Greater New York Hospital Assn)	2,000.00	34.04
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Management Insights)	1,000.00	27.72
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:National Council of Chain Restaurants (NCCRI))	1,000.00	
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:New York Hospital)	1,162.50	15.19
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:PepsiCo, Inc)	2,073.75	129.90
Do	Chambers Associates, Inc (For:Targeted Management Consultants)		
Hilary Silts, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20036	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider)		
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For:OHM Corp)	1,267.50	
Steve Silver, 2300 Clarendon Blvd, #1010 Arlington, VA 22201	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Alaska Loggers Assn)	2,500.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Anchorage School District)		
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:BP America, Inc)	2,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:City of Craig)	2,300.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:City of Kotzebue)	2,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:City of Silverton)	2,000.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Echo Bay Mining Company)		
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Goldbelt)	6,700.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Kennecott Corp)	4,500.00	
Do	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh (For:Municipality of Anchorage)	2,300.00	
Silver Users Assn, Inc, 1730 M St., NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036		1,098.00	1,672.00
Curtis Silvers, 888 16th St., NW, #606 Washington, DC 20006	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Arab Republic of Egypt)	500.00	103.60
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Beirut University College)		
Do	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For:Embassy of El Salvador)	1,000.00	45.00
Do	Bannerman & Associates, Inc (For:Government of the United Arab Emirates)	1,500.00	40.00
Reuben Silvers, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	6,240.00	108.00
Silverstein & Mullens, 1776 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	International Chiropractors Assn	3,000.00	
Do	IEEE	8,000.00	
Do	Life College	4,000.00	
Do	Monrovia Nursery Company	500.00	
Do	National Structured Settlements Trade Assn	14,000.00	
Thomas D. Simpson, 700 N. Fairfax Street, #601 Alexandria, VA 22314	Railway Progress Institute	785.94	
William G. Simpson, 1155 15th St., NW, #504 Washington, DC 20005	Entergy Services, Inc (Mississippi Power & Light Co)	2,000.00	
Do	First Mississippi Corp	2,000.00	
Albert M. Sims, 11006 Hampton Rd, Fairfax Station, VA 22039	Performance Engineering, Inc		
Bonnie J. Singer, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:Prodigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:U.S. Telephone Assn)		
James W. Singer III, 1100 15th Street, NW Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	
Stephen G. Sinke, 1111 19th Street, NW, #408 Washington, DC 20036	Mitsubishi Motors America, Inc		
Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom, 1440 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Air Transport Assn of America		
Do	Akzo America, Inc		
Do	Allied-Signal, Inc	1,000.00	
Do	American International Group, Inc		
Do	Armco, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	Bethlehem Steel Corp	10,000.00	
Do	County of San Joaquin, CA		
Do	Dun & Bradstreet		
Do	Edersheim Maunts/Amstel Hudson Management Corp		
Do	Enron Corporation		
Do	General Mills		
Do	Inland Steel Industries, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	LTV Steel Company, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc		
Do	National Assn of Energy Service Companies		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	National Steel Corp	10,000.00	
Do	Sara Lee Corporation		
Do	Transco Energy Corp		
Do	USX Corp	10,000.00	
Barney J. Skladany Jr., 1250 H Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Mobil Corp	2,500.00	
Linda Arey Skladany, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress	21,000.00	
Sklar Associates, 100 West Linden Street Alexandria, VA 22301	Institute for International Sport		
Lucy M. Skrabut, 655 15th Street, NW, Suite 410 Washington, DC 20005	Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	1,500.00	
Paul A. Skrabut Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #706 Washington, DC 20036	Palumbo & Carrell, Inc (For-American Soc of Composers Authors & Publishers)	7,955.00	45.25
Do	Palumbo & Carrell, Inc (For-Atlantic Richfield Co)	540.00	
Do	Carrell Assoc., Inc (for California Ind Mortgage Brokers...)		
Do	Proctor & Gamble Mfg Co	6,225.00	72.50
Do	Southern California Rapid Transit District		
Dale D. Skupa, 3601 Vincennes Road P.O. Box 68700 Indianapolis, IN 46268	National Assn of Mutual Insurance Cos		
Robert G. Slaughter, 1615 M St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corporation	1,500.00	34.02
Albert J. Slechter, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Chrysler Corporation	4,998.00	605.33
Kirsten A. Sloan, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	724.62	95.00
Kelly Campbell Stone, 1667 K Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	Baxter	6,233.76	33,645.87
Small Business Council of America, Inc, P.O. Box 4299 Columbus, GA 31904	Physician Insurers Assn of America		
Lawrence E. Smarr, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20036	Chlorine Institute, Inc		
Robert G. Smerko, 2001 L St., NW, #506 Washington, DC 20036	Exxon Corporation		
Donald E. Smiley, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc		
C. Douglas Smith, 1850 M St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Xerox Corp	120.00	
Elizabeth M. Smith, 490 L'Enfant Plaza East, SW Suite 4200 Washington, DC 20006	Alabama Power Co	28,258.50	4,015.19
Julian H. Smith Jr., 600 North 18th Street Birmingham, AL 35291	French & Company (For-International Electronics Mfgs & Consumers of America, Inc)	650.00	
Keith H. Smith, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1260 Washington, DC 20004	French & Company (For-Montgomery Ward & Co, Inc)	60.00	
Do	Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co		
Marc Smith, 714 Jackson St. Suite 939 Dallas, TX 75202	New York State Bankers Assn	2,000.00	45.00
Michael E. Smith, P.O. Box 5000 Cleveland, OH 44101	American Assn of Retired Persons	928.10	391.65
Michael P. Smith, 485 Lexington Ave. New York, NY 10017	Textron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Patricia Smith, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	Olin Corporation	7,200.00	1,975.00
Richard F. Smith, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Southern Company Services, Inc		4,279.62
Robert E. Smith, 1730 K St., NW, #1300 Washington, DC 20006	Chocolate Manufacturers Assn of the USA		
Scott Smith, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	American Nuclear Energy Council	5,426.62	804.17
Susan Snyder Smith, 7900 Westpark Drive, #A320 McLean, VA 22102	New England Telephone Co	1,250.00	
Tim Smith, 410 1st St., SE Washington, DC 20003	NYNEX Government Affairs	1,250.00	748.50
Smith & Sowalsky, One State Street, Suite 950 Boston, MA 02109	Children's Hospital & Medical Center	10,000.00	
Do	City of Eugene, Oregon	9,000.00	
Smith Dawson & Andrews, Inc, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #302 Washington, DC 20036	City of Gillespie, IL	6,000.00	
Do	City of Macon	4,500.00	
Do	City of Ontario, California	5,500.00	
Do	City of Springfield, Oregon	1,500.00	
Do	Coalition Advocating State Regulation of Insurance		
Do	Composite Technology Transfer Consortium	20,000.00	
Do	CRASH	6,000.00	5,000.00
Do	Haarmann & Reimer Corp	6,000.00	
Do	Kansas City Transit Authority	6,666.66	
Do	Lane County, Oregon		
Do	Metropolitan Water Reclamation District of Greater Chicago	7,000.00	
Do	N.Y. Metropolitan Transportation Agency	14,000.00	100.00
Do	National Assn of Foreign Trade Zones	3,500.00	150.00
Do	Port of San Francisco	4,500.00	
Do	San Francisco Public Utilities Commission		
Do	American Petroleum Institute	14,834.71	14,834.71
David A. Smitherman, 1012 Fleming Building Des Moines, IA 50309	Defenders of Wildlife	240.00	65.00
Smokeless Tobacco Council, Inc, 2550 M Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20037	Hill & Knowlton, Inc (For-Broward County)	176.87	
Robert B. Smythe, 4807 Wellington Drive Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Hill & Knowlton, Inc (For-Port Everglades Authority)	1,200.00	
William Snape, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn	1,200.00	
Rand Snell, 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Abraham Lincoln Foundation for Public Policy Research	450.00	
Do	Citizens Comm for the Right to Keep & Bear Arms	14,000.00	
David F. Snyder, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Cattlemen's Assn	1,000.00	
John M. Snyder, 2301 South Jefferson Davis Highway, #925 Arlington, VA 22202	National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma	11,277.46	35.47
Do			19,739.09
Alan C. Sobba, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20004	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	3,400.00	250.00
Soble & Associates, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20006	Michigan Hospital Assn	651.92	307.59
Society for Animal Protective Legislation, P.O. Box 3719 Georgetown Station Washington, DC 20007	American Veterinary Medical Assn	18,750.00	8,786.27
Society of Glass & Ceramic Decorators, 888 17th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Solar & Ellis (For-Republic of Mexico Ministry of Commerce & Trade)		
Lisa Sockett, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Christian Ministries, Inc		123.00
Marlene J. Soderstrom, 6215 West St. Joseph Highway Lansing, MI 48917	Eastman Kodak	500.00	58.00
Denise Sofranko, 1101 Vermont Avenue, #710 Washington, DC 20005	American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc	5,000.00	14.00
Software Publishers Assn, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Goldman Sachs & Co	2,000.00	
J. Michael Solar, 1331 Lamar, Suite 1550 Houston, TX 77010	International Fed of Professional & Technical Engineers		
Robert Sinclair Sollars, 1004 North Frederick Road Catonsville, MD 21228	Smith Bucklin & Associates, Inc (For-National Assn of Metal Finishers)	1,337.50	
Patricia F. Solts, 1776 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1050 Washington, DC 20006	Kluhwan, Inc		
Frederick P. Somers, 1383 Piccad Drive P.O. Box 1725 Rockville, MD 20850-0822	Shree Atika, Inc		
Judah C. Sommer, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Western Pioneer, Inc		
James E. Sommerhauser, 8701 Georgia Ave., #701 Silver Spring, MD 20910	McDonnell Douglas Corp		
William A. Sonntag, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Chamber of Commerce		50.00
Sorensen & Edwards, PS, 1201 Third Avenue, #2900 Seattle, WA 98101-3028	Bannerman and Associates, Inc (For-Beirut University College)		
Do	Bannerman & Assoc., Inc (For-Embassy of El Salvador)		
Do	Bannerman and Associates, Inc (For-Government of Egypt)	500.00	88.00
Michele A. Sorenson, 1735 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Suite 1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Bannerman and Associates, Inc (For-Government of U.A.E.)	100.00	32.00
Angela Sorrentino, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062-2000		23,990.79	23,990.79
Tasha Soudah, 888 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			14,000.00
Do	National Volunteer Fire Council		
Do	Baltimore Gas & Electric Co	1,465.97	6,710.42
Southern Forest Products Assn, P.O. Box 641700 Kenner, LA 70064-1700	Capital Counsel, Inc	3,800.00	3,714.49
Southwest Airlines Co, P.O. Box 36611 Dallas, TX 75235-1611	Merck & Co, Inc	1,000.00	250.00
Sparber and Associates, Inc, 1325 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	McAuliffe Kelly & Raffaelli (For-Desert Research Institute)	1,400.00	
John S. Sparkman, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1050d Washington, DC 20004	North American Interstate Weather Modification Council		
James M. Sparling Jr., 1733 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Price Waterhouse (For-Queen Emma Foundation)		
Jonathan B. Spear, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20004	Society of Glass & Ceramic Decorators (SGCD)		
Specialized Carriers & Rigging Assn, Inc, 2750 Prosperity Avenue, #620 Fairfax, VA 22314	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Richard L. Spees, 1341 G Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Aspen-Pitkin County		
Do	City & County of Denver, Director of Aviation		
Do	City of St. Louis Airport Authority		
Do	Former Residents of Centralia Pennsylvania		
Do	Minneapolis/St. Paul Metropolitan Airport Commission		
Do	Northern California Power Agency		
Do	Orange County		
Do	Transmission Access Policy Study Group		
Larry N. Spiller, 1420 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	National Society of Professional Engineers	1,000.00	
William M. Spodak, 1801 K St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Westinghouse Electric Corp	2,500.00	75.00
Richard Spotts, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife	2,320.66	
Lisa M. Sprague, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	2,500.00	
David E. Springer, 1301 K Street, NW, #900 East Tower Washington, DC 20005	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For-American Telephone & Telegraph)	22,500.00	1,320.56

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Jones Interchange)	2,782.50	8.00
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For National Cable Television Assn, Inc)	18,750.00	168.23
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Perrigo Company)	502.50	
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Rocky Mountain Health Maintenance Organization)	5,000.00	148.66
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Telecommunications Industry Assn)	5,000.00	
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Utah Valley Medical Center)	18,814.25	1,904.74
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For Voluntary Hospitals of America, Inc)	1,551.00	23.75
Mark G. Spurrier, 400 Kenilworth Drive Towson, MD 21204	Baltimore County Police Department, et al.		
Squire Sanders & Dempsey, 1201 Pennsylvania Ave., NW P.O. Box 407 Washington, DC 20044	American Soc of Anesthesiologists		
Do	Independent Data Communications Manufacturers Assn	563.00	8.00
Do	Information Technology Association of America		
Do	National Collegiate Athletic Assn	7,436.25	
Janet G. St. Amand, 1225 19th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20036	Financial Services	2,258.00	
Charles A. St. Charles, 808 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006-3910	Stewart & Stewart (For Libbey Glass)	8,273.71	
Do	Stewart & Stewart (For Novus International, Inc)		
Karen A. St. John, 1615 M Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corp	1,200.00	209.34
Vivian Escobar Stack, 2010 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Planned Parenthood Fed of America, Inc	843.35	
Connell Stafford, P.O. Drawer 1734 Atlanta, GA 30301	Coca-Cola Company		
Roger Staiger Jr., 1667 K Street, NW, #450 Washington, DC 20006	Alyeska Pipeline Service Co	2,000.00	1,100.00
Joseph M. Stanton, 1445 New York Avenue, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Public Securities Assn	7,500.00	141.24
Michael J. Stanton, 1620 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn	3,250.00	
Stanton & Associates, 1310 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Gateway Economic Development Corp of Greater Cleveland		
Do	National Assn of Bankruptcy Trustees		
Do	Philip Morris		
Do	University Hospitals of Cleveland		
Mary Murray Staples, P.O. Box 660634 Dallas, TX 75266-0634	Frito-Lay, Inc	3,000.00	5,949.00
Kent D. Starwalt, 501 School Street, SW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20024	American Road & Transportation Builders Assn	500.00	
James D. Staton, 320 Timberbrook Drive Waldorf, MD 20601	Air Force Sergeants Assn, Inc		
Robert E. Staton, P.O. Box 1365 Columbia, SC 29202	Colonial Companies, Inc	9,000.00	
John E. Stauffer, 13307 Vanessa Lane Bowie, MD 20720	American Dietetic Assn	1,000.00	943.02
Julie A. Stauss, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1250 Washington, DC 20005	American Bar Association	400.00	50.00
Rozann M. Stayden, 1800 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-5886	Barnes & Thornburg (For Indiana Glass Company)	1,634.00	
Randolph J. Stayin, 1815 H Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Barnes & Thornburg (For Special Comm for Workplace Product Liability Reform)		
Do	Pennzoil Company	900.00	
Barbara E. Steakley, 1155 15th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	Edison Electric Institute	2,294.19	969.01
Kathryn A. Steckelberg, 701 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Washington, DC 20004-2696	Kmart Corp		
Steele Silcox & Browning, P.C., 1220 19th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	American Health Care Association	17,490.00	
Law Offices of Deborah Steelman, Columbia Square 555 13th Street, NW, #1220 East Washington, DC 20004-1109	American Insurance Assn	9,900.00	16.00
Do	AT&T Life & Casualty	19,467.50	130.46
Do	Johnson & Johnson	12,257.50	32.00
Do	Lockheed Information Management Systems Company	2,425.00	
Do	National Health Labs, Inc	10,597.50	
Do	Pfizer, Inc	11,910.00	66.00
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	13,907.50	53.66
Do	Private Benefits Alliance		
Do	XOMA Corporation	20,000.00	
Allan Stein, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		
Dan Stein, 1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20009	Federation for American Immigration Reform		
Rena Steinzor, 1350 New York Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005-4798	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For American Communities for Cleanup Equity (ACCE))	20,955.00	3,388.16
Do	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For Guam Power Authority)	7,955.00	2,521.27
Anna-Maria Stephens, 1250 Eye Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Mitsubishi Motors America, Inc	360.50	
Jackson T. Stephens, 111 Center Street Little Rock, AR 72201	Stephens Group, Inc		
Michael R. Stephens, 2429 W. Pensacola Ave. Chicago, IL 60618	Norfolk Southern Corp	1,000.00	
R. W. Stephens Jr., 1500 K Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20005	Stephens Group, Inc		
Stephen O. Stephens, P.O. Box 3507 111 Center Street Little Rock, AR 72203			
Stephens Group, Inc, 111 Center Street P.O. Box 3507 Little Rock, AR 72203			
Stephens Overseas Services, Inc, 111 Center Street P.O. Box 3507 Little Rock, AR 72203			
Stephens & Johnson, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Do	Bear Stearns & Co		
Do	Citizens Savings & Financial Corp	5,781.57	
Do	Co-Operative Central Bank		
Do	Coalition to Promote America's Trade		
Do	CSO Company		
Do	Del Webb Corp		
Do	Isolyser Company, Inc		
Do	Mutual Life Insurance Company Tax Committee		
Do	Western Financial	2,496.15	
Do	Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe		
Gary M. Stern, 122 Maryland Ave, NE Washington, DC 20001	American Civil Liberties Union	4,000.00	50.00
Michael Stern, 1317 F Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Investment Company Institute	3,354.39	1,134.07
Seymour Sternberg, 51 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10010	New York Life Insurance Co	600.00	
Steve Israel-David Norman Public Affairs, Inc, 1996 Deer Park Avenue Deer Park, NY 11729	Rosalind & Joseph Gurwin Jewish Geriatric Center of Long Isl	3,000.00	
Do	Touro Law Center	4,250.00	
Michael E. Steward, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #530 Washington, DC 20004-2514	Puget Sound Power & Light Co	1,198.00	319.46
Eugene L. Stewart, 808 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006-3910	Floral Trade Council		
Do	Monsanto Co		
Do	Timken Co		
Jessica Stewart, 1350 New York Avenue Washington, DC 20005	Spiegel & McDiarmid (For Michigan Municipal/Cooperative Group)		
Robert B. Stewart, 1120 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	5,363.00	
Terence P. Stewart, 808 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006-3910	Floral Trade Council	150.00	52.50
Do	Georgetown Railroad Co, et al.		
Do	Stewart & Stewart (For Hudson Industries Corp)		
Do	Stewart & Stewart (For Libbey Glass)	45,056.11	26,868.55
Do	Monsanto Co		
Do	Novus International, Inc		
Do	PPG Industries, Inc		
Do	Smith Corona Corp		
Do	Stewart and Stewart		887.20
Do	Timken Co	3,154.15	719.74
Do	Torrington Company	3,154.15	719.74
Don Stillman, 1757 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Int'l Union, United Auto Aerospace & Agric Implement Workers	2,386.20	15.00
Lee J. Stillwell, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	750.00	
Bonny S. Stilwell, 3803 Densmore Ct. Alexandria, VA 22309	National Vietnam Veterans Coalition	3,250.00	1,459.87
Edward W. Stimpson, Suite 801 1400 K St., NW Washington, DC 20005	General Aviation Manufacturers Association	2,631.00	
Neal Stine, 1667 K Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	Baxter		
Caroline Stinebower, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, #700 Washington, DC 20024	National Fed of Independent Business	3,401.00	200.00
Kenneth F. Stinger, 2200 Mill Rd Alexandria, VA 22314	American Trucking Assns, Inc	9,000.00	
Heidi A. Stirk, 1725 Jefferson Davis Hwy, #601 Arlington, VA 22202-3585	Litton Industries	2,000.00	1,895.56
John J. Stocker, 4301 North Fairfax Drive, NW, Suite 1140 Washington, DC 20036	Associated General Contractors of America	2,000.00	500.00
Sean A. Stokes, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Shipbuilders Council of America	3,300.00	
Elizabeth A. Stolpe, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20005	Utilities Telecommunications Council	322.00	
Robin E. Stomble, 1640 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, 1st Floor Washington, DC 20007	Koch Industries, Inc	4,500.00	694.21
John C. Stone, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	American College of Surgeons		100.31
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For Parsons Brinckerhoff)	2,500.00	
Floyd E. Stoner, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For WINSM Consortium)	12,000.00	
Sam E. Story Jr., 1700 N. Moore Street, #1600 Arlington, VA 22209	American Bankers Assn	9,000.00	
Anna Stout, 122 C Street, NW, #740 Washington, DC 20001	American Meat Institute	12,750.00	1,096.78
William P. Stout, P.O. Box 1475 Nashville, TN 37202	American League for Exports & Security Assistance, Inc	5,500.00	367.15
William M. Stover, 2501 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037	United Paperworkers International Union		
John L. Stowell, 1800 K St., NW, #1018 Washington, DC 20006	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	1,000.00	
Luther J. Strange III, 801 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, #230 Washington, DC 20004	PSI Energy	19,490.00	10,903.37
Raymond L. Strassburger, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Sonat, Inc		5,000.00
	Northern Telecom, Inc	1,250.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Strategic Management Associates, Inc, 112 S. West Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Brooklyn Hospital Center		
Do	Greater New York Hospital Assn	20,001.00	175.00
Do	Healthcom International		
Do	Hospital for Special Surgery		
Do	Lenox Hill Hospital		
Do	Maimonides Medical Center		
Do	MicroGeneSys, Inc	7,500.00	200.00
Do	Montefiore Medical Center		
Do	Mount Sinai Medical Center		
Do	New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center		
Do	Our Lady of Mercy Medical Center		
Strategic Policy, Inc, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 650 Washington, DC 20036	Arthur Andersen & Co	416.60	6.40
Do	Coopers & Lybrand	416.60	6.40
Do	Deloitte & Touche	416.60	6.40
Do	Ernst & Young	416.60	6.40
Do	KPMG Peat Marwick	416.60	6.40
Do	Price Waterhouse	416.60	6.40
Do	US Healthcare	22,771.39	405.66
Do	USX Corporation	250.00	23.95
Terrence D. Straub, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	National Wholesale Druggists' Assn		
Ronald J. Streck, P.O. Box 2219 Reston, VA 22090-0219	Cast North America (1983), Inc		
Richard H. Streeter, Federal Bar Building 1815 H Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Louisiana	1,200.00	940.76
David A. Strelein, 5525 Reitz Avenue Baton Rouge, LA 70809-3802	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Mississippi, Inc		
Do	National Peace Foundation	71.42	
Stephen P. Strickland, 1835 K Street, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20006	Advanced Telecommunications Corp	8,662.50	120.53
Jack B. Strong, 400 West 15th Street, Suite 804 Austin, TX 78701	J. Aron & Co, Inc		
Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, 1150 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Commission on Self-Determination, Govt of Guam	8,260.00	780.00
Do	Dreyfus Corporation		
Heather P. Stroup, 750 First Street, NE Washington, DC 20002-4242	American Psychological Assn	803.25	100.00
George Strumpf, 1150 17th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York	12,000.00	6,500.00
Cory N. Strupp, Legal Dept., 38th Floor 60 Wall Street New York, NY 10260	J.P. Morgan & Company, Inc	4,624.91	1,255.91
Glenn Sugameli, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006-0001	National Wildlife Federation	5,886.31	
Austin P. Sullivan Jr., P.O. Box 1113 Minneapolis, MN 55440	General Mills, Inc		
Charles S. Sullivan, P.O. Box 2310 Washington, DC 20013	Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants	830.00	2,785.00
Gael M. Sullivan, 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20036	LTV Corporation	2,344.00	572.50
Harold R. Sullivan, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute	600.00	
Pauline Sullivan, P.O. Box 2310 Washington, DC 20013-2310	Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants	900.00	
Rebecca M. Sullivan, 1199 N. Fairfax Street, Suite 204 Alexandria, VA 22314	International Council of Shopping Centers	50.00	
Richard J. Sullivan, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Association of American Railroads)	8,500.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Design Professionals Coalition)	5,050.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Harbor Dredging)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-National Utility Products Company)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Water Environment Research Foundation)	1,900.00	
Sullivan & Cromwell, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA)	1,500.00	24.00
Do	Massachusetts Port Authority (MASSPORT)		
Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	City of San Leandro		
Do	National Utility Products Company		
Charles Sunderlin, 21480 Pacific Boulevard Sterling, VA 22170	Heckler & Koch, Inc	500.00	
Hyo-Iye Sung, 1800 K Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20006	Korea Foreign Trade Assn	650.00	570.00
Julie Surman, 1341 G Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Jefferson Group (For-Florida Hospital Medical Center)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-Lee Memorial Hospital)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-Manatee Memorial Hospital)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-Orlando Regional Medical Center)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-PRC/ATI)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-Sarasota Memorial Hospital)		
Do	Jefferson Group (For-Tandem Computers, Inc)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For-Citicorp Washington)		
Donald B. Susswein, 1500 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Federation for American Immigration Reform		
Sutherland Asbill & Brennan, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Grumman Corporation	625.00	1,402.28
Stephen Sutton, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #2800 Arlington, VA 22209	Hollywood Marine, Inc	3,000.00	
Douglass W. Svendsen Jr., 6443 Lily Dhu Lane Falls Church, VA 22044	Rochester Gas & Electric Corp	1,646.00	
Thomas L. Swartz, 89 East Avenue Rochester, NY 14649-0001	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	25,645.49	
David A. Sweeney, 25 Louisiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	American Academy of Family Physicians	7,437.50	3,062.46
Rosemarie Sweeney, 2021 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co	150.00	
Frederic H. Sweet, 720 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, WI 53202	Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America	12,187.50	533.37
Leland H. Swenson, 10065 East Harvard Avenue Denver, CO 80251	Collier Shannon... (for Independent Gasoline Marketers Assn)		
Swidler & Berlin, Chtd, 3000 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	Integrated Waste Services Assn	933.75	
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Group, Inc	2,396.25	76.00
Do	National Council of Community Hospitals	1,258.75	
Do	(For-IUCN-US)		
Byron Swift, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Pepsi-Cola Company		120.00
Philip E. Swink, 1Pepsi Way Somers, NY 10589-2201	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	6,517.93
Ronald G. Sykes, 1660 L Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	American Petroleum Institute		
David A. Sykuta, Illinois Petroleum Council 400 W. Monroe, #205 Springfield, IL 62704	American Civil Liberties Union		
Elizabeth Symonds, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Medical Assn	25.00	
Systems Control, Inc, 10240 Old Columbia Road Columbia, MD 21046	American Soc of Mechanical Engineers	1,161.00	1,161.00
Ronald P. Szabat, 1101 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, DC 20005	Taft Stettinius & Hollister (For-Dosimeter Corp of North America)		
SPACECAUSE, 922 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Taft Stettinius & Hollister (For-Great American Broadcasting Co)		
Janis Tabor, 1828 L Street, NW, #906 Washington, DC 20036	Taft Stettinius & Hollister (For-Telephone & Data Systems, Inc)		
Robert Taft Jr., 625 Indiana Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Taft Stettinius & Hollister (For-Wald Manufacturing Co, Inc)		
Do	Association of American Railroads		
Do	M&M/Mars, Inc		
Do	Marion Merrell Dow, Inc		
Do	National Agricultural Chemicals Assn		
Do	TDS Telecom		
Bruce B. Talley, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Asea Brown Boveri Inc	8,500.00	36.26
Jill L. Tanis, 800 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006-2701	Food Marketing Institute	100.00	
Susan Tannenbaum, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	7,472.52	30.50
Tanner & Guin, P.C., P.O. Box 032206 Tuscaloosa, AL 35403	Morrow Realty Co, Inc	85.00	135.00
Tapscott Consultants, Inc, 10507-A Braddock Road Fairfax, VA 22032-2236	American Financial Services Assn	250.00	
Jeffrey A. Tassery, 919 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	United Auto, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Wks of Amer.	19,630.48	258.97
Eula M. Tate, 1757 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Aerospace Industries Assn of America, Inc	1,589.40	
Thomas N. Tate, 1250 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Association of Maximum Service Television, Inc		
Victor Tawil, 1400 16th Street, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Independent Insurers	1,500.00	21,313.08
Taxpayers Education Lobby, Inc, 14155-F Sullyfield Circle Chantilly, VA 22021	Safe Buildings Alliance		
Charles A. Taylor III, 499 South Capitol St., SW, #401 Washington, DC 20003	Idaho Power Company		
Jefferson D. Taylor, 655 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	BF Goodrich Co	100.00	
Larry D. Taylor, P.O. Box 70 Boise, ID 83707	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Marie Taylor, 1825 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Medical Group Management Association		
R. William Taylor, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Petroleum Institute		
Randy Teach, 1156 15th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	American Bankers Assn	6,000.00	
Richard Telthorst, Missouri Oil Council 428 East Capitol, Suite 203 Jefferson City, MO 65101	Associated General Contractors of America		
Joshua P. Tenuta, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Scott Paper Co	6,000.00	187.44
Cheryl Terio, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Baker & McKenzie (For-Continental European Insurance Coalition)		
Betty-Grace Terpstra, 1726 M St., NW, #901 Washington, DC 20036	Hiscock & Barclay (For-Niagara Mohawk Power Corp)	3,667.00	460.43
Leonard B. Terr, 815 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Pacific Gas & Electric Co	336.90	4.50
John H. Terry, P.O. Box 4878 Syracuse, NY 13221	J. C. Penney Co, Inc		
Robert D. Testa, 1726 M Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036-4502			
James G. Tetrick, 807 Brazos, #601 Austin, TX 78701			
Texas Committee on Natural Resources, 5934 Royal Lane, #223 Dallas, TX 75230		927.23	927.23
Thacher Proffitt & Wood, 1500 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Chicago Board Options Exchange		824.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Citicorp Washington		
Do	Massachusetts Bankers Assn	5,902.00	824.00
Do	Massachusetts State Carpenter's Guaranteed Annuity Fund		
Do	Massachusetts State Carpenter's Pension Fund		
Janelle C.M. Thibau, 3000 K Street, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20007	Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.	1,500.00	
Terry V. Thiele, AP2-225 Appliance Park Louisville, KY 40225	General Electric Co	780.00	
Gregory A. Thies, 14111 Scottslawn Road Marysville, OH 43041	O.M. Scott & Sons Company		
Edu J. Thom, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Suite 1001 Washington, DC 20036	Arco Chemical Company		500.00
Robert G. Thoma, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #755 Washington, DC 20037	BASF Corp	675.00	26.00
Amber Thomas, 7901 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102	AMT-The Association for Manufacturing Technology	1,890.00	500.00
Cindy Thomas, 1990 M Street, NW, #340 Washington, DC 20036	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Adria Laboratories)	325.00	238.67
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:Carter Footwear, Inc)	1,791.88	1,074.03
Do	Kent & O'Connor, Inc (For:US Shoe)	415.63	238.67
Gordon M. Thomas, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Textron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Rich Thomas, 2030 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	5,013.35	65.00
Brent Thompson, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #1500-N Washington, DC 20004-1703	National Assn of Manufacturers	125.00	
Bruce E. Thompson Jr., 3000 K Street, NW, #620 Washington, DC 20007	Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc	7,500.00	
Dana S. Thompson, 305 4th Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors National Assn		
Duane R. Thompson, 1350 New York Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	International Franchise Assn	105.00	47.05
Kenneth W. Thompson, 1899 L Street, NW #500 Washington, DC 20036	BellSouth Corp		125.00
Do	City of Kansas City, MO		
Do	Council for Superfund Fairness, Inc		125.00
Do	Duke Power Co	18,000.00	700.00
Do	Greater Kansas City Chamber of Commerce	5,000.00	350.00
Do	International Assn of Convention & Visitor Bureaus	1,500.00	100.00
Do	Itron and AMRplus Partners	15,000.00	550.00
Do	Jerome Levy Institute	4,999.98	120.00
Do	Lenox, Inc	666.66	95.00
Do	National Bareboat Charter Assn	732.66	1,300.00
Do	Polaris Industries, L.P.	8,249.56	120.00
Do	Potomac Capital Investment Corp	15,000.00	125.00
Do	Primark Corp	8,636.00	450.00
Law Offices of Fred Thompson, 12th Floor, Life & Casualty Tower 401 Church St. Nashville, TN 37219	Central States SE & SW Areas Health Welfare & Pension Funds	3,000.00	
Otis N. Thompson, U.S. Department of Agriculture (OPEDA) Room SM - 3 - South Ag. Bldg. Washington, DC 20250	Organization of Professional Employees of USDA	660.29	
Richard L. Thompson, 655 15th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20005	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	1,500.00	
Tracy L. Thompson, 1225 I Street, NW, #825 Washington, DC 20003	Beer Institute	100.00	
Thompson & Hutson, 1317 F St., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	Fluor-Daniel, Inc	2,943.75	27.00
Do	Miliken & Company		
Thompson & Mitchell, One Mercantile Center St. Louis, MO 63101	U.S. Durum Milling, Inc		37.85
Robert B. Thomson III, 453 New Jersey Avenue Washington, DC 20003	Beneficial Management Corp		
Jill Thorne, 222 NW Davis, #309 Portland, OR 97209	Oregon Trail Coordination Council	750.00	
Margo Thorning, 1750 K St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	American Council for Capital Formation	456.00	
Kathryn M. Thorpe, 1100 17th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	General Atomics	1,325.00	166.20
Walter L. Threadgill, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #622 Washington, DC 20036	Millicom, Inc		
Gil Thurm, 1350 New York Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	International Franchise Assn	10,000.00	
Maria Tilves-Aguilera, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Northern Telecom, Inc	1,250.00	
Barbara Timmer, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	ITT Corp	2,860.00	123.40
John W. Timmons, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	America West Airlines, Inc	10,000.00	5,205.00
Paula Pleas Timmons, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 401 Washington, DC 20036	McCaw Cellular Communications, Inc	6,245.00	3,528.86
Timmons & Co, Inc, 1850 K St., NW, #850 Washington, DC 20006	American Factory Trawler Assn	595.00	
Do	American Petroleum Institute	1,425.00	
Do	Amoco Corporation	2,325.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	3,300.00	
Do	Association of Trial Lawyers of America	2,632.50	
Do	Capital Cities/ABC, Inc	4,200.00	
Do	Chrysler Corporation	2,925.00	
Do	General American Life Insurance Co	1,650.00	
Do	H.J. Heinz Co	4,800.00	
Do	Major League Baseball	7,050.00	
Do	National Rifle Assn	2,247.50	
Do	Northern Telecom, Inc	2,175.00	
Do	Northrop Corp	3,750.00	
Do	NutraSweet Co	1,275.00	
Do	G. D. Searle & Co	6,900.00	
Do	SCCorp and Subsidiaries	2,625.00	
Do	Union Pacific Corp	1,725.00	
Do	Adolph Coors Co	12,109.50	37.87
Alan R. Timothy, 601 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc		
Michael L. Tiner and Associates, 1824 S Street, NW, #402 Washington, DC 20009	Loral Vought Systems Corp	2,500.00	125.00
G. Wayne Tingle, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #900 Arlington, VA 22202	Hewlett-Packard Co	4,500.00	250.00
Eben S. Tisdale, 900 17th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006	American Petroleum Institute	2,000.00	3,675.00
Francis M. Tivnan, Massachusetts Petroleum Council 11 Beacon Street Boston, MA 02108	Automotive Warehouse Distributors Assn	3,500.00	4,500.00
Tobacco Associates, Inc, 1725 K Street, NW, #512 Washington, DC 20006	National Telephone Cooperative Assn	5,000.00	404.99
George A. Tobin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	American Medical Assn	8,000.00	
Erin Todd, 2626 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037	Public Service Co of Colorado		
James S. Todd, 515 North State Street Chicago, IL 60610	Kelly Anderson & Associates, Inc (For:U.S. Banknote Corp)		
David R. Toll, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Ashland Oil, Inc	2,000.00	
Tony Poole, 1020 19th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	Blue Cross and Blue Shield Assn	1,076.00	
Michael J. Tooley, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Potomac Electric Power Co		
Greg R. Toomey, 655 15th Street, NW, Suite 350 Washington, DC 20005	Gulf States Utilities Company	4,300.00	4,211.00
William T. Tongerson, 1900 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20068	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Boy Scouts of America)		
Total Petroleum, Inc, P.O. Box 500 Denver, CO 80202	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp)		
James P. Towers, 2555 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #602 Washington, DC 20037	Hecht Spencer & Associates (For:National Automatic Merchandising Assn)		1,601.56
Bronwyn Bachrach Towle, 499 South Capitol Street, SW #507 Washington, DC 20003		300.00	
Do		4,000.00	5,561.05
Do		2,175.00	
Toy Manufacturers of America, Inc, 200 Fifth Ave., #740 New York, NY 10010	Software Publishers Assn		
Trade Partnership, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20004	Spiegel & McDermid (For:Michigan Municipal/Cooperative Group)		
Transportation - Communications International Union, 815 16th St., NW, #511 Washington, DC 20006	Deere & Company		
Mark Traphagen, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Association		12.00
Thomas C. Trauger, 1350 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Phillips Petroleum Co	1,000.00	
S. Bradley Traverse, 1667 K Street, NW, #1230 Washington, DC 20006	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:American Forest & Paper Assn)	6,250.00	
Bernard R. Tresnowski, 1310 G Street, NW, 12 Floor Washington, DC 20005	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Anheuser-Busch Companies)	12,500.00	
Olivia Triple, 1776 Eye St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Arkansas Electric Cooperative Corp)	3,750.00	
Jeffery S. Trinca, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Kellogg Company)	3,431.25	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Life Underwriters)	11,250.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Private Enterprise)	4,875.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Water Companies)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Realty Committee)	5,000.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Scherer-Plough Corp)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:USF&G Insurance)	3,875.00	
Do	Alamo Rent-A-Car, Inc		2,310.00
Tripp Scott Conklin & Smith, 110 Tower, 28th Floor 110 Southeast 6th Street Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301	Catholic Health Assn of the United States	908.63	
Julie Trocchio, 4455 Woodson Road St. Louis, MO 63134	Savings and Community Bankers of America	17,000.00	
Michael G. Troop, 900 19th Street NW Washington, DC 20006	PSI Energy, Inc	5,000.00	3,062.48
Gregory A. Troxell, 1800 K Street, NW, #1018 Washington, DC 20006	Navistar International Transportation Corp	1,000.00	
Thomas L. Trueblood, 455 North Cityfront Plaza Drive Chicago, IL 60611	Amtrack Conrail Pennsylvania Railroad Retirees	350.00	418.50
Rowland V. Tucker, Box 133 Darby, PA 19023	National Realty Committee	899.00	
Tucker Fyler & Lewis, 1615 L Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036-5601	Burger King Corp		201.00
Shannon B. Tuel, 1200 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Public Service Electric and Gas Company	180.00	
Michael R. Tuosto, One Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20001	City of Rialto	4,800.00	3,344.00
David Turch & Associates, 517 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Inland Valley Development Agency	3,600.00	2,100.00
Do			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Recovery Engineering	6,000.00	2,521.13
Do	San Bernardino Associated Governments	4,400.00	2,100.00
Do	San Bernardino International Airport Authority	4,400.00	2,100.00
J. Terry Turner, 2200 Mill Road, #600 Alexandria, VA 22314	Interstate Truckload Carriers Conference	700.00	350.00
John M. Turner, 1875 Eye St., NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	3,600.00	
Terry Turner, 1641 Besley Rd., NE Vienna, VA 22182	Seafarers International Union	5,000.00	
Turner Broadcasting System, Inc., 820 First Street, NE Washington, DC 20002		11,654.00	11,654.00
Max Turnipseed, 451 Florida Blvd., #948 Baton Rouge, LA 70801	Ethyl Corporation	2,050.00	363.71
James S. Turpin, 3444 S. Wakefield St. Arlington, VA 22206	American NuKem		
Tuttle & Taylor, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Suite 407 Washington, DC 20007	Blue Diamond Growers	4,306.25	141.19
Do	Sunkist Growers, Inc.	25,212.50	1,416.94
St. Clair J. Tweedie, 1575 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	American Cyanamid Co	20,000.00	
Twenty-First Century Technologies, 1945 Old Gallows Road, #580 Vienna, VA 22182	PRC	19,085.00	20,519.37
John R. Tydings, 1129 20th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Greater Washington Board of Trade	9,100.00	
Joseph D. Tydings, 2000 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #7500 Washington, DC 20006	Anderson Kill Olick & Oshinsky (For:Population Crisis Committee)		
Craig Tyle, 1600 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Investment Company Institute		
George Randall Tyree, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	16.67	
G. John Tyse, 1015 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Labor Policy Assn	2,468.00	2,468.00
U.S. Border Control, P.O. Box 10800 Springfield, VA 22009-0800		17,160.08	16,801.49
U.S. Durum Milling, Inc., 7900 Van Buren Street St. Louis, MO 63111			
U.S. Independent Microwave Television Assn, 2300 M Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20037			
U.S. Public Interest Research Group, 215 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003		63,201.75	88,578.74
U.S.-China Business Council, 1818 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		4,541.23	4,541.23
Matthew Ubben, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005	United Technologies Corp	1,080.00	
Laura Uhl, 1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20009	Federation for American Immigration Reform	450.00	61.00
Daniel Ulmer, 2000 Schafer Street P.O. Box 2657 Bismarck, ND 58502	Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Dakota		969.00
John R. Ulrich, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #575 Washington, DC 20006	Dow Chemical Company		13,574.00
United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, 101 Constitution Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001			24,462.95
United Distribution Companies, 520 Madison Avenue, 29th Floor New York, NY 10022		1,541.34	
United Seniors Assn, Inc., 12500 Fair Lakes Circle, #125 Fairfax, VA 22033		1,172,540.51	301,414.34
University of Michigan Medical Center, 300 North Ingalls, Room N14A18 Ann Arbor, MI 48109			3,608.63
Upjohn Co., 1455 F Street, NW, Suite 450 Washington, DC 20005			491,797.00
Richard P. Urian, 1850 K Street NW, #1190 Washington, DC 20006	EG&G, Inc.	175.00	15.00
Jane Usdan, 555 New Jersey Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	American Fed of Teachers, AFL/CIO	14,346.30	32.00
Utilities Telecommunications Council, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 1140 Washington, DC 20036			4,763.06
USA NAFTA, 1317 F Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20004		81,396.00	84,206.82
Robert E. Vagley, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn	6,000.00	2.00
Anthony Valanzano, 1825 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc.	21,250.00	83.66
Do	American Insurance Assn	2,000.00	
Do	Valanzano & Associates (For:American International Group)	3,000.00	507.35
Do	Chubb Corporation	3,000.00	
Do	Colonial Life & Accident Insurance Co	16,950.00	1,151.20
Do	Valanzano & Assocs. (For:Natural Disaster Coalition National Comm. on Property Insur.)	12,000.00	35.05
Read Carson Van de Water, 901 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Northwest Airlines, Inc.	10,500.00	175.00
Van der Voort Associates, Ltd., 1134 Westmoreland Road Alexandria, VA 22308	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	500.00	
Do	SPACEHAB	500.00	
R. Thomas Van Arsdall, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives		
Jeanette Van DeWater, 262 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Freeport, NY 11520	Friends of NIDCO, Inc.	4,133.32	
Nancy Van Duyn, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707	Continental Airlines, Inc.	8,500.00	5,647.00
Van Dyk Associates, Inc., 1250 24th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20037	American Gas Assn		
Do	General Aviation Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn		
Juliane H. Van Egmond, 7108 Beechwood Drive Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Miles, Inc.	859.35	82.02
Laura Van Etten, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #875 Washington, DC 20006-4604	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Regis Retirement Plan Services)		
Matthew Van Hook, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Burkett Van Kirk, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.		
Van Ness Feldman & Curtis, P.C., 1050 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20007	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission		
Do	Arctic Slope Regional Corp	1,680.00	
Do	Bar-S Foods Company		
Do	Barron Collier Co		
Do	Bio Resources, Ltd.		
Do	Blackfeet Tribe		
Do	City of Tacoma, WA	136.50	
Do	City Public Service of San Antonio		
Do	Clean Coal Technology Coalition		
Do	Consumers United for Rail Equity (C.U.R.E.)		
Do	Doyon, Ltd.		
Do	Electric Transportation Coalition	70.50	
Do	Geothermal Resources Assn	144.00	
Do	GE Industrial & Power Systems	550.00	
Do	Intertribal Agricultural Council		
Do	Kenai Natives Assn		
Do	Koncor Forest Products Company	3,127.50	26.00
Do	Mack Trucks, Inc.	642.00	20.00
Do	McKesson Corp		
Do	National Endangered Species Act Reform Coalition	3,820.00	132.50
Do	National Wetlands Coalition	7,789.25	174.00
Do	Navajo Nation	315.00	17.00
Do	Ormat		
Do	Price Waterhouse		
Do	Sacramento Municipal Utility District	175.00	
Do	Simpson Paper Co	105.00	26.50
Do	Toyota Motor Corporate Services of North America, Inc.	550.00	
Do	Uranium Producers of America		
Do	Young People for National Service		109.30
H. Stewart Van Scoyoc, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Alton Ochsner Medical Foundation)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:American Forest & Paper Assn)	6,250.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.)	12,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Arkansas Electric Cooperative Corp)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:Champion International Corp)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:Coalition of EPSCoR States)	11,250.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Dresser Industries, Inc.)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:Du Pont de Nemours & Company, E.I.)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:International Paper)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Kelllogg Company)	3,431.25	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:MetaNetworks)	1,000.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Life Underwriters)	11,250.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Private Enterprise)	4,875.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Assn of Water Companies)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:National Realty Committee)	5,000.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Parsons Brinckerhoff)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:Quanex)	8,375.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Regis Retirement Plan Services)		
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Schering-Plough Corp)	3,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:Tulane University)	6,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:University of Alabama System)	6,750.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:USF&G Insurance)	3,875.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates (For:Weyerhaeuser)	2,500.00	
Do	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc (For:WINSM Consortium)	12,000.00	
Marjorie Vanderbilt, 600 Maryland Ave., SW, #100 West Washington, DC 20024-2571	American Nurses' Assn	11,955.20	345.68
Norman C. VanderNoot, New Hampshire Petroleum Council 11 Depot Street Concord, NH 03301	American Petroleum Institute	32.00	
Charlene Vanlier, 6203 A Waterway Drive Falls Church, VA 22044	Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.	1,566.81	170.40
Robert Neil Vanny, 3350 Peachtree Road, NE Atlanta, GA 30326	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Georgia	1,250.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Glenn Vanselow, P.O. Box 61473 Vancouver, WA 98666-1473	Pacific Northwest Waterways Assn	7,248.00	35.86
Norman W. VanCor, 111 Tallwood Drive Southington, CT 06489	Yankee Gas Services Company	511.52	1,019.35
Todd VanHose, 50 F Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20001	Farm Credit Council		
Robert C. Varah, c/o Rogers & Wells 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Dofasco, Inc.	57.00	108.62
Barbara J. Varca, 1015 15th Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20005	Syntex (U.S.A.), Inc.	1,200.00	2,891.26
Varet Marcus & Fink, P.C., 607 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-2000	Energy Tax Coalition		
Do	New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX)		
Audrey S. Vaughn, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	Alabama Power Company	19,500.00	10,782.90
Philip M. Vaughn, 800 Connecticut, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Fluor Corp.	5,000.00	114.00
Haleh Vaziri, 516 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Glyphon International		
Nicholas A. Velotes, 1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009	Association of American Publishers	4,000.00	
Carol Verby, 7361 Calhoun Place Rockville, MD 20850	CNA Insurance Co		
Frank Verrastro, 1155 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Pennzoil Co	1,500.00	
Sara Vickerman, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Defenders of Wildlife		1,320.00
Linda Vickers, 1706 23rd St., South Arlington, VA 22202	Communicating for Agriculture, Inc.	9,000.00	948.54
Do	National Ag Underwriters	21,000.00	891.59
Do	National Assn of Crop Insurance Agents	20,000.01	1,563.20
David Vienna & Associates, 401 Wythe Street, #2-A Alexandria, VA 22314	American Assn of Classified School Employees		
Do	California Franchise Tax Board	5,460.00	
Do	California Public Employees' Retirement System	4,208.75	
Do	California State Senate	1,618.75	
Do	Pacific Stock Exchange, Inc.	7,780.00	
Do	Regional Stock Exchanges Coalition	2,043.75	
Do	State Board of Equalization (Calif)	4,593.75	
Mary Vinstadt, 1667 K Street, NW, Suite 320 Washington, DC 20006	Dial Corp.		
Patrice Vincent, 1440 New York Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	American Automobile Assn		
Ralph Vinovich, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Tobacco Institute	1,000.00	128.10
Vinson & Elkins, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004-1007	Attorney's Liability Assurance Society, Inc.	1,680.00	
Do	Bank Tax Group	20,212.50	
Do	Bank United of Texas FSB	1,894.00	
Do	Citicorp Washington, Inc.		
Do	Cook Inlet Region, Inc.		
Do	E. M. Warburg Pincus & Co, Inc.		
Do	Federal Express Corp.		
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co	10,307.50	
Do	Large Public Power Council		
Do	Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc.		
Do	Panhandle Eastern Corp.		
Do	Simmons Communications	4,617.50	
Do	Texas Veterans Land Board		
Do	Continental Insurance Companies		
Do	National Fraternal Congress of America	250.00	
Do	Disabled American Veterans	15,585.28	
Walter D. Vinyard Jr., Vinyard and Associates 555 13th St., NW, #800 East Washington, DC 20004			376.82
Joseph A. Violante, 807 Maine Avenue, SW Washington, DC 20024	American Automobile Assn		
Virginia Association of Railway Patrons, P.O. Box 867 Richmond, VA 23207	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn	15,785.00	
George A. Viverette Jr., 1440 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20005	Public Citizen	1,200.00	
Dina Vizzaccaro, 1620 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Public Securities Assn	10,000.00	505.00
David Vladeck, 2000 P Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Chamber of Commerce		890.00
John R. Vogt, 1445 New York Avenue, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20005	AT&T		
David K. Voight, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Federation of Behavioral, Psychological and Cognitive Scienc	37.80	
Nick J. Volcheff, 7325 Del Norte Drive Scottsdale, AZ 85258	Paralyzed Veterans of America	19,162.50	
Marina Volkov, 750 1st Street, NE, Room 5004 Washington, DC 20002-4242	Venable Baetjer Howard & Civiletti (For-Career College Assn, Inc)	2,500.00	
Douglas K. Vollmer, 801 18th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Direct Marketing Assn		
Ian D. Volner, 1201 New York Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Venable Baetjer Howard & Civiletti (For-USA Networks)		
Do	Heublein, Inc.	6,562.50	100.00
Do	Equipment Leasing Assn of America		
John M. Volpe, 1825 Eye Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006		27,000.00	11,146.00
Volpe Boskey & Lyons, 918 16th Street, NW, #602 Washington, DC 20006	Arter & Hadden (For-Nintendo of America)	137.50	
Volunteer Trustees of Not-For-Profit Hospitals, 818 18th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	National Parks & Conservation Assn	3,750.00	269.58
Ingrid A. Voorhees, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 400K Washington, DC 20006	Advanced Material Resources, Inc.		
Philip H. Voorhees, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Committee of Publicly Owned Companies	1,340.60	75.21
Vorys Sater Seymour & Pease, 1828 L Street, NW, #1111 Washington, DC 20036	CVI, Inc.	1,386.00	110.52
Do	Foreign Credit Insurance Assn Management Co, Inc.		
Do	Fraternal Order of Police - National Headquarters	1,819.40	522.89
Do	Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.		
Do	Honda North America, Inc.	4,825.50	199.65
Do	Ohio Advanced Technology Center, Inc.		
Do	Ohio Assn of Broadcasters		
Do	Ohio Cable Television Assn	404.25	1.54
Do	Ohio Forestry Assn		
Do	Ohio Soft Drink Assn		
Do	Recyclers of Copper Alloy Products	9,396.25	377.07
Do	Snow Aviation International, Inc.		
Do	Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.	2,239.00	320.77
Carmen Delgado Votaw, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #309 Washington, DC 20036	International Assn of Bridge Struct & Ornamental Iron Wkrs	22,992.60	871.21
Frank J. Voyack, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Procompetitive Rail Steering Committee		
John A. Vuono, Vuono Lavelle & Gray 2310 Grant Building Pittsburgh, PA 15219			17.50
VALOR, P.O. Box 6393 Arlington, VA 22206-0393	National Telephone Cooperative Assn	5,000.00	681.74
Thomas D. Wacker, 2626 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	Northrop Corp.	1,400.00	
Rex B. Wackerle, 1000 Wilson Blvd., #2300 Arlington, VA 22209	International Hardwood Products Assn(IHPA)	875.00	1,536.56
Robert Waffle, 1421 Prince Street, #230 Alexandria, VA 22314	Cash Smith & Wages (For-Association of Professional Flight Attendants)	9,000.00	820.00
Joan Wages, 913 East Taylor Run Parkway Alexandria, VA 22302	Cash Smith & Wages (For-Independent Federation of Flight Attendants)	4,125.00	879.00
Do	National Utility Contractors Assn	7,400.00	101.88
Pamela Hyde Wagner, 4301 North Fairfax Drive, #360 Arlington, VA 22203-1608	Acerson & Bishop, Chtd. (For-American Wire Producers Assn)		
Frederick P. Waite, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004-2404	Acerson & Bishop (For-Chiquita Brands International, Inc)		
Do	Johnson & Johnson	225.00	41.90
Susan Stephenson Walden, 1350 Eye Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20005	Central and South West Services, Inc.	7,750.00	1,969.99
Richard P. Walker, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #352 Washington, DC 20004	Handgun Control, Inc.	16,788.00	
Robert J. Walker, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	American Nuclear Energy Council		
Walker/Free Associates, Inc, 1730 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	American Telephone & Telegraph Co	5,000.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.		
Do	Broadcast Music, Inc.	2,187.00	
Do	Coalition for Competitive Capital		
Do	CSX Corporation	1,875.00	
Do	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	2,400.00	
Do	GAF Corp.		
Do	Mexican Department of Commerce & Industrial Development	70,872.00	
Do	Mid Continent Oil and Gas Assn	1,500.00	
Do	MBNA America Bank NA	4,000.00	
Do	National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider		
Do	National Stone Assn		
Do	Northville Industries Corp		
Do	Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co	3,750.00	
Do	Pacific Lumber Co	3,000.00	
Do	Sony Music Entertainment, Inc.	5,000.00	
Do	Sony Pictures Entertainment, Inc.	2,500.00	
Do	Southern Company Services, Inc.	2,500.00	
Do	USA Group, Inc.	10,500.00	
Do	Wheelabrator Environmental Systems, Inc. et al.	2,500.00	
Do	Alabama Farmers Federation	3,500.00	
Do	Alabama Power Co	25,000.00	
Do	American Soc of Farm Managers and Rural Appraisers	10,500.00	
Do	American Sugar Cane League	22,500.00	
Wallace & Edwards, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Calgene, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	Cash America International	2,500.00	
Do	Cotton Warehouse Assn of America	22,500.00	
Do	Domino Sugar Corp	7,500.00	
Do	Flue-Cured Tobacco Cooperative Stabilization Corp	5,000.00	
Do	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	60,000.00	
Do	Service Corporation International	7,500.00	
Do	Public Citizen	7,500.00	
Lori M. Wallach, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	American Forest & Paper Assn		210.97
Lionel L. Wallenrod, 260 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016	General Mills Restaurants, Inc	1,062.50	
Richard J. Walsh, 6770 Lake Ellenor Drive Orlando, FL 32809-3330	John E. Chance & Associates, Inc	6,000.00	
John C. Walton, 1401 North Oak Street, #302 Arlington, VA 22209	General Dynamics Corp	15,000.00	
Do	Grumman Corporation	21,249.99	1,420.52
Do	National Assn of Dredging Contractors	13,750.00	
Do	National Rifle Assn of America	35,000.00	1,909.93
Do	Textron, Inc	15,000.00	945.60
Do	Thiokol Corp	10,500.00	436.85
Do	TRW, Inc	30,000.00	465.13
Do	Telocator	2,625.00	161.91
Thomas E. Wanley, 1019 19th Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20036	Martin Marietta Corporation	4,847.00	
Clarence D. Ward, 1727 Hoban Road, NW Washington, DC 20007	Southern California Gas Co		
Gregg Ward, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #717 Washington, DC 20036-4186	American Petroleum Institute		
Michael D. Ward, c/o Virginia Petroleum Council, 701 E. Franklin Street, #105 Richmond, VA 23219	Shell Oil Company	4,500.00	
Stephen E. Ward, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1030 Washington, DC 20005	International Union United Auto Aerospace & Ag. W of A(UAW)	20,438.73	273.08
Barbara F. Warden, 1757 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036	Public Employees Retirement Assn of Colorado	3,262.50	32.00
Robert A. Warden, 1331 F Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Broadcasters	1,000.00	1,535.76
Michael A. Waring, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	International Bridge Tunnel & Turnpike Assn		
Ann D. Warner, 1220 - 19th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	DGA International, Inc (For: Sofreavia)		
Ernest R. Warner Jr., 1133 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	DGA International, Inc (For: SNECMA)		
Do	DGA International, Inc (For: Zenith Data Systems)		
Do	National Rifle Assn of America		
James H. Warner, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	1,000.00	
David E. Warr, 655 15th Street, NW, #410 Washington, DC 20005	Forest Farmers Assn		
B. Jack Warren, P.O. Box 95385 Atlanta, GA 30347	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities	999.00	
David L. Warren, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20001	American Furniture Manufacturers Assn	750.00	506.91
Richard F. Warren, 918 16th Street, NW, Suite 402 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Broadcasters	7,000.00	906.45
Tristan Carter Warren, 1771 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Software Publishers Assn		
Kenneth Wasch, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	1,164.61
Barbara J. Washburn, 1660 L Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Texaco, Inc		
Gregory J. Washington, 1050 17th Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)		
Washington Public Affairs Group, 5910 Woodacres Drive Bethesda, MD 20816	National Association of Chain Drug Stores	500.00	
Robert A. Waspe, P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313-1417			
Watchdog Publications, Inc, 8182 Maryland Avenue, Suite 313 St. Louis, MO 63105	Milwaukee County-Intergovernmental Relations	14,619.24	150.00
Ronald D. Waterman, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	Wisconsin Counties Assn	12,816.57	102.55
Do	All Industry Television Committee	6,000.00	100.57
Waterman & Associates, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	American Foundrymen's Society, Inc	75,000.00	64.85
Do	American Metalcasting Consortium (AMC)	11,500.00	1,172.61
Do	Cast Metals Coalition	7,500.00	752.85
Do	North American Die Casting Assn (NADCA)	18,249.99	237.27
Do	Healthcare Financial Management Assn		513.28
Robbi-Lynn Watnik, 1050 17th Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036	GEC-Marconi Electronic Systems Corp	1,300.00	149.69
Austen W. Watson, 1215 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1203 Arlington, VA 22202	Security Traders Assn, Inc	7,180.00	117.19
John L. Watson III, One World Trade Center, #4511 New York, NY 10048	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn	50.00	
Carolyn Herr Watts, 1800 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Telecommunications, Inc	3,750.00	
Douglas R. Watts, 1320 19th Street, NW, #201 Washington, DC 20036	National Broiler Council	1,650.00	
George B. Watts, 1155 15th St., NW, #614 Washington, DC 20005	National Coal Assn	10,500.00	169.87
Bruce H. Watzman, 1130 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Public Citizen	6,250.00	
Nancy Watzman, 215 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceuticals, Inc	15,475.00	2,835.20
Philip A. Waxman, 2800 Quebec St., NW, #536 Washington, DC 20008	American Petroleum Institute		
William H. Weatherspoon, North Carolina Petroleum Council 150 Fayetteville St. Mall Raleigh, NC 27601-2919	Stephens Group, Inc	500.00	
A. Vernon Weaver, 111 Center Street Little Rock, AR 72201	Handgun Control, Inc	7,193.12	250.51
David Weaver, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Farmers Educational and Co-Operative Union of America		
Barbara G. Webb, 600 Maryland Avenue, SW, Suite 202W Washington, DC 20024	Brown & Root Services Corp		
Sandra M. Webb, 1150 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	American Medical Assn	3,750.00	
Margaret L. Webber, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	Federal National Mortgage Assn (Fannie Mae)	2,500.00	
Philip J. Weber, 3900 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20016	Farm Credit Council		
William R. Weber, 50 F Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20001	International Taxicab and Livery Assn		
Webster Chamberlain & Bean, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	National Fisheries Institute	4,000.00	35.00
Lee J. Weddig, 1525 Wilson Boulevard, #500 Arlington, VA 22209	Envirocare of Utah	8,000.00	
Robert K. Weidner, 2300 M Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20037	James W. Bunker & Associates	5,000.00	100.00
Do	Rural Utah Public Lands Council	75,100.00	10,000.00
Do	Battery Council International	390.00	100.00
Weinberg Bergeson & Neuman, 1300 Eye Street, NW, #1000 West Washington, DC 20005	National Assn for Plastic Container Recovery (NAPCOR)		
Do	Portable Rechargeable Battery Association		
Do	Unilever U.S., Inc	3,000.00	215.98
Robert A. Weinberger, 816 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	National Society of Professional Engineers	1,500.00	
Donald G. Weinert, 1420 King St. Alexandria, VA 22314-2715	Regional Transportation Commission of Clark County, NV	1,408.00	1,979.00
Kurt Weinrich, 301 East Clark Avenue, Suite 300 Las Vegas, NV 89101	Prodigy Services Company		
Sandra C. Weiss, 445 Hamilton Ave., White Plains, NY 10601	Jaffe Raitt Heuer & Weiss, P.C.		
Arthur A. Weiss, One Woodward Avenue, Suite 2400 Detroit, MI 48226	American Foreign Service Assn	5,400.00	
Walter F. Weiss, 1762 Church Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Parks & Conservation Assn	1,900.00	106.00
Michael C. Weland, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Safe Buildings Alliance		
John F. Welch, 655 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	American Grain Inspection Institute	880.40	55.40
Paul S. Weller Jr., 1629 K St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20006	American International Group, Inc	2,000.00	50.00
Brad G. Welling, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Independent Colleges and Universities	14,436.00	57.00
Jane V. Wellman, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20001	Southwestern Bell Corp	15,000.00	5,238.64
Kent M. Wells, 1667 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Citicorp Washington, Inc	3,750.00	
Robert C. Wells, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Electric Generation Assn	980.77	15.75
Margaret A. Welsh, 2715 M Street, NW, #150 Washington, DC 20007	Welsh Consulting Corporation		
Michael L. Welsh, Executive Mews, Suite D-20 Cherry Hill, NJ 08003	Central & South West Corp	15,680.00	2,506.00
Frederick C. Wendorf, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #352 Washington, DC 20004	National Grocers Assn	500.00	
Thomas F. Wenning, 1825 Samuel Morse Dr. Reston, VA 22090	American Council of Life Insurance		
David Wentworth, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2599	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co		
Heidi L. Werling, 1620 L Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20036	Common Cause	18,362.52	232.00
Fred Wertheimer, 2030 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Dow Corning Corp	5,000.00	
James K. Wessel, 1800 M Street, NW, #325 South Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Retail Druggists	1,500.00	300.00
Charles M. West, 205 Daingerfield Road Alexandria, VA 22314	Fertilizer Institute	25,000.00	296.69
Ford B. West, 501 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Business Aircraft Assn	1,000.00	408.12
William Preston West Jr., 1200 18th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036		4,760.69	8,493.85
Westland Development Co., Inc, 401 Coors Boulevard, NW Albuquerque, NM 87121	Independent Insurance Agents of America, Inc	12,292.00	
Michelle Westover, 412 1st Street, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20003	Association of American Railroads	394.52	170.48
John F. Wetzel Jr., 50 F St., NW Washington, DC 20001	Advanced Navigation & Positioning Corp	1,200.00	
Wexler Group, 1317 F Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Air Conditioning & Refrigeration Institute	945.00	
Do	Allied-Signal, Inc		
Do	American Airlines, Inc	23,400.00	62.44
Do	American Dietetic Assn	157.20	38.75
Do	American Public Transit Assn	9,322.50	140.25
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	9,350.22	80.75
Do	AIDS Action Council	2,055.00	124.00
Do	ARCO	6,600.00	
Do	Camp Barsh & Tate	3,930.00	
Do	Catholic Health Assn of the U.S.	1,800.00	
Do	Century Council	3,638.32	
Do	Comcast Corporation	13,050.00	360.09

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Connie Lee Insurance Company	2,460.00	
Do	Consortium of State Maritime Schools	2,460.00	40.00
Do	Coopers & Lybrand		
Do	Crow Tribal Council	4,972.50	135.66
Do	Defense Rations Manufacturers Assn	6,300.00	109.75
Do	Fleischman & Walsh		
Do	Foothills Pipe Lines (Yukon) Ltd		
Do	Fox Bennett & Turner	5,880.00	
Do	FHP	211.50	15.75
Do	General Motors Corp		
Do	Grand Trunk Western Railroad, Inc	750.00	
Do	Guardian Industries Corp	9,300.00	60.05
Do	Hughes Aircraft Company Space and Communications Group	7,800.00	27.50
Do	J.P. Morgan & Co, Inc	2,100.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson	3,825.00	33.00
Do	Joslin Diabetes Center	6,480.00	130.00
Do	Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory	3,000.00	71.50
Do	Massachusetts Foundation for Excellence in Marine & Polymer	3,696.00	77.25
Do	MetPath, Inc		
Do	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc		
Do	National Association for Music Therapy		
Do	National Gypsum Co		
Do	New England Aquarium	4,905.00	
Do	Oceanic Institute	5,616.00	97.71
Do	Ohio Edison		
Do	Ross Laboratories	135.00	
Do	Science Applications International Corp	3,180.00	
Do	Student Loan Marketing Assn	540.00	13.00
Do	U.S. Bioscience	1,140.00	
Do	USA NASTA	780.00	3,806.39
Do	Washington Consulting Group	1,500.00	8.00
Do	Navistar International Transportation Corp	6,250.00	
Brian B. Whalen Jr., 455 North Cityfront Plaza Drive Chicago, IL 60611	Toyota Motor Sales, USA, Inc		
Whalen Company, Inc, 1717 K Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Alabama Power Co	29,351.88	7,141.94
David W. Wheeler, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #830 Washington, DC 20036	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,596.00	
Sandra Wheeler, 2000 K Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Avondale Industries, Inc	21,250.00	5,654.31
George E. White Jr., 706 Lowerline St New Orleans, LA 70118	AMGEN	10,000.00	
John C. White, White Consulting Group 2000 M Street, NW, #380 Washington, DC 20036	Coastal Corporation	20,000.00	
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co	5,000.00	
Do	Maxxam	5,000.00	
Do	Tobacco Institute	4,000.00	
Joyce White, 222 NW Davis, #309 Portland, OR 97209	Oregon Trail Coordinating Council	562.00	
Larry White, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	784.50	126.50
Margita E. White, 1400 16th Street, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc		
Raymon M. White Jr., 5501 Seminary Road, Apt. 2211-South Falls Church, VA 22041	Harris Corporation	3,500.00	1,515.75
Richard H. White, 1875 I Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Tobacco Institute	600.00	94.22
Sam White, 1155 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Agricultural Chemicals Assn		
Steven C. White, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Toni D. White, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #605 Arlington, VA 22202	Texas Instruments, Inc	3,132.00	251.00
Susan J. White & Associates, 1111 North Pitt Street, Suite 2-B Alexandria, VA 22314	Cuyahoga County	6,500.00	190.00
White Fine & Verville, 1156 15th St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Houghton Mifflin Company	4,774.89	
Whiteford Taylor & Preston, 888 17th St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Giddings & Lewis, Inc	10,965.00	2,396.18
Do	National Constructors Association	13,333.32	5,762.88
Suzanne K. Whitehurst, 332 Constitution Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Marcus G. Faust, PC (For:Clark County Nevada)	1,406.00	
Do	Marcus G. Faust, PC (For:Clark County Nevada-McCarran International Airport)	1,406.00	
Do	Marcus G. Faust, PC (For:Las Vegas Valley Water District)	1,406.00	
Do	Marcus G. Faust, PC (For:Public Service Co of New Mexico)	1,406.00	
Do	Marcus G. Faust, PC (For:Sierra Pacific Power Co)	1,406.00	
Do	Marcus G. Faust, P.C. (For:State of Montana Dept of Natural Resources & Conservation)	1,406.00	
Ronald P. Whitmire, 1120 G Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	825.00	
William F. Whitsitt, 13155 Noel Road Dallas, TX 75240-5067	Onyx Energy Company	500.00	219.37
Larry H. Whitt, 9111 E. Douglas Wichita, KS 67207	Pizza Hut, Inc		422.97
Robert Whittaker, c/o Fleishman Hillard, Inc 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	J. I. Gray & Associates		
Do	Arnold J. Lande MD		
Pamela J. Whitted, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	BHP Petroleum Americas	500.00	
Whitworth & Associates, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #747 Washington, DC 20004	Mesa, Inc	3,000.00	
Do	Natural Gas Vehicle Coalition	4,000.00	
James K. Wholey, 1301 K Street, NW, Suite 900E Washington, DC 20004	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For:Jones Intercable)	1,365.00	226.43
Do	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For:Ukiah Valley Medical Center)	18,814.25	1,904.74
William E. Wickert Jr., 1667 K Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Bethlehem Steel Corp	410.00	
Helen C. Wiederhorn, 1350 I Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Ford Motor Co	4,525.00	2,885.04
Philip R. Wiedmeyer, 600 North 18th Street Birmingham, AL 35203	Alabama Power Co	22,390.38	792.25
Wiggin & Dana, One Century Tower P. O. Box 1832 New Haven, CT 06508-1832	Villa Banfi, U.S.A.		
Robert Wigington, 1220 19th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Airport Association Council International	17,760.00	
W. Scott Wilber, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Medical Assn	3,975.00	
Robert H. Wilbur, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Smith Bucklin & Associates (For:Amusement & Music Operators Assn)		
Do	Smith Bucklin & Associates, Inc (For:Society of Thoracic Surgeons)		
Valerie Wilbur, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2037	American Assn of Homes for the Aging	411.88	107.23
Shirley J. Wilcher, 122 C Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Independent Colleges and Universities	8,970.00	
Thomas D. Wilcox, 2011 Eye Street, NW, #601 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Stevedores		
Harry G. Wiles II, 1023 15th St., NW, # 400 Washington, DC 20005	Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America, Inc		887.28
Cynthia H. Wiles Consulting, 10858 Woodleaf Lane Great Falls, VA 22066	Environmental Research Institute of Michigan	10,812.50	
Do	Industrial Technology Institute	15,000.00	
Do	MERRA	3,750.00	
Guenther O. Wilhelm, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006-1813	Exxon Corporation		
Carl B. Wilkerson, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc		
Julia Bullard Wilkie, 206 E Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	National Roofing Contractors Assn	2,500.00	1,263.00
E. John Wilkinson, 1899 L Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Volcan Materials Co	1,700.00	540.00
Wilkinson Barker Knauer & Quinn, 1735 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Aetna Life Insurance	12,333.34	1,864.44
Do	Bank of America		
Do	Bank of Boston		
Do	Barnett Banks, Inc		
Do	First Interstate Bank		
Do	Fleet Financial Group, Inc	27,083.80	3,244.41
Do	Northwest Hydroelectric Assn	6,000.00	250.00
Do	RECOLL Management Corp	3,287.80	243.44
Do	RMJ Options Trading Corp		
Do	Solano Water Authority		
Do	Suntrust Banks, Inc		
Do	Turlock Irrigation District	12,500.00	1,204.00
Do	VISA USA, Inc		
Do	Wachovia Bank and Trust		
Do	Wells Fargo & Company		
Faith Williams, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #460 Washington, DC 20037	New York Life Insurance Company	120.00	
Jack L. Williams, 451 New Jersey Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Ark-Best Co	1,400.00	250.00
Do	Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co (ARKLA)	1,300.00	300.00
Do	Electro Com Automation, Inc	1,550.00	250.00
Do	Mid America Dairymen, Inc	1,500.00	200.00
Do	National Marine Manufacturers Assn	1,500.00	250.00
Do	Pacific Telesis Group	1,500.00	300.00
Do	Riceland Foods, Inc	1,400.00	350.00
Do	Tyson Foods, Inc	1,400.00	300.00
Leonard B. Williams, 1615 M Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corporation	50.00	99.83

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Marshall Williams, Box 1000, Building A3 Leavenworth, KS 66048	Lobby Quorum International		
Michael E. Williams, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	National Rifle Assn of America	1,500.00	569.36
Patricia Williams, 1400 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-2266	National Wildlife Federation	4,062.62	
Richard T. Williams, 2501 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	2,000.00	
Robin L. Williams, 1667 K St., NW, #210 Washington, DC 20006	Rohm & Haas Co	500.00	
W. Jackson Williams, 111 Center Street, 22nd Floor Little Rock, AR 72201	Williams & Anderson (For:Education Finance Council)	9,270.00	979.84
Williams & Jensen, P.C., 1155 21st Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Home Products	4,710.00	
Do	Amos Tuck of the School of Business Administration		
Do	Association of Family Farmers		
Do	BancFirst, et al.		
Do	Robert M. Bass Group	1,370.00	
Do	British Petroleum	1,200.00	
Do	California Independent Mortgage Brokers Assn		
Do	California Recycling Co		
Do	Century 21 Real Estate Corp		
Do	College Board		
Do	Colonial Pipeline Company	480.00	
Do	Continental Airlines Holding, Inc.	1,293.75	
Do	Credit Suisse Financial Products USA		
Do	CIGNA Corp	4,370.00	
Do	Estee Lauder, Inc	1,330.00	
Do	First Boston Corp	1,080.00	
Do	Greenwich Capital Markets, Inc		
Do	GAMMA Corp		
Do	Kelly Appleman Hart & Hallman		
Do	Keystone Provident Life Insurance Co		
Do	Marks Murase & White		
Do	National Assn of Rehabilitation Agencies	140.00	
Do	National Board for Professional Teaching Standards		
Do	National Soft Drink Assn	2,650.00	
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp	2,727.00	
Do	Normandy Foundation		
Do	Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co	5,800.00	
Do	Owens-Illinois, Inc		
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	780.00	
Do	Pittston Co	5,600.00	
Do	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc		
Do	Southern Pacific Transportation Co.	2,480.00	
Do	Southwest Airlines		
Do	Student Loan Marketing Assn (Sallie Mae)	980.00	
Do	Texaco, Inc	2,950.00	
Do	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc		
Do	TTX Company		
Do	U.S. Telephone Assn		
Do	Universal Foods, Inc	140.00	
Do	USAA Financial Service Co		
Fred H. Williamson, 1300 North 17th Street, Suite 1320 Arlington, VA 22209-3801	Eastman Kodak Company (Imaging Group)		
Alan R. Willis, Box 3529 Portland, OR 97208	Port of Portland	12,403.00	
Marsha Ann Willis, 371 South Emerson Street Denver, CO 80209	USA NAFTA	134.30	
Roy W. Willis, 1101 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Independent Petroleum Assn of America		100.00
Wayne D. Willis, 1100 17th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	General Atomics	1,214.03	148.72
Willkie Farr & Gallagher, 1155 21st Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Directory Publishers	2,585.00	53.76
Do	Browning-Ferris Industries, Inc	150.00	
Do	Council of Appraisal & Property Professional Societies		
Do	Morgan Guaranty Trust Co	3,427.50	131.00
Do	National Assn of Independent Fee Appraisers	990.00	
Do	Standard Commercial Tobacco Co, Ltd		
Do	Time Warner	1,262.50	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	5,620.00	
Do	William M. Mercer, Inc		
Do	Yamaha Motor Co, Ltd, et al.	390.00	
Do	Yamaha Motor Manufacturing Corp of America		
Do	Aetna Life & Casualty Co		
Do	American Cyanamid Co		
Do	Apple Computer, Inc		
Do	Business Roundtable		
Do	Citibank, N.A.		
Do	Computer Systems Policy Project		
Do	Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco		
Do	G-IV Family Coalition, Inc		
Do	Intellectual Property Committee		
Do	International Metals Reclamation Company, Inc		
Do	Long Island Savings Bank		
Do	Swiss Bankers Assn	9,345.00	1,587.89
Do	American Movers Conference	7,500.00	
Do	Fort Howard Corp	1,230.72	1,952.84
Do	Arter & Hadden (For:Nintendo of America, Inc)		
Do	National Cattlemen's Assn	1,000.00	
Do	Asea Brown Boveri, Inc	5,900.00	20.00
Do	Education Legislative Services, Inc (For:San Diego School District, et al.)	1,500.00	
Do	USX Corporation		
Do	Wilson & Wilson (For:Cadmium Council)		
Do	Wilson & Wilson (For:Hecla Mining Company)		
Do	PPG Industries, Inc	87.50	40.00
Do	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	2,500.00	203.00
Do	Wisconsin Electric Power Co	67.50	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:American Insurance Assn)	45,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Bell Atlantic Capital Corp)	15,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:BR Services)	15,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Champion International Corp)	20,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Chicago Northwestern Railroad)	15,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Delta Air Lines)	30,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Equipment Leasing Assn)	22,500.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Ewing Kauffman Foundation)	25,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Fieldale Farms Corp)	15,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Fluor Corp)		
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Hartford Insurance Group)	45,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Leggett & Platt)	21,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Lockheed Aeronautical Systems Co)	30,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:National Assn of Urban Critical Access Hospitals)	7,500.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Milliken & Co)	45,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:National Assn of County Office Employees)	3,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Norfolk Southern Railroad)	30,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Pfizer, Inc)	45,000.00	
Do	Winburn & Jenkins (For:Philip Morris)	71,000.00	
Do	Lehman Brothers, Inc	1,000.00	25.00
Judith A. Winchester, 1627 I Street NW, #1100 Washington D.C.	Maritime Institute for Research & Industrial Development	6,590.48	
Stephen H. Wines, 1133 15th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	National Solid Wastes Management Assn	500.00	
Eugene J. Wingerter, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc	600.00	361.19
Eileen M. Winkelman, 2501 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037	Union Pacific Corp	9,375.00	126.00
Katherine M. Winklejohn, 555 13th Street, NW, Suite 450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Wilkes Artis Hedrick & Lane (For:Aldrich, Eastman & Wallich, Inc)	15,531.25	
David L. Winstead, 1666 K Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20016	National Assn of Life Underwriters	987.50	62.00
David A. Winston, 1922 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Aitell Corp		
Winston & Strawn, 1400 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-3502	American Home Products Corp	2,491.25	50.88
Do			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	American Hospital Assn	1,627.50	
Do	American Insurance Assn		
Do	Bedminster Bioconversion Corp		
Do	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	2,491.25	50.88
Do	Carus Chemical Company	1,351.25	8.00
Do	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Assn	95.00	
Do	Colorado Bio/Medical Venture Center	4,836.25	8.00
Do	Compag Computer Corporation		
Do	Cooper Tire & Rubber Company		
Do	D.E. Shaw & Co. L.P.	2,491.25	
Do	Data Transformation Corp	1,500.00	1,500.00
Do	Digital Equipment Corp		
Do	Entergy Corp	10,277.50	330.00
Do	ELGARD Corp	866.25	33.28
Do	Federal Intermediate Credit Bank of Jackson		
Do	Gross Pointes-Harper Woods Study Comm for Detroit City Airt		
Do	Harpo, Inc	673.75	10.00
Do	Hearst Corp		
Do	Illinois State Medical Society	6,392.50	23.00
Do	Jefferies & Co, Inc	947.50	
Do	Lockheed Air Terminal, Inc	7,266.00	48.00
Do	McClure Gerard & Neuenschwander, Inc	5,415.00	110.60
Do	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	2,500.00	
Do	MERCK & Co, Inc	2,491.25	50.88
Do	National Bulk Vendors Assn	3,500.00	3,500.00
Do	National Council of Health Facilities Finance Authorities		
Do	National Marine Manufacturers Assn	1,230.00	
Do	National Retail Federation		
Do	Newport News Shipbuilding	92,960.00	1,261.73
Do	NYNEX Corp		
Do	Port of Pascagoula (Jackson County, MS)	16,000.00	596.75
Do	Public Securities Assn		
Do	PFIZER, Inc	2,491.25	50.88
Do	Regional Transit Authority	4,455.00	12.00
Do	Sprint	8,063.75	
Do	Student Loan Funding Corp	412.50	16.00
Do	SPR Task Force for Southeast Mississippi		
Do	Waggoner Engineering, Inc	10,431.25	682.43
Do	Walt Disney Co		
Do	National Wildlife Federation	256.65	
Linda A. Winter, 1400 Sixteenth Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-2266	America West Airlines, Inc		
Winthrop Stimson Putnam & Roberts, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW, 1200 Washington, DC 20036	American Automobile Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Amoco Performance Products, Inc		
Do	BASF Corp		
Do	BASF Structural Materials, Inc		
Do	Coalition for Responsible Waste Incineration (CRWI)		
Do	Fiberite Corp		
Do	Goldman Sachs		
Do	Hercules Aerospace Co		
Do	Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe		
Do	Macrovision, Inc		
Do	Monsanto Co		
Do	MCI Communications Corp		
Do	MTN Coalition		
Do	Navajo Nation		
Do	North American Chemical Company		8.00
Do	North American Chemical Corp		
Do	Organization for International Investment (OFII)	8,856.25	160.00
Do	Refractory Ceramics Fiber Coalition		
Do	RAT Coalition		
Do	Sabreliner Corp		
Do	Salomon Brothers, Inc		
Do	Securities Industry Assn	62.50	
Do	Smith Corona		
Do	Snappy Car Rental		
Do	St. Thomas & St. John Chamber of Commerce		
Do	Thrifty Rent-A-Car System, Inc		
Do	World Wildlife Fund		
Melanie Wisniewski, P.O. Box 020783 Miami, FL 33102-0783	Burger King Corp		195.00
Cynthia D. Witkin, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	American Portland Cement Alliance	9,375.00	485.86
Samuel B. Witt III, 500 Shepherd Street, Suite 200 Winston-Salem, NC 27103	Lawyers for Civil Justice	2,640.00	5.00
Anne Wloom, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 830 Washington, DC 20036	Southern Company Services, Inc		4,279.62
S.R. Wojdak and Associates, Inc, The Bellevue - Suite 850 200 S. Broad Street Philadelphia, PA 19102	Albert Einstein Medical Center	9,000.00	1,506.87
Do	Centennial Health Services, Inc		
Do	Children's Hospital of Philadelphia	51,000.00	2,463.54
Do	Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh	9,000.00	1,540.91
Do	Episcopal Hospital		64.05
Do	Healthcare Management Alternatives, Inc		
Do	Hospital of University of Pennsylvania Medical Center		64.05
Do	Magee-Womens Hospital	9,000.00	1,873.54
Do	Mercy Health Plan	1,600.00	124.84
Do	National Assn of Urban Critical Access Hospital	30,000.00	7,314.12
Do	North Philadelphia Health System		64.05
Do	Presbyterian University Hospital		64.05
Do	Thomas Jefferson University Hospital		64.05
Do	University of Pennsylvania	37,500.00	2,109.60
Do	Virginia Commonwealth University	15,000.00	
J. Thomas Wolfe, 1325 G Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries	5,750.00	22.79
Melissa A. Wolford, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	(For American Insurance Assn)	394.35	
Charles V. Wollerton, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	American Council of Life Insurance	500.00	
Ronald Wolsey, 1615 M Street, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Amoco Corporation	1,200.00	77.98
Richard Marvin Womack, Market Square 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #720 Washington, DC 20004-2604	Procter & Gamble Co	526.00	
Lloyd Wood, 8001 Braddock Road Springfield, VA 22160	National Right to Work Committee	1,500.00	104.60
Mildred Wood, 2000 K Street, NW #800 Washington, DC 20006	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,406.00	
S. Roy Woodall Jr., 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004-2599	American Council of Life Insurance	700.00	
Terry R. Woodard, One Suffolk Square, Suite 500 Islandia, NY 11722-1543	Council for Marketing & Opinion Research (CMOR)		
James H.B. Woodroffe III, P. O. Box 111 Tampa, FL 33601	Teco Energy, Inc	20,700.00	3,858.33
Andrew L. Woods, 625 Indiana Avenue, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20004-2901	Tait Stettinius & Hollister (For Special Committee for Health Care Reforms)		
Jerry D. Woods, 1000 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22209	Northrop Corp	1,400.00	102.88
Robert W. Woody, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20009	LeBoeur Lamb Leiby & MacRae		
William H.L. Woodward III, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20005	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	260.00	260.00
Noel C. Woosley, 4647 Forbes Boulevard Lanham, MD 20706	AMVETS	6,800.00	
Workers Compensation Integrity Stability & Equity (WISE), P.O. Box 18300 Washington, DC 20036-8300		32,500.00	42,939.00
Willard A. Workman, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce		
Workplace Health & Safety Council, 2300 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20037			
W. Robert Worley, 190 St. Clair Drive St. Simons Island, GA 31522	Southern Company Services, Inc		
Worthington Associates, 2132 Southbay Lane Reston, VA 22091	HRM		
Kyra Wostoupal, 400 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Professional Insurance Agents		
David L. Wray, 20 North Wacker Drive Chicago, IL 60606	Profit Sharing Council of America		
Alan D. Wright, 925 Euclid Avenue, #1700 Cleveland, OH 44115-1405	Blue Cross of Ohio & West Virginia	1,500.00	977.82
Andrew S. Wright, 1130 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	American Insurance Assn		105.00
David L. Wright, Anderson Hill Rd. Purchase, NY 10577	Pepsico, Inc		
Elizabeth L. Wright, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Suite 230 Washington, DC 20004	Texas Instruments	1,050.00	50.00
Wunder Diefenderfer Cannon & Thelen, 1615 L St., NW, #650 Washington, DC 20036	American Assn of Airport Executives		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	American International Group, Inc.	4,075.00	28.88
Do	American Iron & Steel Institute		
Do	Ashland Oil Company		
Do	BellSouth Corp.		
Do	Bermuda, Government of	2,073.75	109.00
Do	Committee Against Revising Staggers		
Do	Cosmetic Toiletry & Fragrance Assn, Inc.		
Do	CSX Corporation	3,000.00	
Do	Guam Tax Code Commission	1,200.00	22.30
Do	HDTV 1125/60 Group	3,000.00	131.74
Do	Industrial Oil Consumers Group		
Do	Intermarine USA		
Do	Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.	2,964.50	255.89
Do	Maxxam		
Do	McDonnell Douglas	1,999.97	8.76
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.		
Do	Montana Department of Transportation	680.00	
Do	National Assn of Small Business Investment Companies	4,840.00	69.45
Do	Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.		
Do	RJR Nabisco	3,000.00	109.37
Do	Sony Corp of America	1,000.00	46.33
Do	South Dakota Dept of Transportation	680.00	
Do	Squibb Corporation		
Do	U.S. Telephone Assn		
Do	Defenders of Wildlife		
Do	Holme Roberts & Owen (For Navigators Overseas Missionary Fellowship)		
Do	Sun Co, Inc.	1,519.00	
Do	Delta Air Lines, Inc.	110.00	175.00
Do	United Technologies	1,800.00	2,290.75
Do	Labor Policy Assn	1,606.00	1,606.00
Do	Associated General Contractors of America		
Do	Food Marketing Institute	400.00	
Do	National Comm to Preserve Social Security	3,745.00	1,530.87
Do	American Health Care Assn	25,000.00	2,956.89
Do	Edison Electric Institute	1,310.07	234.17
Do	United Armed Forces Assn		
Do	American Bankers Assn	10,000.00	50.34
Do	Yodice Associates (For Aircraft Owners & Pilots Assn)	2,504.00	
Do	Delta Air Lines, Inc.	450.00	115.80
Do	American Petroleum Institute	200.00	
Do	Center for Marine Conservation		113.65
Do	CONSOL, Inc.		
Do	American Hotel & Motel Assn	2,462.81	
Do	American Petroleum Institute	8,000.00	141.98
Do	Federation of American Controlled Shipping		
Do	Capitoline International Group, Ltd (For Republic of Azerbaijan)		
Do	Fleet Reserve Assn		
Do	National Cotton Council of America	10,500.00	200.15
Do	National Grocers Assn	500.00	
Do	Nuclear Fuel Services, Inc.	4,775.00	203.15
Do	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	3,167.91
Do	Building & Construction Trades Dept, AFL-CIO		
Do	New York Telephone		
Do	American Business Conference, Inc.		
Do	AMT - The Assn for Manufacturing Technology	3,417.00	250.00
Do	Amoco Corporation	1,850.00	284.67
Do	Cummins Engine Company, Inc.		
Do	National Cooperative Business Assn	7,000.00	212.70
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores, Inc.	1,000.00	
Do	Illinois Power		
Do	Northern States Power Company	6,000.00	995.81
Do	International Swap Dealers Assn, Inc.		148.39
Do	Mortgage Insurance Companies of America	6,474.97	
Do	Fertilizer Institute	9,000.00	1,132.07
Do	Nationwide Insurance Companies	1,000.00	1,025.00
Do	Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribes		
Do	Makah Indian Tribe		
Do	Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians		
Do	Northern Arapaho Indian Tribe		
Do	Northern Cheyenne Tribe		
Do	American Assn of University Women	5,000.00	
Do	National Beer Wholesalers Assn	2,000.00	144.22
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	1,200.00	
Do	General Electric Co	50.00	
Do	Kaman Diversified Technologies	75.00	
Do	Tenneco, Inc.	50.00	
Do	Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution	50.00	
James Wyerman, 1244 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
John R. Wylie, 90 South Cascade Avenue, #1300 Colorado Springs, CO 80903			
Thomas L. Wylie, 555 13th St., NW, #1010 East Washington, DC 20004-1109			
David S. Wynett, 1629 K Street, NW, #501 Washington, DC 20006			
Jill Yacone, 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005			
Daniel V. Yager, 1015 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005			
Nick Yaksich, 1957 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Nancy Foster Yanish, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Yankee Gas Services Company, Attn: Mr. Steve Piasick 599 Research Parkway P.O. Box 1030 Meriden, CT 06450-1030			
Mary J. Yarrington, 2000 K St., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006			
Bruce Yarwood, 1201 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Edward R. Yawn, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004-5475			
Jack Yelverton, 15 Falcon Court Stafford, VA 22554-5316			
Edward L. Yingling, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036			
John S. Yodice, 500 E Street, SW, #930 Washington, DC 20024			
D. Scott Yohe, 1629 K St., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20006			
Andrew Yood, 1220 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Nina M. Young, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036			
Stephen G. Young, 1800 Washington Road Pittsburgh, PA 15241			
Thomas F. Youngblood, 1201 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005-3931			
Betsy Younkins, 1220 L Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005			
Eugene A. Yourch, 50 Broadway New York, NY 10034			
M. Marty Youssefiani, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1150 Washington, DC 20035-6			
Michael J. Zabko, 125 North West Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2754			
Paulette Zakreski, 1521 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Thomas K. Zucha, 1825 Samuel Morse Drive Reston, VA 22090			
Richard A. Zavadowski, 1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 902 Washington, DC 20036			
Shirley Zebroski, 1660 L Street, NW, #401 Washington, DC 20036			
Leo C. Ziferetti, 49 Graham Place Breezy Point, NY 11697			
Do			
Philip F. Zeidman, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005			
Eugene J. Zeisler, 7901 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102			
Don J. Zeller, 1515 M Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036			
Steven L. Zeller, Box 3005 Columbus, IN 47202-3005			
Alan P. Zepp, 1401 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005			
Ronald L. Ziegler, P.O. Box 1417-049 Alexandria, VA 22313			
Joelle Ziemba, 919 18th Street, NW, Suite 450 Washington, DC 20006			
Elaine Ziemba, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. #600 North Building Washington, DC 20004			
Bradley P. Ziff, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, #2118 Rockefeller Center New York, NY 10020-1702			
Kelly Ziglar-Clay, 805 15th Street, NW, #1110 Washington, DC 20005			
Fred Everett Zillinger II, 501 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002			
W. Craig Zimpher, One Nationwide Plaza Columbus, OH 43216			
Ziontz Chestnut Varnell Berley & Stonim, 2101 Fourth Avenue, #1230 Seattle, WA 98121			
Do			
Do			
Do			
Do			
Nancy Zirkin, 1111 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036			
Gary M. Zizka, 1100 South Washington Street, 1st floor Alexandria, VA 22314-4494			
Robert R. Zogelman, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006			
965, Inc, 513 Capitol Court, NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002			
Do			
Do			
Do			

QUARTERLY REPORTS*

*All alphanumeric characters and monetary amounts refer to receipts and expenditures on page 2, paragraphs D and E of the Quarterly Report Form.

The following reports for the fourth calendar quarter of 1993 were received too late to be included in the published reports for that quarter:

(NOTE.—The form used for report is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective headings. This page (Page 1) is designed to supply identifying data, and Page 2 deals with financial data.)

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OFFICE OF RECORDS AND REGISTRATION, 1036 LONGWORTH HOUSE
OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

PLEASE RETURN 1 ORIGINAL TO: THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS, 232 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th

(Mark one square only)

Is this an Amendment?

☐ YES ☐ NO

IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

- "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)
- "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

- Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.
- Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

☐ CHECK IF ADDRESS IS DIFFERENT THAN PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE on ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (a) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (b) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE on ITEM "C".—(a) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(b) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(c) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have

terminated, place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the specific legislative interests by reciting: (a) Short titles of statutes and bills; (b) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (c) citations of statutes, where known; (d) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (a) description, (b) quantity distributed, (c) date of distribution, (d) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed.)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and, if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. *If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out items "D" and "E" on the back of this page.* Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report. ♦

STATEMENT OF VERIFICATION

[Omitted in printing]

NOTE on ITEM "D."—(a) IN GENERAL. The term "contribution" includes anything of value. When an organization or individual uses printed or duplicated matter in a campaign attempting to influence legislation, money received by such organization or individual—for such printed or duplicated matter—is a "contribution." "The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution"—§302(a) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYER.—(i) In general. Item "D" is designed for the reporting of all receipts from which expenditures are made, or will be made, in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) Receipts of Business Firms and Individuals.—A business firm (or individual) which is subject to the Lobbying Act by reason of expenditures which it makes in attempting to influence legislation—but which has no funds to expend except those which are available in the ordinary course of operating a business not connected in any way with the influencing of legislation—will have no receipts to report, even though it does have expenditures to report.

(iii) Receipts of Multi-purpose Organizations.—Some organizations do not receive any funds which are to be expended solely for the purpose of attempting to influence legislation. Such organizations make such expenditures out of a general fund raised by dues, assessments, or other contributions. The percentage of the general fund which is used for such expenditures indicates the percentage of dues, assessments, or other contributions which may be considered to have been paid for that purpose. Therefore, in reporting receipts, such organizations may specify what that percentage is, and report their dues, assessments, and other contributions on that basis. However, each contributor of \$500 or more is to be listed, regardless of whether the contribution was made solely for legislative purposes.

(c) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE.—(i) In general. In the case of many employees, all receipts will come under Items "D 5" (received for services) and "D 12" (expense money and reimbursements). In the absence of a clear statement to the contrary, it will be presumed that your employer is to reimburse you for all expenditures which you make in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) Employer as Contributor of \$500 or More.—When your contribution from your employer (in the form of salary, fee, etc.) amounts to \$500 or more, it is not necessary to report such contribution under "D 13" and "D 14," since the amount has already been reported under "D 5," and the name of the "employer" has been given under Item "B" on page 1 of this report.

D. RECEIPTS (INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS):

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "NONE" in the space following the number.

Receipts (other than loans)

1. \$.....Dues and assessments
2. \$.....Gifts of money or anything of value
3. \$.....Printed or duplicated matter received as a gift
4. \$.....Receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter
5. \$.....Received for services (e.g., salary, fee, etc.)
6. \$.....TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "5")
7. \$.....Received during previous Quarters of calendar year
8. \$.....TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "6" and "7")

Loans Received—"The term 'contribution' includes a . . . loan . . ."—§302(a).

9. \$.....TOTAL now owed to others on account of loans
10. \$.....Borrowed from others during this Quarter
11. \$.....Repaid to others during this Quarter
12. \$....."Expense Money" and Reimbursements received this Quarter.

Contributors of \$500 or More (from Jan. 1 through this Quarter)

13. Have there been such contributors?

Please answer "yes" or "no":

14. In the case of each contributor whose contributions (including loans) during the "period" from January 1 through the last day of this Quarter, total \$500 or more:

Attach hereto plain sheets of paper, approximately the size of this page, tabulate data under the headings "Amount" and "Name and Address of Contributor"; and indicate whether the last day of the period is March 31, June 30, September 30, or December 31. Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	Name and Address of Contributor ("Period" from Jan. 1 through....., 19.....)
\$1,500.00	John Doe, 1621 Blank Bldg., New York, N.Y.
\$1,785.00	The Roe Corporation, 2511 Doe Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
\$3,285.00	TOTAL

NOTE on ITEM "E."—(a) IN GENERAL. "The term 'expenditure' includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure"—§302(b) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE. In the case of many employees, all expenditures will come under telephone and telegraph (Item "E 6") and travel, food, lodging, and entertainment (Item "E 7").

E. EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING LOANS) IN CONNECTION WITH LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS:

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "NONE" in the spaces following the number.

Expenditures (other than loans)

1. \$.....Public relations and advertising services
2. \$.....Wages, salaries, fees, commissions (other than Item "1")
3. \$.....Gifts or contributions made during Quarter
4. \$.....Printed or duplicated matter, including distribution cost
5. \$.....Office overhead (rent, supplies, utilities, etc.)
6. \$.....Telephone and telegraph
7. \$.....Travel, food, lodging, and entertainment
8. \$.....All other expenditures
9. \$.....TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "8")
10. \$.....Expended during previous Quarters of calendar year
11. \$.....TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "9" and "10")

Loans Made to Others—"The term 'expenditure' includes a . . . loan . . ."—§302(b).

12. \$.....TOTAL now owed to person filing
13. \$.....Lent to others during this Quarter
14. \$.....Repayments received during this Quarter

15. Recipients of Expenditures of \$10 or More

If there were no single expenditures of \$10 or more, please so indicate by using the word "NONE".

In the case of expenditures made during this Quarter by, or on behalf of, the person filing: Attach plain sheets of paper approximately the size of this page and tabulate data as to expenditures under the following heading: "Amount," "Date or Dates," "Name and Address of Recipient," "Purpose." Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	Date or Dates	Name and Address of Recipient—Purpose
\$1,750.00	7-11:	Roe Printing Co., 3214 Blank Ave., St. Louis, Mo.—Printing and mailing circulars on the "Marshbanks Bill."
\$2,400.00	7-15, 8-15, 9-15:	Britten & Blaten, 3127 Gremlin Bldg., Washington, D.C.—Public relations service at \$800.00 per month.

\$4,150.00 TOTAL

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
A-K Associates, Inc, 1024 10th Street, #300 Sacramento, CA 95814	City of South Lake Tahoe		
Do	DDP*Delta	41,925.00	35,638.40
Do	Golden Gate Bridge Highway & Transportation District	6,300.00	5,078.89
Do	Reclamation District 1000		19.93
Do	Tahoe Basin Assn of Governments	3,543.51	2,868.26
Do	Handgun Control, Inc	13,975.00	
Richard M. Aborn, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005			12,810.22
Advocates for Highway & Auto Safety, 777 N. Capitol Street, NE, #410 Washington, DC 20002	Association for Gerontology in Higher Education	750.00	
David A. Affeldt, 10404 Joiners Lane Potomac, MD 20854	American Hospital Assn	8,071.90	514.94
Stephen Ahnen, 50 F Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20001	Sandoz Corp		210.00
Herbert Allen Ainsworth, 1615 L Street, NW, #420 Washington, DC 20036		1,014.12	1,014.12
Air Traffic Control Assn, Inc, 2300 Clarendon Boulevard, #711 Arlington, VA 22201		92,115.91	92,115.91
Air Transport Assn of America, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707	Digital Equipment Corp	23,500.00	
Michael A. Aisenberg, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500-2 Washington, DC 20004	Albertine Enterprises, Inc (For:West Point Pepperell, Inc)		60.00
John M. Albertine, 1889 L Street, NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	AST Research, Inc		16,886.56
Albertine Enterprises, Inc, 1899 L Street, NW, # 500 Washington, DC 20036	Sio Algom Mining Corp	5,395.52	
Dale L. Alberts, 401 East E Street Casper, WY 82601	EMSA Limited Partnership	7,500.00	
Alcalde Rousselot & Fay, 2111 Wilson Blvd., #850 Arlington, VA 22201	Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce		
Do	Towers Financial Corp	7,500.00	
Do	Matsushita Electric Corp of America	300.00	38.52
Mary K. Alexander, 1819 L Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036-3822	Arter & Hadden		
Ronald A. Allbee, P.O. Box 9205 South Burlington, VT 05407	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	15,687.24	896.48
Marjorie D. Allen, 1625 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Coal Assn	13,800.00	46.00
Thomas H. Altmeyer, 1130 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036			6,826.00
American Advertising Federation, 1101 Vermont Ave. N.W., Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005		47,804.00	
American Apparel Manufacturers Assn, Inc, 2500 Wilson Blvd., #301 Arlington, VA 22201		50,833.00	50,831.66
American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Fl Washington, DC 20036			
American Assn for Respiratory Care, 11030 Ables Lane Dallas, TX 75229		6,900.00	16,835.96
American Assn of Boomers (AAB), 2621 W. Airport Fwy, #101 Irving, TX 75062			693.35
American Assn of Museums, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005		41,575.00	42,645.37
American Assn of University Women, 1111 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		90,795.00	33,528.00
American Consulting Engineers Council, 1015 15th Street, NW, #802 Washington, DC 20005			151,798.79
American Counseling Association, 5999 Stevenson Ave. Alexandria, VA 22304			600.00
American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees, 1625 L St., NW Washington, DC 20036		30,204.00	30,204.00
American Forest Resource Alliance, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036			
American Gas Assn, 1515 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22209		485,104.00	145,178.00
American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee, Inc, 1730 K Street, NW, #1005 Washington, DC 20006		25,000.00	4,343.79
American International Automobile Dealers Assn, 99 Canal Center Plaza, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314			2,520.00
American Life League, Inc, Box 1350 Stafford, VA 22555			
American Managed Care & Review Assn, 1227 25th St., NW, #610 Washington, DC 20037		250,000.00	56,184.00
American Medical Peer Review Assn, 810 First Street, NE, #410 Washington, DC 20002		252,691.37	550,628.53
American Orthotic and Prosthetic Assn, 1650 King Street, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314-1885		75,530.66	90,891.16
American Petroleum Institute, 1220 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005			16,392.00
American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, 1300 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			51,419.56
American Radio Relay League, Inc, 225 Main St. Newington, CT 06111			
American Soc of Cataract & Refractive Surgery, 4000 Legato Road, Suite 850 Fairfax, VA 22033-4003		101,633.00	62,687.88
American Society of Clinical Oncology, 750 17th Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20006		200.00	3,456.00
American Wind Energy Assn, 777 North Capitol St. NE, #805 Washington D.C., DC 20002		75,949.63	35,928.68
Americans for a Presidential Line-Item Veto, 2020 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Suite 164 Washington, DC 20006			
Americans for the High Frontier, 2800 Shirlington Road, #405A Arlington, VA 22206			
Sarah Jane Amundson, 900 2nd Street, NE, #303 Washington, DC 20002	Doris Day Animal League	84.00	
Carl A. Anderson, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004	Knights of Columbus	400.00	
John B. Anderson, 418 7th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	World Federalist Assn	1,250.01	
Kenneth William Anderson, 1629 K Street, NW, #301 Washington, DC 20006	Evergreen International Aviation, Inc		888.00
Lori Anderson, 1275 K Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20005	Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc		
Anderson Hibel & Blair, 1708 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20009	Alamo Rent-A-Car, Inc	10,281.50	1,994.57
Do	Bay Area Rapid Transit District		
Do	Evans Company	256.25	
Do	Liquidity Fund Management, Inc	550.00	
Do	Navajo Nation	2,150.00	231.00
Jill C. Andrews, 4527 North 16th Street, #200 Phoenix, AZ 85016	Small Business Alliance on Communications, Inc		
Michael Andrews, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20004	Salomon Brothers, Inc	4,000.00	512.75
John K. Antholis, 22 Pine Street Morristown, NJ 07960	New Jersey Assn of Independent Car Rental Companies		
Appraisal Institute, 2555 M Street, NW, #301 Washington, DC 20037-1302		2,362.00	2,362.00
Arant Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036-5339	Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association	8,543.00	8,543.00
Armenian Assembly of America, 122 C Street, NW #350 Washington, DC 20001	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	3,513.93	
Karen McGill Arrington, 1629 K Street, N.W., #1010 Washington, DC 20006		2,500.00	
Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209		3,550.00	3,550.00
Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc, 1320 19th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036			
Association of Private Pension & Welfare Plans, Inc, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #1250 Washington, DC 20005			
Fritz E. Attaway, 1600 Eye St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	1,200.00	28.00
Ronald R. Austin, 1201 16th Street, NW, #210 Washington, DC 20036	Overseas Education Assn, Inc	1,127.12	
Susan M. Auther, 555 Thirteenth Street, NW, #450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Union Pacific Corporation	7,850.00	2,026.07
Automotive Parts Rebuilders Assn, 4401 Fair Lakes Court Fairfax, VA 22033		750.00	750.00
John S. Autry, 1825 Eye Street, NW, S-400 Washington, DC 20006	JSA-1, Inc	10,000.00	1,713.25
APCO Associates, Inc, 1155 21st St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Maritime Congress		
Do	City Utilities of Springfield	160.00	
Do	Clark Public Utilities	360.00	107.35
Do	Colorado River Energy Distributors		
Do	Englehard Corp		40.00
Do	Gerber Products Company		
Do	Heart of America Northwest		161.64
Do	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc		
Do	Pennsylvania Power & Light		
Do	Philip Morris Companies, Inc		
Do	Sacramento Municipal Utility District	255.00	
Do	Southern California Public Power Authority	160.00	5.68
Do	State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Co		
Do	Tennessee Valley Public Power Assn	240.00	
Do	International Hardwood Products Assn (IHPA)	4,550.00	811.92
Do	Martini & Rossi Corporation		
Do	Corroon & Black Corp	750.00	750.00
Do	Johnson & Higgins	750.00	750.00
Do	Marsh & McLennan Companies	750.00	750.00
Do	Rollins Burdick Hunter	750.00	750.00
Do	Sedgwick James, Inc	750.00	750.00
Do	Vaulted Aboveground Storage Tanks Assn	13,533.75	3,723.75
Do	AFG Industries, Inc	3,222.30	160.02
Baker Worthington Crossley Stansberry & Woolf, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004	AT&T	99.00	
Do	Burger King Corp	8,611.00	
Do	Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport Board	702.00	
Do	Day & Zimmerman, Inc		
Do	Dinamo	5,727.50	238.02
Do	Duty Free International, Inc		
Do	Federal Express Corp		
Do	Grand Metropolitan, Inc	6,380.90	658.44
Do	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	4,494.00	180.00
Do	International Business Machines Corp (IBM)	412.50	
Do	Landauer, Inc		
Do	Los Angeles County Transportation Commission	8,189.00	56.00
Do	Morrison Knudsen Corp		
Do	Mutual Guaranty Corp	121.50	
Do	National Soft Drink Assn		
Do	North Carolina Air Cargo Airport Authority		
Do	Occidental Petroleum Corp		

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Pennzoil Co	4,411.80	
Do	Pillsbury Company	3,161.20	
Do	Pratt & Whitney		
Do	Salomon Brothers, Inc	7,667.00	
Do	Schelle Cellular Group, Inc		
Do	Schering-Plough Corp	1,932.00	95.90
Do	Southern Star Shipping Co		
Do	U.S. Sprint/Contel		
Do	U.S. Tobacco, Inc	405.00	
Do	United Technologies Corp	3,269.30	122.50
Do	Ventura Port District	4,049.40	
Do	Waste Management, Inc		
Elizabeth Baldwin, 750 First Street, NE Washington, DC 20002-4242	American Psychological Assn	1,000.00	57.50
Stanley W. Balis, 1101 14th Street, NW, #1400 Washington, DC 20005	Miller Balis & O'Neil, P.C. (For-American Public Gas Assn (APGA))		
Robert D. Bannister, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.	36,341.33	80.54
Emory W. Baragar, 1700 N. Moore St., #2120 Rosslyn, VA 22209	Boeing Company	3,062.55	23.00
Leslie A. Barhyte, 529 14th Street, NW, #440 Washington, DC 20045	Newspaper Association of America	5,000.00	12.40
G. Denise Barksdale, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company		
Jim Barnes, 218 D St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth		
Barnes Richardson & Colburn, 1619 H St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Abbott Laboratories	744.48	3.75
Do	MFC Corporation	737.33	11.79
Sarah Barnett, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Sugar Assn, Inc	356.00	10.00
Timothy Barnicle, 1050 17th Street, NW, Suite 810 Washington, DC 20036-Bar	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates, Inc (For-Riley Consolidated, Inc)	1,150.00	1,150.00
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates, Inc (For-RG Associates, Inc)	500.00	500.00
James C. Barr, 1840 Wilson Blvd Arlington, VA 22201	National Milk Producers Federation	3,150.00	
David M. Barrett, 2550 M Street, NW, #375 Washington, DC 20037	Fleetwood Enterprises, Inc		
Do	Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority	312.50	208.00
Patricia L. Bartlett, 700 13th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Georgia Institute of Technology	1,860.00	
Richard A. Barton, 1101 17th St., NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	Direct Marketing Assn	4,500.00	10,465.70
Jo-Anne R. Basile, 1133 21st Street 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20036	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Assn		
Lezin Baskerville, 1100 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	4,000.00	41.00
Bass Berry & Sims, 2700 First American Center Nashville, TN 37238	Attorneys' Liability Assurance Society, Inc	1,531.00	1,531.00
Russell B. Batson, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	1,000.00	200.00
John L. Bauer Jr., 1667 K St., NW, #550 Washington, DC 20006	Armo, Inc	800.00	885.15
Jeffrey A. Baum, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company	3,000.00	
Charles E. Baxter, P.O. Box 1682 Austin, TX 78767	Blue Cross Blue Shield of Texas	2,500.00	41.21
Beacon Consulting Group, Inc, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002-5703	Big Brothers & Big Sisters of America		155.14
Do	Museum of Science & Industry	3,400.00	181.86
Do	Mystic Seaport Museum	9,000.00	379.66
Do	National Coalition for Volunteer Protection		
Do	National Crime Prevention Council	13,500.00	625.98
Do	National Museum of Health & Medicine Foundation	15,000.00	1,026.52
Do	New England Conservatory of Music	13,500.00	364.28
Do	Orton Dyslexia Society		
Dorothy A. Beam, 1510 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	TDS Healthcare Systems Corp	11,685.60	3,804.22
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates (For-Association of American Railroads)	1,000.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Design Professionals Coalition)	2,000.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Harbor Dredging)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-National Utility Products Co)	500.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District)	500.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For-Water Environment Research Foundation)		
Brenda Larsen Becker, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	761.00	795.14
Elizabeth W. Beckwith, 300 5th Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Osteopathic Assn	10,000.00	
Stephen E. Bell, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20004	Salomon Brothers, Inc	5,000.00	
Lisa Bellucci, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Jennifer L. Bendall, 1020 19th Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc	14,500.00	
Mike Benner, 1300 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO	3,391.49	223.25
Daniel J. Bennett, 1300 North 17th St Rosslyn, VA 22209	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Mary C. Bennett, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Baker & McKenzie (For-Continental European Insurance Coalition)		
Do	Baker & McKenzie (For-Horsham Corporation)		
Jane W. Bergwin, 1016 16th Street, NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Consumers Power Co	3,448.00	6,988.00
Peter A. Berle, 950 Third Avenue New York, NY 10022	National Audubon Society	1,000.00	357.00
Jason S. Berman, 1020 19th St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc	2,000.00	
Maria L. Berthoud, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	New England Council, Inc		
Margot Bester, 1101 - 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-Prodigy Services Corporation)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For-U.S. Telephone Assn)		
John F. Betar, 700 13th Street, NW, #1170 Washington, DC 20005	Association of Bank Holding Cos	3,190.00	
Albert J. Beveridge, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Beveridge & Diamond (For-Foundation for Environmental & Economic Progress, Inc)	35.62	
Beveridge & Diamond, P.C., 1350 Eye Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Conference of National Park Concessioners		
Moe Biller, 1300 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO	14,016.21	
Debbie Billet-Roumell, 901 E Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	National Treasury Employees Union	14,171.75	282.00
McNair Bishop, 1725 K Street, NW, #601 Washington, DC 20006	Association of National Advertisers, Inc		
William G. Bishop III, 249 Maitland Avenue Altamonte Springs, FL 32701-4201	Institute of Internal Auditors		
Mark E. Bitterman, 21700 Atlantic Boulevard Dulles, VA 22166-6801	Orbital Sciences Corp	335.00	409.00
Cathleen Black, 11600 Sunrise Valley Drive Reston, VA 22091	Newspaper Association of America	6,000.00	
Roger Blacklow, 905 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Labores' International Union of NA, AFL-CIO	14,166.68	289.59
Brent Blackwelder, 218 D St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth	959.82	
Stephen J. Blair, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn, Inc	2,125.00	
David C. Blee, 919 18th Street, NW, #450 Washington, DC 20006	Illinois Power	5,390.00	721.77
Nadine Block, 70 West 40th Street, 3rd Floor New York, NY 10018	American Pacific Enterprises		
Shawn M. Bloom, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
John B. Blount Jr., 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #1250 Washington, DC 20005	Assn of Private Pension and Welfare Plans		
Louis Blumberg, 900 - 17th Street NW Washington, DC 20006	Wilderness Society		
Bradley Bodager, 1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20009	Federation for American Immigration Reform		
Seth M. Bodner, 386 Park Avenue South New York, NY 10016	National Knitwear & Sportswear Assn	1,875.00	
Robert Spurrier Boege, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Stacy A. Bohnen, 300 5th Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	American Osteopathic Association	10,000.00	
John Bohm, 1800 Diagonal Road, #140 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assisted Housing Management Assn	500.00	
James E. Boland, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	5,000.00	56.00
Judith Bonderman, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc		
Richard H. Bornemann, 12 Fourth Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Kansas City Southern Industries, Inc	2,000.00	
Lizbet Boroughs, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy	6,267.00	
Deborah L. Boudreau, 1120 G Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	1,650.00	
Albert D. Bourland, 1350 I Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Daimler-Benz Washington, Inc	7,500.00	200.58
Michael Bowers, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy	1,716.00	
Larry G. Bowles, 1150 - 18th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Halliburton Co		26.00
Charles H. Bowser, 1511 K Street, NW, Suite 511 Washington, DC 20005			
Richard K. Boyd, 299 Park Ave. New York, NY 10171	Westvaco Corporation		3,330.36
Carolyn A. Boyer, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc	51.52	8.00
Paul Boyle, 529 14th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20045	Newspaper Association of America	7,000.00	161.78
Bracewell & Patterson, 2000 K St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Birdsall, Inc		
Do	COMDISCO, Inc		
Henry E. Braden, 2122 N. Galvez Street New Orleans, LA 70119	Energy Services, Inc	9,600.00	
Cynthia P. Bradley, 1625 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	12,572.91	585.09
Dennis M. Bradshaw, 4201 Lafayette Center Drive Chantilly, VA 22021-1230	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors' Nat'l Assn		
Sarah Brady, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	12,578.00	
Roy Braunstein, 1300 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO	16,566.81	1,398.67
Carolyn L. Brehm, 1660 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	General Motors Corp	3,000.00	1,782.86
Heather Haral Bremer, P.O. Box 25366 Washington, DC 20007-8366	Hawkins and Associates (For-Alza Corporation, et al.)		
Thomas M. Bresnahan III, 1401 I Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Chevron Companies	6,000.00	55.00
Robert J. Brinkmann, 11600 Sunrise Valley Drive Reston, VA 22091	National Newspaper Assn	4,000.00	30.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
John J. Brittle, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	15,593.00	
Brother Industries (USA), Inc, 2950 Brother Boulevard Bartlett, TN 38133			9,078.73
Brother International Corp, 200 Cottontail Lane Somerset, NJ 08875			23,973.74
Edward J. Brothers, 622 Barbados Drive, #3 Indianapolis, IN 46227			
Joseph Browder, 418 10th St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Dunlap & Browder, Inc		
Bonnie L. Brown, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc		
David S. J. Brown, 700 14th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Co	700.00	792.28
Dianne C. Brown, 750 First St., NE Washington, DC 20002-4242	American Psychological Assn	1,000.00	
Donald K. Brown, 1121 L St., #610 Sacramento, CA 95814	Crowley Maritime Corp		
Do	Summa Corporation		
Felicien J. Brown, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Association of Retired Persons	646.16	229.46
Jerry M. Brown, Post Office Box 1321 Springfield, VA 22151-0321	Bio-Technology General Corporation	6,000.00	400.00
S. M. Henry Brown Jr., 1776 Eye Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20006	Entergy Services, Inc	7,683.00	223.63
Valerie L. Brown, New Jersey Law Center I Constitution Square New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1500	New Jersey State Bar Assn		
Brownstein Hyatt Farber & Strickland, P.C., 410 17th Street, 22nd Floor Denver, CO 80202	Asset Investors		
Do	Liberty Media Corp		
Do	US West		
Brownstein Zeidman & Lore, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	New York City Housing Development Corp	2,112.75	
Do	New York State Mortgage Loan Enforcement & Admin Corp		
Wolf Bruckmann, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce		
David J. Bruggier, 1350 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Association of America's Public Television Stations	69.13	4.00
William K. Brunette, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	653.08	119.00
William Miller & Olive, P.A., 201 South Monroe Street, Suite 500 Tallahassee, FL 32301	Fernandina Cruise Lines, Inc	55,000.00	
Brydges Riseborough Morris Franke & Miller, 150 N. Michigan Ave. Chicago, IL 60601	School District 63, et al.	12,151.64	7,037.35
Don C. Buchanan, 1750 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers International Assn	18,327.00	
Judith A. Buckalew, 1600 M Street, NW, Suite 702 Washington, DC 20036	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc		
John G. Buckley, 901 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2301	New England Fuel Institute	500.00	
Michael Buckley, 1522 K Street, NW, #836 Washington, DC 20005	Consortium of Social Science Assn		45.00
Roy C. Buckner, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Textron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Philip Bujakowski, 1735 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Institute of Architects	2,000.00	
Diane B. Burke, 1625 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	17,805.21	563.00
Gerard P. Burke, 1117 Spotswood Drive Silver Spring, MD 20904	International Air Leases, Inc		
David G. Burney, 1101 17th St. N.W., #609 Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Tuna Foundation	12,000.00	3,000.00
Melinda Burrell, 418 7th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	World Federalist Assn	5,417.98	
James D. Burwell, Governmental Affairs Dept. (051) Columbia, SC 29218	Scana Corp		22,302.96
Russell D. Butcher, 4380 North Campbell Ave., #204-C Tucson, AZ 85718	National Parks & Conservation Assn		
James J. Butera, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Federal Home Loan Bank of Boston	1,000.00	
Do	Savings Bank of the Finger Lakes	1,000.00	
Butera & Andrews, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004	Anchor Savings Bank	1,500.00	
Do	ADVANTA Corporation	2,500.00	
Do	Community Bankers Assn of New York State	1,500.00	
Do	Community Preservation Corp	500.00	
Do	CRISIS	10,000.00	
Do	Dime Savings Bank of New York	1,500.00	
Do	Edison Electric Institute		
Do	Federation for American Immigration Reform	4,000.00	
Do	Household International	5,000.00	
Do	NVR Savings Bank		
Do	Peoples Bank	1,500.00	
Do	River Bank America	1,000.00	
Do	Rochester Community Savings Bank	1,500.00	
Do	Savings Banks Life Insurance Fund	1,000.00	
Do	Superior Bank, FSB	1,500.00	
Do	Texas Savings & Loan League	1,500.00	
Do	Towers Perrin	4,000.00	
Lynnea Bylund, 2300 M Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20037	United States Independent Microwave Television Assn (USIMTA)		
Patrick J. Cacchione, 4600 Edmundson Road St Louis, MO 63134	Daughters of Charity National Health Systems		
Elizabeth B. Cady, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20006	Steel Service Center Institute		8.00
Dominique Cahn, 555 13th Street, NW, #1260 East Washington, DC 20004	Medtronic, Inc	750.00	123.70
David B. Calabrese, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave. NW Washington, DC 20006	Electronic Industries Assn	1,595.00	
Tony Calandro, 750 First Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn, Inc		
Thomas Caldwell, 4-30-1-202 Nishi-Shinjuku Tokyo 160 Japan	American Psychological Assn	835.00	
Wayne J. Camara, 750 First St., NE Washington, DC 20002-4242	Associated Builders & Contractors	6,699.00	12,455.34
Campaign for U.N. Reform-Political Education Committee, 713 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Gardner Carton & Douglas (For:Ukiah Valley Medical Center)	2,500.00	
Carolann Campana, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	New York Power Authority	5,456.25	4,029.75
Thomas Campbell, 1301 K Street, NW, #900, East Tower Washington, DC 20005	Thiokol Corp	26,133.00	40,356.00
Campbell Falk & Selby, 1101 30th Street, NW, #550 Washington, DC 20007	Friends of the Earth	23.77	
John D. Canatsey, 1735 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1001 Arlington, VA 22202	American Nuclear Energy Council		
Shawn Cantrell, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Guideway Corporation	46,000.00	6,900.00
Charles H. Cantus, 410 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	ATC Management Corporation		
Capital Partnerships, Inc, 4350 North Fairfax Drive, #530 Arlington, VA 22203	Hansen Engine Corp		
Do	North Metro Mayors Coalition	5,000.00	750.00
Do	RADAR	30,087.00	4,513.00
Do	Equitable Capital Management Corp		
Capitol Strategies, 1420 New York Avenue, NW, #1050 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	3,353.00	
Marie C. Carbone, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Electronic Industries Assn	27,576.00	27,576.00
Career College Assn, Inc, 750 First Street, NE, #900 Washington, DC 20002	Carter Footwear	750.00	122.67
Melissa Coggeshall Carey, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave. NW Washington, DC 20006	Kennametal, Inc		
Carmen Group, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #365 Washington, DC 20037	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council	20,000.00	
George U. Carneal III, 1129 20th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Edison Electric Institute	15,000.00	
William Carney, 523 7th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Assn of Wheat Growers	1,000.00	
Do	Lafarge Corp (For:Cement Kiln Recycling Coalition)		
Margie Carriger, 415 2nd St., NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	Communications Satellite Corp	1,850.80	244.22
David Carroll, 1212 New York Avenue N.W. #500 Washington, DC 20005	Greater New York Hospital Assn	1,185.00	194.00
James M. Carroll, 6560 Rock Spring Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Schmeltzer Aptaker & Shepard, PC (For:Council of Nursing Home Suppliers)	7,245.00	
Mary Carroll, 555 West 57th Street New York, NY 10019	Assn of Home Appliance Manufacturers		
Frank H. Case III, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20037-1905	Nationwide Insurance Companies		
Jennifer Casey, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	American Hospital in Shanghai Foundation		
Michael K. Casey, 7105 Fort Hunt Road Alexandria, VA 22307	ARCO Chemical Americas Co	1,125.00	
Cassidy and Associates, Inc, 700 13th St., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Bentley College	1,375.00	15.00
Do	City of Fairfield, CA	2,925.00	
Do	Dowling College	2,925.00	233.00
Do	Elliott Homes		
Do	Energy Partners	4,800.00	375.05
Do	Evergreen Airventure Museum	825.00	
Do	Federal Express		
Do	Florida Power Corp	150.00	6.00
Do	T.L. James & Company		
Do	Jones Intercable, Inc		
Do	Lahey Clinic	1,700.00	105.00
Do	Mac Andrews and Forbes	600.00	
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp	2,387.40	1,157.20
Do	Medicon	2,550.00	131.25
Do	Philip Crosby Associates, Inc		
Do	Smokeless Tobacco Council		
Do	Unified Industries, Inc	300.00	
Do	American Consulting Engineers Council	912.50	
Do	Caterpillar, Inc	5,000.00	996.00
Mark A. Casso, 1015 15th Street, NW, #802 Washington, DC 20005	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:American Industrial Hygiene Assn)	2,200.00	2,200.00
Rita L. Castle, 100 NE Adams Street Peoria, IL 61629	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:Design Professional Coalition)		
G. Thomas Cator, 1050 17th Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20036			
Do			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:GMIS)		
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:Hazardous Waste Action Coalition)		
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:National Assn of Development Companies)	1,150.00	1,150.00
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:National Assn of Government Guaranteed Lenders, Inc.)	1,500.00	1,500.00
Do	Neece Cator Barnicle & Associates (For:Southeastern Lumber Manufacturers Assn)	1,150.00	1,150.00
Do	Chevron Companies	4,200.00	1,000.00
Philip T. Cavanaugh, 1401 Eye Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	American Paper Institute, Inc.		
Red Cavaney, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036			
Cement Kiln Recycling Coalition, 1212 New York Ave. NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	Taubman Company, Inc.	16,546.00	
Cendrowski, Selecky & Reinhart, 2050 N. Woodward, #310 Bloomfield Hills, MI 48013	N. Chapman Associates, Inc (For:Society for Nutrition Education)		
Nancy Chapman, 1723 U Street, NW Washington, DC 20009			
Charter Medical Corp, 577 Mulberry Street Macon, GA 31298	Litton Industries		
John L. Child, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #601 Arlington, VA 22202		6,017.69	5,892.94
Christians' Israeli Public Action Campaign, Inc., 2013 Q Street, NW Washington, DC 20009		1,105.43	1,105.43
Citizens for an Alternative Tax System, 100 North Brand Blvd, Suite 502 Glendale, CA 91203			
Citizens Political Action Committee, P.O. Box 645 228 South A Street, #2 Oxnard, CA 93032	National Legal Aid & Defenders Assn	16,120.02	
Julie Clark, 1625 K St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	American Train Dispatchers Assn	1,583.25	
William A. Clifford, 510-15 Revere Beach Blvd., #806 Revere, MA 02151	U.S. Telephone Assn	1,250.00	
Lawrence Clinton, 900 19th Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Air Transport Assn of America	18,852.43	
Guy Clough, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707			
Coalition for Food Aid, 1237 N. Nash Street Arlington, VA 22209		1,104,488.07	8,535.64
Coalition for Vehicle Choice, 1440 New York Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20005		2,000.00	2,000.00
Coalition to Preserve the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, 2300 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037	American Task Force for Lebanon	1,787.50	112.80
George T. Cody, 2213 M Street, NW, 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20037	Newspaper Association of America	180.00	
Lisa M. Cody, 11600 Sunrise Valley Drive Reston, VA 22091	Sacks Tierney & Kasen (For:City of Tucson)	764.00	
Marvin S. Cohen, 2929 N. Central Ave., 14th Floor Phoenix, AZ 85012-2576	American Psychiatric Assn	3,550.00	1,084.52
Sharon Cohen, 1400 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	General Dynamics Corp	1,000.00	1,020.27
Cordis B. Colburn, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1000 Arlington, VA 22202	Allied-Signal, Inc.		
Ken W. Cole, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	HSFL	6,000.00	359.88
Randall I. Cole, 7900 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102	Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp, et al.	180.00	18.00
Robert E. Cole, 900 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	American Hospital Assn	9,391.19	
Eileen M. Collins, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
Kent W. Colton, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Committee for Do-It-Yourself Household Moving, P. O. Box 20084 George Mason Station Alexandria, VA 22320	EG & G/Dynatrend	7,500.00	
Commonwealth Group, Ltd, One Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 850 Washington, DC 20001			13,158.00
Community Service Society, 105 East 22nd Street New York, NY 10010	Blue Cross Blue Shield of Texas		308.44
Jon R. Comola, P.O. Box 1682 Austin, TX 78767	William M. Mercer, Inc.		
Harry J. Conaway, 1001 22nd Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20037		6,000.00	55.00
Concerned Women for America, 370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW, #800 Washington, DC 20024	Electro Scientific Industries, Inc.	3,074.60	
Conkling Fiskum & McCormick, 900 SW 5th Avenue, Suite 2300 Portland, OR 97204-1268	Electronic Design Automation Council	5,148.54	
Do	Mentor Graphics Corporation	6,186.08	
Do	Sequent Computer Systems	3,545.89	14.00
Do	Sisters of Providence	6,750.00	37.00
Do	Tektronix, Inc.	32,500.00	174.25
Do	Unified Sewerage Agency	4,538.24	
Do	Washington County	3,028.57	
Michael E. Connealy, 3501 Thurston Avenue Anoka, MN 55303	National Ag Underwriters, Inc.		2,704.00
Ralph T. Conner, 1250 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Assn	324.00	39.00
Francis J. Connors, 100 Indiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Letter Carriers	5,135.11	
Consortium of Social Science Assns, 1522 K Street, NW, #836 Washington, DC 20005		70,059.50	4,060.78
Consumer Federation of America, 1424 16th St., NW, #604 Washington, DC 20036		27,166.00	93,102.00
Continental European Insurance Coalition, 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078			
Alexandra W. Cook, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1300N Washington, DC 20004	Electronic Data Systems Corp	184.00	176.60
Liz Cook, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth		
Edward Conroy, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, #24 Washington, DC 20009	Food Research & Action Center	4,204.34	
Edward R. Cooper, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Josephine S. Cooper, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Paper Institute, Inc.		
Mark N. Cooper, 1424 16th St., NW, #604 Washington, DC 20036	Consumer Federation of America	300.00	
Stephen H. Cooper, 74 North Pearl St. Albany, NY 12207	Hospital Association of New York State	932.61	9,475.61
Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio Ext, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007		72,038.17	11,176.33
Chuck Corbett, 4201 Lafayette Center Drive Chantilly, VA 22021-1230			
Tom Corcoran, O'Connor & Hannan 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006-3404	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors' National Assn		
George F. Cormeny Jr., 25 South Charles Street/Banc 121 - 013 Baltimore, MD 21203			
Do	First Maryland Bancorp		
Alfred W. Cors Jr., 4505 Blue Jay Court Woodbridge, VA 22193	First National Bank of Maryland	500.00	166.85
Walter Couillard, 100 Indiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	National Taxpayers Union	6,814.00	
William K. Coulter, 950 L'Enfant Plaza, SW Washington, DC 20024	National Assn of Letter Carriers	9,689.97	
Council for a Livable World, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Communications Satellite Corp (COMSAT)		
Council for Educational Development & Research, 2000 L Street, NW, #601 Washington, DC 20036		252,691.37	550,628.53
Council of Industrial Boiler Owners, 6035 Burke Centre Parkway, #360 Burke, VA 22015		4,746.51	3,905.50
Council of Nursing Home Suppliers, c/o Schmelzer, Aptaker & Shepard 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20037-1905		13,000.00	21,767.61
Council on Superconductivity for American Competitiveness, 1050 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW 6th Floor Washington, DC 20007			
Christopher D. Coursen, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036			
Do	Allen Organ Co		
Do	Alinet Communication Services, Inc.		
Do	Coursen Group (For:Community Antenna Television Assn)	500.00	
Do	Continental Cablevision, Inc.		
Do	Ten-Ten General Partnership		
Do	Transmedia Network, Inc.		
Do	White Pine Renaissance		
Mark J. Covall, 1319 F Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Psychiatric Health Systems	500.00	
John F. Cove, 1114 Fallsmead Way Rockville, MD 20854	Cove Associates, Inc (For:Association of U.S. Night Vision Manufacturers)		
Thomas J. Cove, 1625 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Sporting Goods Manufacturers Assn (SGMA)	5,000.00	1,000.00
Covington & Burling, P.O. Box 7566 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20044	Anchorage Telephone Utility	1,186.00	
Do	Coalition to Preserve the Integrity of American Trademarks		
Gary D. Coxon, 1015 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Bechtel Group, Inc.		
Bruce Craig, P.O. Box 677 Harpers Ferry, WV 25425	National Parks & Conservation Association	3,300.00	85.00
Sherry Tonubbee Cramer, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #352 Washington, DC 20004	Central and South West Corp	826.00	539.75
Anne Crichton Crews, 8787 Stemmons Freeway Dallas, TX 75247	Mary Kay Cosmetics, Inc.		
Mark E. Crosby, 1110 N. Glebe Road, #500 Arlington, VA 22201-4714	Industrial Telecommunications Assn, Inc.		
Sonia Messirian Crow, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 350 Washington, DC 20001	Armenian Assembly of America	2,824.00	
Crowell & Moring, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20004-2595	American Forest & Paper Assn	25,575.00	215.75
Do	American Land Conservancy		
Do	Canyon Resources Corp		
Do	City of North Miami		
Do	Cook Inlet Region, Inc.		
Do	Independence Mining Company, Inc.	7,906.25	40.00
Do	Meridian Minerals Co		
Do	Rocking K Development		
Do	Trust for Public Lands		
Do	Western Governors' Assn		
Culley-Foster & Co, P.O. Box 17370 Washington, DC 20041			
John T. Curran, 905 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Labors' Intl Union of North America, AFL-CIO	22,616.67	792.49
Do	National Coordinating Comm for Multiemployer Plans		
Kent T. Cushenberry, 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 460 Washington, DC 20012	Sallie Mae		
Jay B. Cutler, 1400 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Psychiatric Assn	8,944.00	951.82
CM Services, Inc, 800 Roosevelt Boulevard, Bldg C, #20 Glen Ellyn, IL 60137-5833			500.00
Norman E. D'Amours, 135 Chase Way Manchester, NH 03104	American Council of State Savings Supervisors		
Dairy Farmers for Responsible Dairy Policy, 1919 South Eads St., #103 Arlington, VA 22201-3028			145.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Patricia A. Daley, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:Prodigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:US Telephone Assn)		
Jim Daniels, 4759 S. Conway Rd. Orlando, FL 32812	National Assn of State Farm Agents		
Davis Wright & Tremaine, 2600 Century Square 1501 Fourth Avenue Seattle, WA 98101	American Tunaboat Assn		
Donald S. Dawson, 1133 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20036	Leo A. Daly Company		
Do	Michael Gaughan		
Do	Opticians Assn of America		
Do	St. Thomas-St. John Chamber of Commerce, Inc		
Leslie Dawson, 1901 L Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Savarese & Associates (For:National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider)	12,000.00	
Michael P. Day, 101 North Phillips Avenue P.O. Box 5118 Sioux Falls, SD 57117	Crop Hail Management (NORWEST)		139.14
Barbara Daye, 655 Fifteenth Street, NW 300 Metropolitan Square Washington, DC 20005-2	Blue Cross of California	11,250.00	8,566.01
Ralph De Gennaro, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth	847.07	
Maryann M. Dean, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	1,000.00	
Debevoise & Plimpton, 555 - 13th Street, NW, #1100 East Washington, DC 20004	International Assn of Broadcast Monitors		
Do	Sony Corp of America, et al.		
James A. Delaney, 9402 Lost Trail Way Potomac, MD 20854	American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	1,264.00	1,400.00
Mitchell Delk, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #950 Washington, DC 20077-7347	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp		
Deloitte & Touche, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave. Suite 350N Washington, DC 20004-2505	Deferral Coalition	96,500.00	
Gaelynn Demartino, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn	5,388.12	40.28
Willard L. Demory, 1101 - 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For:Prodigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory Ltd (For:U.S. Telephone Assn)		
Paul W. Dennett, 1310 G Street, NW, 12 Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	4,088.00	710.65
M. Sharon Dennis, 666 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Audubon Society		
Department for Professional Employees, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., NW, #707 Washington, DC 20006		15,651.23	15,651.23
Clayton S. Depue, 2020 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 164 Washington, DC 20006	Americans for a Presidential Line-Item Veto		1,204.00
Dewey Ballantine, 1775 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Anker Energy Corporation		
Do	Association of Outplacement Consulting Firms		
Do	Beneficial Corporation		
Do	Boeing Company		
Do	Catholic Health Assn of the U.S.		
Do	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Assn		
Do	Federation of American Health Systems	2,000.00	
Do	Ft. Howard Corp		
Do	General Electric Co	1,600.00	
Do	General Electric Pension Trust	2,000.00	
Do	General Reinsurance Corp		
Do	Georgia-Pacific Corp	8,000.00	
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co	10,000.00	
Do	Household International	400.00	
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp		
Do	Northwestern Memorial Hospital	400.00	
Do	NYNEX Corp		
Do	Outplacement Industry Tax Coalition		
Do	PacificCorp Financial Services	6,000.00	
Do	Potomac Capital Investment Corp		
Do	Primerica, Inc	1,200.00	
Do	Prudential Insurance Co of America	500.00	
Do	Sealaska Corp		
Do	SEMATECH		
Do	Thompson Publishing Group	2,000.00	
Do	U.S. Golf Association	1,200.00	
Do	U.S. Telephone Assn		
Do	Union Pacific Corp	10,000.00	
Do	West Indies Rum & Spirits Producers Assn		
Do	Xerox Corp	4,000.00	
Kendall P. Dexter, 4009 Old Shell Rd., #A-8 Mobile, AL 36608	MacMillan Bloedel, Inc		
Jennifer S. DeAnna, 601 13th Street, NW, Suite 650 North Washington, DC 20005	Detroit Edison Company	480.00	20.00
James A. DeChaine, 403 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Allied Charities of Minnesota)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:City of Duluth)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Control Data Systems, Inc)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Minneapolis Communications, Inc)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Minnesota Assn of Townships)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Northwestern National Life Insurance)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Planning Research Corp)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Red Lake Tribal Council)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For:Wisconsin Towns Assn)		
Michael DeEmilio, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #952 Washington, DC 20001	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes	12,500.00	
Doris M. DeMay, 701 North Fairfax Street Alexandria, VA 22314	United Way of America	6,317.00	242.75
Judith Martin DeSarno, 122 C Street, NW, #380 Washington, DC 20001-2109	National Family Planning & Reproductive Health Assn, Inc	224.00	5.00
Henry L. Diamond, 1350 I Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005	Beveridge & Diamond (For:Conference of National Park Concessioners)		
Chester T. Dickerson Jr., 700 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Monsanto Co		50.65
Dickstein Shapiro & Morin, 2101 L St., NW Washington, DC 20037	Home Box Office, Inc		
Do	Paulucci Enterprises	8,826.24	
Thomas C. Diederich, 2170 Piedmont Road, NE Atlanta, GA 30324	Orkin Exterminating Co, Inc		
Robert E. Dillon, Sony Drive Park Ridge, NJ 07656	Sony Corp of America	2,000.00	
Lisa M. Dinacrus, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004-1007	American Institute of Certified Public Accountants	5,000.00	328.89
Barbara A. Dixon, 1600 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	1,290.00	166.15
Vanessa Dixon, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	U.S. English	25.00	
Thomas B. Dobbins, 1015 Fifteenth Street, NW, #802 Washington, DC 20005	American Consulting Engineers Council	6,750.00	
James F. Doherty, 1129 20th St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
John D. Doherty Jr., 1421 Prince Street, #400 Alexandria, VA 22314	Federal Legislative Associates, Inc (For:Olin Brass)	18,690.95	3,170.31
Mark A. Dombroff, 1025 Thomas Jefferson St., NW East Lobby #700 Washington, DC 20007-5201	Katten Muchin Zavis & Dombroff (For:Associated Aviation Underwriters)		
Kevin J. Donnellan, 601 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	American Assn of Retired Persons	337.85	
Paul Donnellan, 99 Canal Center Plaza, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314	American International Automobile Dealers Assn	11,850.00	
David L. Donovan, 1320 19th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc	1,500.00	
Daniel Dooley, 1919 S Eads Street, Suite 103 Arlington, VA 22202	Kahn Soares & Company (For:Mid-Valley Water Authority)		
Linda Doorfee-Flaherty, 2555 M Street, NW, #301 Washington, DC 20037-1302	Appraisal Institute		
Doris Day Animal League, 227 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Suite 100 Washington, DC 20002		173,314.00	46,662.00
Dow Lohnes & Albertson, 1255 23rd St., NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20037	Home Shopping Network, Inc	297.00	
Do	Stelco, Inc	715.50	
Michael Draper, 2101 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Forest Products Industry National Labor-Management Committee	5,454.05	5,454.05
William B. Driggers Jr., 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #605 Arlington, VA 22202	Texas Instruments, Inc	201.50	360.10
Pamela J. Driver, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Paperboard Packaging Environmental Council		
John V. Dugan Jr., 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1000 Arlington, VA 22202	General Dynamics/Space Systems Division	1,000.00	460.14
Francis J. Duggan, 1150 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Mullenholz & Brimsek (For:American Shooting Sports Council)	1,000.00	2,000.00
Deborah A. Dull, 2200 Mill Road Alexandria, VA 22314	Scenic America		
Louise C. Dunlap, 418 Tenth Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Dunlap & Browder, Inc (For:Acurex Environmental/CA Energy Commission)	2,700.00	73.56
Do	Dunlap & Browder, Inc (For:American Methanol Institute)	9,600.00	723.40
Dunlap & Browder, Inc, 418 Tenth Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Acurex Environmental/CA Energy Commission	4,500.00	73.56
Do	American Methanol Institute	15,000.00	723.40
Douglas A. Durante, 7315 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, #515 East Bethesda, MD 20814	Clean Fuels Development Coalition	6,000.00	
Andrea Durbin, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth		
Dutko & Associates, 412 First St., SE, #100 Washington, DC 20003	American Plastics Society	175,000.00	524.50
Do	American Society of Cataract & Refractive Surgery (ASCRS)	20,000.00	1,938.09
Do	Arizona Affiliated Tribes, Inc		
Do	BOC Council	30,000.00	1,052.18
Do	Carpet and Rug Institute	30,000.00	2,386.23
Do	Child Care Support Council		
Do	Citgo Petroleum Corp	52,436.12	427.89
Do	Communications Satellite Corp	15,000.00	669.88

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Creditors Alliance for Freight Undercharge Assets	18,000.00	1,229.52
Do	CILCORP, Inc	24,000.00	607.92
Do	Domestic Priorities Leadership Council		560.74
Do	DSC Communications Corp	23,305.00	3,607.43
Do	Earth Observation Satellite Co	30,000.00	1,303.08
Do	Haldor-Topsoe, Inc	40,000.00	230.24
Do	Hart-Culp International		
Do	Hercules, Inc	6,462.50	98.50
Do	International Arid Lands Consortium		
Do	International Telecharge, Inc	9,743.37	308.76
Do	Jewish National Fund	10,000.00	5,242.68
Do	Medallion Knitwear, Inc	6,000.00	205.97
Do	Monarch Wine Co of Georgia/Todhunter Intl, Inc		302.15
Do	National Accrediting Comm of Cosmetology Arts & Sciences	30,000.00	995.58
Do	National American Wholesale Grocers Assn	4,000.00	650.31
Do	National Cellular Resellers Assn	64,999.00	1,066.33
Do	National Ground Water Assn	10,500.00	4,695.76
Do	Oklahoma Basic Economy Corp		
Do	PacificCare Health Systems	25,000.00	1,807.66
Do	Polyisocyanurate Insulation Manufacturers Assn (PIMA)	12,000.00	
Do	Rmax, Inc		
Do	San Xavier Indians Project	5,000.00	
Do	Satellite Broadcasting & Communications Assn	3,000.00	
Do	Tiregator, Inc		
Do	Todhunter International, Inc		
Do	Washington Research Group	15,000.00	555.10
Do	Wine Institute		166.19
Do	Hand Arendall Bedsole Greaves & Johnston (For:Northrop Corp)		
James W. Dyer, 1667 K Street, NW, #310 Washington, DC 20006		38,925.00	946.90
Joseph L. Ebersole, 2101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #63 Washington, DC 20008-1760		30,955.00	610.15
Edelman Public Relations, 1420 K Street, NW 10th Floor Washington, DC 20005		15,000.00	
Do	Safety-Kleen	15,000.00	
Do	Specialty Equipment Companies	15,000.00	
Do	Oregon Graduate Institute of Science & Technology	11,493.11	897.24
Do	Dean Witter, Discover & Co.	407.00	
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Norman R. Eder, 19600 NW Von Neumann Drive Beaverton, OR 97006-1999		91,897.26	88,239.92
Christine A. Edwards, 633 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004			280.00
J. Rodney Edwards, 260 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10016			
Electronic Industries Assn, 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Jim Elkin, 1615 L Street, NW, Suite 1320 Washington, DC 20036			
George E. Ellis, 11240 Waples Mill Rd., #101 Fairfax, VA 22030			
John M. Ellis, 1120 Fairfield Avenue Roseville, CA 95678			
Dorothy A. Ellsworth, 9000 Machinists Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772			
Employee Relocation Council, 1720 N St., NW Washington, DC 20036			
Clyde F. Ensslin, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006			
J. Barry Epperson, 201 West 5th Street, #440 Tulsa, OK 74103-4211			
Erisa Industry Committee, 1400 L Street, NW, #350 Washington, DC 20005			
Gregory D. Erken, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004			
Dawn Erlanson, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003			
Pamela K. Ernest, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #710 Washington, DC 20036			
Ernst & Young, 1200 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036			
James L. Ervin, 1667 K Street, NW, #310 Washington, DC 20006			
Sandra Bromberg Eskin, 5609 Jordan Road Bethesda, MD 20816			
Stephen E. Eure, 1840 Wilson Boulevard Arlington, VA 22201			
Evans Group, Ltd, 1010 Wisconsin Ave., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20007			
Do	National Milk Producers Federation	11,250.00	
Do	Matlack Systems, Inc		
Do	National Independent Automobile Dealers Assn	6,600.00	
Do	Republic of Cyprus	17,600.00	
Do	Hospital Assn of Pennsylvania	5,000.00	462.18
Do	Church Alliance	4,781.25	3,082.30
Do	Multifoods	2,937.50	1,496.60
Do	National Car Rental	125.00	52.38
Do	Plaintiffs in Federal Dist Court litigation in Anchorage, AK		
Do	Southern Towing Company	25,000.00	2,797.98
Farris Hancock Gilman Branan & Hellen, 1400 Morgan Keegan Tower 50 North Front Street Memphis, TN 38103			188.75
Federal Kemper Life Assurance Co, One Kemper Drive, T-1 Long Grove, IL 60049			
Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1666 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20009			5,965.97
Tara Federici, 1200 G Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005		1,260.00	210.00
Robert Feenstra, 13545 Euclid Avenue Ontario, CA 91761			145.00
Mimi A. Feller, 1100 Wilson Blvd Arlington, VA 22209		10,000.00	1,900.00
Melody H. G. Fennel, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005			
Denise G. Ferguson, 1020 19th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036			
Jack Ferguson Associates, Inc, 203 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002			
Do	American Express Co	16,336.00	2,407.24
Do	Arctic Power	2,550.00	597.30
Do	Dillingham Construction Group	5,625.00	635.20
Do	Global Marine, Inc	3,750.00	620.31
Do	Klukwan, Inc	11,250.00	620.30
Do	Mountaineer Gas Co	12,500.00	630.72
Do	Northern Air Cargo	3,750.00	607.80
Do	U.S. Borax & Chemical Corp	7,500.00	582.50
Do	National Pork Producers Council	10,000.00	1,938.17
Do	Food Research & Action Center	1,436.15	
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Do	Wilderness Society	96.40	
Do	Liberty Maritime Company		
Do	Wichita Tribe		
Do	Washington Citizens for World Trade	1,875.00	
Do	National Community Mental Healthcare Council	1,380.00	22.50
Do	Northeast Utilities Service Co	2,982.89	1,386.10
Do	National Industrial Transportation League	10,000.00	141.00
Do	Consumer Federation of America	7,802.00	303.00
Do	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	7,725.00	
Do	Burlington Northern Railroad Co	25,000.00	194.01
Do	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees		
Do	Environmental Defense Fund	6,000.00	
Do	Friends Committee on National Legislation	8,324.42	468.02
Do	Zerand-Beral Group, Inc		
Do	Kellogg Co	2,000.00	1,500.00
Do	Union Pacific Corp	1,250.00	283.00
Do	Association Francaise des Banques		
Do	Bremer Vulkan Verbund AG		
Do	Commerzbank Aktiengesellschaft		
Do	Hazardous Waste Treatment Council	750.00	375.00
Do	National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty		
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	585.00	585.00
Do	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	5,438.00	1,591.12
Do	American Soc of Clinical Oncology	10,000.00	1,121.96
Do	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co		
Do	Bisons Corp		
Do	Healthcare Management Alternatives, Inc		115.00
Do	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc		
Do	Johnson & Johnson	780.00	58.75
Do	Lederle-Praxis Biologicals		160.00
Do	Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center		
Do	National Coalition for Cancer Research		
Do	National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship		
Do	Wilderness Society	15,417.57	483.90
Do	Kellogg Company	1,500.00	150.00
Do	Parkdale Mills, Inc, et al.	18,750.00	6,500.00
Michael Francis, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
George Franklin, 1 Kellogg Square Battle Creek, MI 49016-3599			
James R. Franklin, One Highlands Rd. St. James, NY 11780			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Thomas C. Franks, 1220 L St., NW, #510 Washington, DC 20005	American Resort Development Assn	1,500.00	
David J. Frantz, 1818 N Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Foundrinier Wire Council	555.00	30.00
Lewis R. Freeman Jr., 1275 K Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc		
Freer & Alagia, Chtd, 1000 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20007	Amstar Corp		
Do	Dairymen, Inc	10,780.00	678.62
John Freshman Associates, Inc, 1722 I Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	18,000.00	140.07
Do	Gulf Coast Waste Disposal Authority	3,709.50	434.12
Do	Los Angeles County Sanitation District	14,383.00	399.36
Fried Frank Harris Shriver & Jacobson, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20004-2505	G & K Management Company, Inc		
Philip P. Friedlander Jr., 1250 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Assn	151.20	21.50
F. Michael Friedman, 321 West Front Street P.O. Box 1000 Media, PA 19063	Pagano Wills & Friedman (For:Chem Service, Inc)	146,915.00	209,673.00
Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2nd St., NE Washington, DC 20002	Union Pacific Corp	12,500.00	961.29
Jeffrey Fritzen, 555 13th Street, NW, #450-W Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Glaxo, Inc	5,000.00	
Sara L. Froelich, 1500 K Street, NW, #650 Washington, DC 20005	Women's Legal Defense Fund	883.00	239.00
Jocelyn C. Frye, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20009	G.D. Searle & Co		525.00
Kurt A. Furst, 700 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	March of Dimes	9,000.00	
Vivian Gabor, 1901 L Street, NW, Suite 260 Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	2,000.00	400.00
Julie Leigh Gackenbach, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Automotive Parts Rebuilders Assn	750.00	
William C. Gager, 4401 Fair Lakes Court, #210 Fairfax, VA 22033-3805	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio Ext		
Juan Gallardo, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Sun Microsystems, Inc		2,625.00
Thomas Gann, 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Suite 370 Washington, DC 20004	Committee for the Study of the American Electorate		10.00
Curtis B. Gans, 421 New Jersey Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	Association of America's Public Television Stations	2,812.50	1,809.50
Sara G. Garland, 312 Massachusetts Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Children's Television Workshop	4,884.00	8.40
Do	Prairie Public Broadcasting, Inc	1,500.00	8.25
Do	Red River Trade Corridor	500.00	4.70
Do	Swope Parkway Health Center	2,000.00	9.75
Do	University of North Dakota	10,800.00	139.94
John C. Gartland, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, #210 Washington, DC 20002	Amway Corp	8,250.00	
Garvey Schubert & Barer, 1000 Potomac Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	USX	16,052.43	
Jerome C. Gatto, 230 E Broadway #901 Salt Lake City, UT 84111-2451	Wilderness Society	80.00	
Craig Gehrk, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	El Paso Natural Gas Company	1,000.00	503.17
Nancy Whorton George, 601 13th Street, NW, #850 S Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Katherine Doddridge Gerlach, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	312.50	208.00
Matthew Gerson, 1600 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Cement Kiln Recycling Coalition		
Michelle Gibson, 1212 New York Ave, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	American Public Health Assn	1,222.00	
Richard Gilbert, 1015 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Seniors Coalition	1,100.00	63.24
Michael Gill, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	Advocates for Highway & Auto Safety	2,408.00	54.25
Jacqueline Gillan, 777 North Capitol Street, NE, #410 Washington, DC 20002	Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games		3,584.60
Cynthia D. Gillespie, 250 Williams Street Suite 6000 Atlanta, GA 30301-1995	National Treasury Employees Union	21,250.00	465.50
Maureen Gilman, 901 E St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy	2,545.00	
Mark R. Ginsberg, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Assn of Independent Television Stations, Inc	250.00	
Angela Giroux, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	American Counseling Assn	17,253.00	
Brenda M. Gorton, 5999 Stevenson Avenue Alexandria, VA 22304	Waste Management, Inc		
Earl E. Gjeldel, 11240 Waples Mill Road, Suite 100 Fairfax, VA 22030	Monsanto Company		
Joanne Glisson, 700 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005	Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciresi (For:International Federation of Freight For-		
Richard D. Gluck, 1801 K St., NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20006	warders Assn)		
Horace D. Godfrey, 15 Golf Course Road Littleton, NC 27850	Godfrey Associates, Inc		
Godfrey Associates, Inc, 15 Golf Course Road Littleton, NC 27850	American Apparel Manufacturers Assn, Inc	1,000.00	50.00
Stephanie R. Godley, 2500 Wilson Blvd, #301 Arlington, VA 22201	American Assn of Port Authorities	19,050.00	2,000.00
Jean C. Godwin, 1010 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Retired Federal Employees		
Al James Golo, 1533 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Hospital Assn	12,374.92	420.42
Gold Fields Operating Co-Mesquite, HCR 76, Glamis 100 Brawley, CA 92227	Detroit Edison Company	750.00	50.00
Patricia R. Goldman, 50 F St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	Department for Professional Employees, AFL-CIO	5,865.66	
Marva Goldsmith, 601 13th Street, NW, #650-North Washington, DC 20005	Pacific Resources, Inc		
Jack Golodner, 815 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	First Chicago Corp	12,000.00	1,600.00
William J. Gordon, 1401 Eye St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	BP America, Inc		
Gordy Associates, Susan K., 1 First National Plaza, #3175 Chicago, IL 60603	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co	412.92	
John C. Gore, 1775 Eye Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Direct Marketing Assn		
Barry Gottehrer, 1295 State Street Springfield, MA 01111-0001	National Assn of Letter Carriers	12,579.00	1,849.20
Margaret A. Gottlieb, 1101 17th Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	Campo Band of Mission Indians	5,477.61	
George B. Gould III, 100 Indiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	Colorado River Indian Housing Authority		
Gover Stetson & Williams, 2501 Rio Grande Blvd., NW Albuquerque, NM 87104-3223	Crow Tribal Housing Authority		
Do	First Mesa Consolidated Villages		
Do	Mescalero Apache Housing Authority		
Do	Minnesota Chippewa Tribe		
Do	Pueblo of Laguna Housing Authority		
Do	Pueblo of Pojoaque	1,180.89	
Do	Pueblo of Tesuque	6,444.57	
Do	Pueblo of Zuni		
Do	Santa Clara Indian Pueblo	212.50	
Do	Shoshone Tribe	16,090.36	
Do	Ionono O'odham Nation		
Do	Wind River Tax Commission		
Do	Yavapai-Apache Indian Community		
Do	Zuni Housing Authority		
Lawrence T. Graham, 7900 Westpark Drive, #A-320 McLean, VA 22102	Chocolate Manufacturers Assn of the USA		
Do	National Confectioners Association		
Suzanne Granville, 100 Indiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Letter Carriers	9,864.16	
Neil A. Gray, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20036-1993	Highway Users Federation	1,455.00	56.00
Greater Ecosystem Alliance, P.O. Box 2813 Bellingham, WA 98227		47,383.90	2.79
Greater New York Hospital Assn, 555 West 57th Street 15th Floor New York, NY 10019		737,068.00	61,568.00
Robert H. Green, 1625 K Street, NW, Suite 1090 Washington, DC 20006	National Foreign Trade Council	5,000.00	400.00
Rod Greenough, 150 South 600 E., #5C Salt Lake City, UT 84102	National Parks & Conservation Assn	200.00	711.00
Richard Grefe, 6352 31st Place, NW Washington, DC 20015	America's Public Television Stations	856.16	48.00
John P. Gregg, 1101 14th Street, NW, #1400 Washington, DC 20005	Miller Balis & O'Neil, P.C. (For:American Public Gas Assn)		
Janice M. Gregory, 1400 L St., NW, #350 Washington, DC 20005	Erisa Industry Committee	9,375.00	
Ginny Grenham, 1500 K Street, NW, #360 Washington, DC 20005	Healthcare Leadership Council		
Greyhound Lines, Inc, P.O. Box 660362 Dallas, TX 75266-0362			33,150.00
Kathryn Griesinger, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Electronic Industries Assn	750.00	35.70
Jane Grimm, 3150 Spring Street Fairfax, VA 22031-2399	International Communications Industries Assn	2,125.00	
Jerome Grossman, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, #409 Washington, DC 20002	Council for a Livable World		680.83
Christina M. Groszer, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	1,900.00	160.00
Gerald M. Guarnia, 70 North Main Street Wilkes-Barre, PA 18711	Blue Cross of Northeastern Pennsylvania		
Guillermo Guevez Garcia, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio		
Gabriel Guerra-Mondragon, 444 North Capitol Street, #711 Washington, DC 20001	Guerra & Associates, Inc (For:Mexican Dept of Commerce & Industrial Develop-	129,571.94	9,238.96
Mary Scott Guest, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	ment)		
John E. Guinivin, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	O'Connor & Hannan		
GRQ, Inc, 5454 Wisconsin Ave., NW, #1340 Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Chrysler Corporation	5,000.00	350.00
Do	American Dietetic Association	7,800.00	
Do	American Health Information Management Assn	5,000.00	
Do	Council on Accreditation of Services for Families & Children		5.27
Do	Manor Healthcare, Inc	16,000.00	
Do	Midwest Organ Bank, Inc	12,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Medical Directors of Respiratory Care	7,000.00	
Do	Puritan Group-Puritan Bennett Corp	4,250.00	
Do	Transtacheal Systems	500.00	
Do	Fund for Private Assistance in Internat'l Development (Paid)		
Barry Hager, Hager Associates 1701 K Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Motorola	6,500.00	
Veronica A. Haggart, 1350 I Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20005	Boston Area Mutual Fund Group	1,200.00	700.00
Hale and Dorr, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Keefe Company (For:City of Homestead, FL)		
Gregory V. Haledjian, 444 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 711 Washington, DC 20001			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Angelynn Hall, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Air Transport Assn of America	14,542.02	
Sarah E. Haller, 1615 L Street, NW, #320 Washington, DC 20036	Sandoz Corp		110.00
Sarah C. Hallman, 1725 17th Street, NW, #109 Washington, DC 20009	Bruce D. Cameron (For:Fibromyalgia Network)		
Do	Bruce Cameron (For:National Council of Maubere Resistance)		
Palmer C. Hamilton, Miller Hamilton Snider & Odom P.O. Box 46 Mobile, AL 36601	Chase Manhattan Bank	37,081.93	30,372.86
Susan C. Hammann, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	500.00	
Handgun Control, Inc, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Abbott Laboratories	1,840,428.00	1,244,830.00
Dolly A. Hanrahan, 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Group Health Assn of America, Inc	5,000.00	
Erling Hansen, 1129 20th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Seniors Coalition	8,749.98	898.47
Jake Hansen, 11166 Main Street, #302 Fairfax, VA 22030	Nike, Inc		
Grant W. Hanson, 507 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Computer Sciences Corp	3,386.25	64.35
Harkins Cunningham, ATTN: A. Carl Kaseman, III 1300 19th Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036	National Utility Contractors Assn	500.00	
William G. Harley, 4301 North Fairfax Drive, #360 Arlington, VA 22203	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	1,250.00	
Wiley C. Harrell Jr., 1776 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	Nutter & Harris (For:Aluminum Assn)	1,000.00	65.00
W. Brendan Harrington, 1101 15th St., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Nutter & Harris (For:Lead Industries Assn)	2,400.00	150.00
Robert L. Harris, 608 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Nutter & Harris (For:Plum Creek Timber Company)	600.00	50.00
Do	Asea Brown Boveri, Inc	3,500.00	
Fruzsina M. Harsanyi, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	AMGEN, Inc	27,020.00	38,469.96
William J. Harte Ltd, 111 West Washington Street, Suite 1000 Chicago, IL 60602	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Marilyn Beth Haugen, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Christina M. Hauptli, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Charles E. Hawkins III, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Hawkins & Associates (For:Alza Corp, et al.)		
James W. Hawkins III, P.O. Box 25366 Washington, DC 20007-8366	Boeing Company		
John F. Hayden, 1700 N. Moore Street, 20th Floor Arlington, VA 22209	Chevron Companies	3,950.00	
Ludwick Hayden Jr., 1401 I Street, NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20005	Citizens for an Alternative Tax System		
Steven L. Hayes, 100 N. Brand Blvd., #502 Glendale, CA 91203	Waste Management, Inc	913.00	
Leah Y. Haygood, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Fluor Corporation	5,000.00	968.31
Mark F. Haynes, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Doris Day Animal League	99.00	
Holly Elisabeth Hazard, 900 2nd Street, NE, #303 Washington, DC 20002	Association of America's Public Television Stations	212.40	48.60
Janis D. Hazel, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Corn Growers Assn	2,214.13	2,222.13
Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Colton Communities, Inc	4,875.00	20,864.75
Brian Keith Heard, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE, #C-4 Washington, DC 20002	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc	1,000.00	
Hecht Spencer & Associates, Inc, 499 South Capitol Street, SW, #507 Washington, DC 20003	Seniors Coalition	1,000.00	
James B. Hedlund, 1320 19th St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc		
Joseph F. Heeney, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co	190.24	23,699.00
Barbara D. Heffernan, 1776 I Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20006	Wilderness Society	4,249.57	873.50
Robert M. Heine, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	Senior Air Reserve Commanders Assn	3,000.00	
Helicopter Assn International, 1619 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Monsanto Co		
Don Hellmann, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Assn		214.73
Lewis M. Helm, 7000 Millwood Road Bethesda, MD 20817	Handgun Control, Inc	1,089.00	
Thomas M. Helscher, 700 14th Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Wallace Henderson, 1133 21st Street, NW, 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20036	American Pharmaceutical Assn	1,000.00	104.37
Dennis A. Henigan, 1225 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Housing Partnership		
Charlotte W. Herbert, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	American Academy of Family Physicians	3,875.00	400.25
William Hermelin, 2215 Constitution Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037	Sonoco Products Co	3,900.00	126.00
Hessel & Aluise, PC, One Thomas Circle, NW, #1250 Washington, DC 20005	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Susan L. Hildenbrandt, 2021 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Digital Equipment Corp	25,000.00	
Margaret A. Hill, 1400 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Noise Cancellation Technologies, Inc		213.00
Patricia Hill, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	Zero Population Growth	78.00	
Grace L. Hinchman, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #635 Washington, DC 20004	Friends of the Earth		
James W. Hiney, 6538 Bay Tree Court Falls Church, VA 22041	Bristol Bay Area Health Corp	790.00	
Nancy Hirschbein, 1400 16th Street, NW, #320 Washington, DC 20036	Manilaq Assn	10.00	
Alex Hittie, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Metlakatla Indian Community	110.00	7.00
Hobbs Straus Dean & Wilder, 1819 H St., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	Micosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida	490.00	7.00
Do	Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians		
Do	Norton Sound Health Corp		
Do	Oglala Sioux Tribal Public Safety Commission	160.00	
Do	Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation	100.00	10.90
Do	Mineral Policy Center		94.50
Philip M. Hocker, 20 West Chapman Street Alexandria, VA 22301	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	11,096.16	1,282.20
Ann F. Hoffman, 815 16th Street, NW, Suite 103 Washington, DC 20006	Government of Haiti		653.31
Hogan & Hartson, 555 13th St., NW Washington, DC 20004-1109	New York Assn of Homes & Services for the Aging		
Do	New York State Health Facilities Assn, Inc		
Do	University of Pittsburgh Medical Center	3,170.00	26.50
Gerard L. Holder, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Holland & Knight, 888 17th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	American Life Resources Corp	1,269.00	
Michael J. Hoogendyk, 706 E. Bell Road, #101 Phoenix, AZ 85022	National Assn of Mortgage Brokers	1,875.00	
Karen A. Hoover, 2111 Jefferson Davis Highway Apt. 407 Arlington, VA 22202	American Maritime Officers Service		1,338.46
Mark M. Hopkins, 2439 25th Street Santa Monica, CA 90405	SpaceCause	330.00	
Hopkins & Sutter (Washington), 888 16th Street, NW, 6th floor Washington, DC 20006	Alaska Joint Venture Seafoods, Inc		35.77
Do	Cook Inlet Region, Inc		12,861.80
Do	Council for Affordable Health Insurance		106.25
Do	Puerto Rico Bankers Assn	12,500.00	85.00
Do	Tandy Corporation	3,092.00	
Deborah L. Horan, 122 C Street, NW, Suite 380 Washington, DC 20001-2109	National Family Planning & Reproductive Health Assn, Inc	96.00	
Bernard Horn, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	3,076.00	
Robert Jack Horn, 601 13th Street, NW, #550 N Washington, DC 20005-3808	Detroit Edison Company	1,320.00	50.00
John R. Horner, 8524 Bradford Rd. Silver Spring, MD 20901	Campbell-Raupe, Inc (for: NMBA-Assn for Mgr Technology)		
Hospital Association of New York State, 74 N. Pearl St. Albany, NY 12207	Coalition for Employment through Exports	10,734.10	10,734.10
Peggy A. Houlihan, 1801 K Street, NW, Floor 8 Washington, DC 20006	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
Gerald M. Howard, 15th & M Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Burlington Northern Railroad Co		
Roger W. Howard, 3253 E. Chestnut Expressway Springfield, MO 65802	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	2,500.00	
Susan Howe, 1300 North 17th Street Rosslyn, VA 22209	Texas Instruments, Inc		
Gary Howell, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #605 Arlington, VA 22202	Textron, Inc	1,500.00	280.00
Mary Lynch Howell, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	International Paper	2,000.00	240.00
Ronnie Allen Howell, 1620 Eye Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Georgia-Pacific Corp	8,000.00	
Clifford T. Howlett Jr., 1875 Eye St., NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Australian Meat & Live-Stock Corp	2,910.00	
Howrey & Simon, 1299 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004	Government of Quebec, Ministry of International Affairs		
Do	National Assn of Surety Bond Producers		14.00
J. Martin Huber, 5301 Wisconsin Ave., NW, #450 Washington, DC 20015	AIADA	13,500.00	
Walter E. Huizenga, 99 Canal Center Plaza, Suite 500 Alexandria, VA 22314	TRW, Inc	425.00	1,297.68
Brenda Gore Hull, 1001 - 19th Street, North, Suite 800 Arlington, VA 22209	Sierra Club	1,025.77	
Brett Hulsey, Midwest Office 214 N. Henry St., #203 Madison, WI 53703	Adoptive Families of America	3,874.98	2,699.26
Steven E. Humerickhouse, 3333 Highway, 100 North Minneapolis, MN 55422	Hunt Consulting, Inc	1,000.00	1,470.00
Francis M. Hunt, 11100 Post House Court Potomac, MD 20854-2534	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	11,155.25	
Angela M. Hunter, 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights	9,499.98	
Beverly A. Hunter, 100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Bailey & Robinson (For:Case Management Society of America)		
John A. Hurson, 1201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Rohm & Haas Co	2,300.00	114.97
Geoffrey B. Hurwitz, 1667 K St., NW, #1210 Washington, DC 20006	Women's Legal Defense Fund	3,371.00	1,140.00
Joanne L. Husted, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 710 Washington, DC 20009	American Council on International Personnel (ACIP)	3,695.14	154.89
Immigration Services Associates, 211 Wilson Boulevard, #850 Arlington, VA 22201-3008		12,723.00	12,723.00
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., NW, #301 Washington, DC 20006		2,000.00	2,000.00
Institute for Responsible Housing Preservation, 2300 M Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20037			24,503.60
International Assn of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 9000 Machinists Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772		51,824.00	54,303.76
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001			2,538.00
International Communications Industries Assn, 3150 Spring Street Fairfax, VA 22031-2399			14,793.71
International Speedway Corp, 1801 Volusia Avenue Daytona Beach, FL 32114	American Gas Assn	475.30	83.00
Richard M. Irby III, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #610 Washington, DC 20004	Americans for Democratic Action	14,056.86	
Amy F. Isaacs, 1625 K Street, NW, #1150 Washington, DC 20006	Council for a Livable World	6,250.00	
John Isaacs, 110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Susan A. Ishmael, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Associated Builders & Contractors	2,500.00	
Al Jackson, 100 Indiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Letter Carriers	11,080.34	
Beverly Roberson Jackson, 3707 Ingomar Street, NW Washington, DC 20015	National Center for Clinical Infant Programs	520.00	
Paul Jacob, 1511 K Street, NW, Suite #540 Washington, DC 20005	U.S. Term Limits		1,015.00
Jeff P. Jacobs, 1015 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Public Health Assn	1,200.00	
E. A. Jaenke & Associates, Inc, 777 14th St., NW, #666 Washington, DC 20005	University of Kansas	3,750.00	2,945.80
Pierre R. Jambon, 1001 19th Street, North #800 Arlington, VA 22209	TRW, Inc	1,831.50	19.00
Japanese American Citizens League, 1765 Sutter Street San Francisco, CA 94115		14,505.00	13,880.00
Dane B. Jaques, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, East Washington, DC 20007-5201	Katten Muchin Zavis & Dombroff (For-Associated Aviation Underwriters)		
Jar-Mon Consultants, Inc, 208 N. Patrick St. Alexandria, VA 22314	American Business Council, Inc	9,235.00	
Do	American Freedom Coalition		
Do	Christian Voice, Inc	18,000.00	
Charles W. Jarvis, 11240 Waples Mill Rd., #101 Fairfax, VA 22030	Rust International, Inc		
Do	Waste Management Environmental Services, Inc		
Edwin S. Jayne Jr., 1625 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	21,399.82	866.31
Kevin Jefferson, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	884.00	
Jefferson Group, 1341 G Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	College of Medical Technologists of Puerto Rico		
Do	Inter American University of Puerto Rico		
Do	Municipality of Barceloneta		
Do	Municipality of Carolina		
Do	Municipality of Cayey		
Do	Municipality of Hormigueros		
Do	Municipality of Mayaguez		
Do	Municipality of San Juan		
Do	Municipality of Trujillo Alto		
Wendell Jeffreys, 245 N. Waco P.O. Box 2940 Wichita, KS 67201-2940	Wichita District Farm Credit Council		
Joseph S. Jenckes, Suite 300 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Abbott Laboratories	10,000.00	
Linda Jenckes, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc		
Carole P. Jennings, 8904 First Avenue Silver Spring, MD 20910	American Academy of Nurse Practitioners	6,000.00	300.00
David M. Jennings, 115 West College Drive Marshall, MN 56258	Schwan's Sales Enterprises, Inc		
Jennifer M. Jensen, 777 North Capitol Street, NE, Suite 805 Washington, DC 20002	American Wind Energy Assn	8,980.00	160.94
Janet L. Jensen, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20037-1905	Schmeltzer, Aptaker & Shepard (For-Council of Nursing Home Suppliers)	2,227.50	
Hugh Jewett, 3025 South Parker Road Aurora, CO 80014	TeleCheck Services, Inc		1,272.62
Ronald P. Johnson, 700 Thirteenth NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Columbia Gas System Service Corp	175.00	872.24
James W. Johnson Jr., 1156 15th Street, NW, #1019 Washington, DC 20005	U.S. Beet Sugar Assn		
Jane Leonard Johnson, P.O. Box 19109 Greensboro, NC 27419	Unifi, Inc		
Michael A. Johnson, 200 S. Wacker Dr.- 33rd Floor Chicago, IL 60606	Sonnenberg Anderson O'Donnell & Rodriguez (For-West Bend Company)		
Myrna Johnson, 2025 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Public Radio	8,185.25	111.00
Susan E. Johnson, 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #3100 Washington, DC 20006	Real Estate Services Providers Council (RESPRO)		
Johnson & Gibbs, P.C., 1301 K Street NW Suite 800 East Washington, DC 20005	Centex Corp		
Barbara J. Jones, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20036	Dresser Industries, Inc		
Gerald C. Jones Jr., 739 8th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Assn of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN)	5,750.00	
Robin Wagner Jones, 1129 20th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Theodore L. Jones, P.O. Box 65122 Baton Rouge, LA 70896	BellSouth Telecommunications, Inc		
Do	United Companies Financial Corporation		
Jones Day Reavis & Pogue, 1450 G Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2088	Affiliated Computer Services, Inc	4,728.00	131.10
Do	Amoco Corporation	6,112.00	13.00
Do	Citicorp		
Do	County of Los Angeles	41,383.00	1,154.00
Do	Genentech	12,946.00	30.00
Do	GNA Corp		
Do	Health Policy Coalition		
Do	Marathon Oil Co	2,368.00	8.00
Do	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company	3,766.00	339.00
Do	Nacco Industries, Inc	3,369.00	
Do	NexTel Communications, Inc	4,704.00	56.00
Do	Norwest Corp		
Do	Pfizer, Inc	2,450.00	
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc	15,120.00	64.00
Do	Sungard Data Systems, Inc	10,863.00	133.10
Do	Upjohn Company	4,101.00	37.99
Jones Waldo Holbrook & McDonough, 2300 M Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20037	American Stores Company	3,380.00	
Do	Utah State University	570.00	
G. Harris Jordan, 99 Canal Center Plaza, #500 Alexandria, VA 22314	American International Automobile Dealers Assn (AIADA)	25,000.00	
Jorden Burt Berenson Kingensmith & Suarez, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Suite 400 East Washington, DC 20007-0805	City of Gainesville	13,740.00	144.29
Do	City of Newark	30,978.00	336.67
Do	Florida Endowment Fund for Higher Education	10,189.00	113.03
Do	Metropolitan Atlanta Olympic Games Authority	19,341.54	216.43
Do	New York University	41,721.10	456.91
Do	South Dade Land Corp	2,159.00	24.05
Do	University of Medicine & Dentistry of New Jersey	29,290.61	312.62
Do	University of Miami	44,969.48	492.98
Do	University of Tulsa	26,492.07	288.58
Diana Jost, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	1,007.00	
John J. Joyce, 25 Louisiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	3,000.00	
Ardon B. Judd Jr., 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20036	Dresser Industries, Inc		3,680.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
John A. Kelly, 1025 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #105 Washington, DC 20007	BMW of North America, Inc.	19,000.00	
Do	Perdue Farms Inc.	22,500.00	
Susan N. Kelly, 1101 14th Street, NW, #1400 Washington, DC 20005	Miller Balis & O'Neil, P.C. (For American Public Gas Assn (APGA))		
Jane Kelso, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc.	7,316.00	
Jackson Kemper Jr., 1215 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	Diagnostic/Retrieval Systems, Inc.	6,000.00	
Kemper Investors Life Insurance Co, One Kemper Drive, T-1 Long Grove, IL 60049	Diagnostic/Retrieval Systems, Inc.		311.21
Jackson Kemper, III, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	Kennedy & Dolan		
John F. Kennedy, 1620 Fuller Street, NW, #503 Washington, DC 20009	Edwards McCoy & Kennedy (For Western Shoshone Judgment Distribution Assn)		5,596.80
John Paul Kennedy, 1385 Yale Avenue Salt Lake City, UT 84105	National Milk Producers Federation	718.10	
Jeannine M. Kenney, 1840 Wilson Blvd., #400 Arlington, VA 22201	National Assn of Life Underwriters	3,125.00	259.00
Michael L. Kerley, 1922 F Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Assn, Inc.		
Susan Akers Kernus, 1424 Longfellow St., NW Washington, DC 20011	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	34,657.31	19.75
T. Michael Kerr, 1625 L St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Sprint	8,000.00	963.45
Gregory Kilgore, 1850 M Street, NW, 11th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Textron, Inc.	600.00	150.00
John J. Killeen, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave. NW #400 Washington, DC 20004	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
William P. Killmer, 1201 - 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Forest Farmers Assn	3,553.00	67.23
Kilpatrick & Cody, 700 13th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005-3960	Golden Rule Insurance Company		
Do	Greenpeace USA		
Do	Kiewit Construction Group, Inc.		
Do	Kierulff-Clark Corp.		
Do	Kirker County Improvement Authority		
Do	Municipal Electric Authority of Georgia		
Do	National Cardiovascular Network		
Do	Pepsico, Inc.		
Do	Software Productivity Consortium		
Do	U.S. Sprint Telecommunications Co.		
Do	United Airlines, Inc.		
Do	University of Georgia		
Do	Upper Duck River Development		
Roy Caldwell Kime, 515 North Washington Street, #400 Alexandria, VA 22314	International Assn of Chiefs of Police	12,606.40	4,438.63
Gene Kimmelman, 1424 16th St., NW, #504 Washington, DC 20036	Consumer Federation of America	14,097.00	16.00
Kimmitt Coates & McCarthy, Inc, 1730 M Street, NW, #911 Washington, DC 20036	Royal Teton Ranch	2,167.00	
Do	Textron Defense Systems	2,056.00	
K. Kimball King, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006-1813	Electronic Industries Assn	750.00	152.87
King & Spalding, 1730 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20006	Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG)	18,711.00	102.00
Do	Charter Medical Corp.	2,937.00	15.00
Do	GPIA-Animal Drug Alliance		
Do	Martin-Marietta	774.00	10.00
Kathleen D. Kinka, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 650 Washington, DC 20004	Digital Equipment corp.		28,000.00
Janie A. Kinney, 1500 K Street, NW #650 Washington, DC 20005	Glaxo, Inc.	4,500.00	200.00
Kirkpatrick & Lockhart, 1800 M Street, NW, South Lobby, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Dykema Gossett		
Do	Glendale Federal Savings Bank	451.50	
Do	Investment Company Institute		
Do	Republic National Bank of New York		
Kirlin Campbell & Keating, One Farragut Square South, Second Floor Washington, DC 20006	Council of European & Japanese National Shipowners' Assn	16,380.00	630.15
Frank D. Kittredge, 1625 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	National Foreign Trade Council	6,000.00	1,100.00
W. Klinefelter, 815 16th St., NW, #706 Washington, DC 20006	Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO)	11,423.00	
Theodore Knappen, 1001 G Street, NW, #400 East Washington, DC 20001	Greyhound Lines, Inc.	33,000.00	
Do	Mid-Atlantic Medical Services, Inc.	12,000.00	
James E. Kneale, 2335 South Meade Street Arlington, VA 22202	Lockheed Corporation	4,000.00	154.40
Anthony J. Knettel, 1400 L Street, NW, #350 Washington, DC 20005	Erisa Industry Committee	1,732.00	
Bruce Knight, 415 Second Street, NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	National Assn of Wheat Growers	1,000.00	
Knights of Columbus, 1275 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #501 Washington, DC 20004-2404			8,150.00
Darrell Knuffke, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006-2596	Wilderness Society	295.72	
Blair Koehler, 1800 Diagonal Road, #140 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assisted Housing Management Assn	500.00	
Kirk Koepsel, 23 North Scott Sherran, WY 82801	Sierra Club	3,986.45	355.68
Kogovsek & Associates, Inc, 1801 Broadway, #1420 Denver, CO 80202	Center for Applied Research	9,000.00	2,634.09
Do	Colorado Water Congress		
Do	Dolores Water Conservancy District	4,000.00	1,272.16
Do	Great-West Life Assurance Co	12,500.00	2,840.20
Do	Rio Grande Water Conservation District	3,000.00	67.90
Do	Rocky Mountain Health Care Corp.	9,825.00	3,194.38
Do	San Juan Water Commission	1,895.00	979.76
Do	Southern Ute Indian Tribe	12,500.00	10,461.50
Do	Southwestern Water Conservation District, Durango County		10,677.90
Do	Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	21,667.00	
Do	Water Protection Assn of Central Kansas		727.52
Leonard R. Kojm, 1850 K Street, NW, Suite 1190 Washington, DC 20006	EG&G, Inc.	125.00	
Stanley E. Koibe Jr., 305 4th Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors National Assn		281.17
Paul A. Korody Jr., 888 17th Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20006	ConAgra, Inc.	6,000.00	
Nicholas P. Koskores, P.O. Box 763 North Andover, MA 01845	Alpha Strategies (For Thermo Electron Corporation)	27,000.00	
Gawain Kripke, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth	302.55	
Victor Krohn, 100 N. Brand Ave., S-502 Glendale, CA 91203	Citizens for an Alternative Tax System	176.43	
Steven Kroll, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn		
M. J. Kuehne, P.O. Box 11346 Tacoma, WA 98411	Northwest Independent Forest Manufacturers	2,400.00	1,693.00
James M. Kusaj, P.O. Box 31608 Raleigh, NC 27615	Dow Chemical USA		62,465.39
Laborers' Intl Union of North America, AFL-CIO, 905 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006	EDS Corporation		
Shirley Wiseman Lach, 337 11th Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Motorola, Inc.		
John D. Lacopo, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1300 North Washington, DC 20004	Associated Builders & Contractors	2,500.00	
Bruce C. Ladd Jr., 1350 I Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Bath Iron Works Corp.	5,000.00	
Betsy Laird, 729 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.		1,000.00
Gerard F. Lamb, 2341 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1100 Arlington, VA 22202	National Taxpayers Union	6,462.00	
Stephen K. Lambright, One Busch Place St. Louis, MO 63118	Abbott Laboratories	5,000.00	
Jill Lancelot, 7100 Sycamore Avenue Takoma Park, MD 20912	BAL Co		
David W. Landslide, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	Cryogenic Vacuum Technology Co		
Bruce Alan Landy, 2601 Virginia Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	FAA-Congress Watch		
Do	Boeing Company	6,046.00	1,071.70
Do	Air Conditioning Contractors of America	2,000.00	
Robert K. Lange, 1700 N. Moore St., #2120 Arlington, VA 22209	Ahlsstrom Development Corp.	2,000.00	
Mary Ellen Larson, 1513 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	EUA Cogenex Corp.		
Latham & Watkins, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1300 S Washington, DC 20004-2505	Manville Corp.		
Do	National Independent Energy Producers	3,000.00	
Do	Sithe Energies USA, Inc.		
Do	National Council of Senior Citizens	6,000.00	
Jonathan Lawnczak, 1331 F St., NW, Washington, DC 20005	LaRock Associates, Inc.	5,000.00	
Joan W. LaRock, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1213 Washington, DC 20004		216,811.46	114,802.58
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 1629 K Street, N.W., Suite 1010 Washington, DC 20006	Cargill, Inc.	1,250.00	
League of American Investors, 2416 Oakshore Dr. Westlake Village, CA 91361	American Logistics Assn	6,000.00	
Bruce Lear, 1101 15th Street, N.W., #1000 Washington, DC 20005	FMC Corp.	6,000.00	
Marvin Leath, One Massachusetts Ave, NW, #330 Washington, DC 20001-1431	General Dynamics Corp.	2,000.00	
Do	Lockheed Corp.	4,500.00	
Do	Martin Marietta Corp.	3,000.00	
Do	National Guard Assn	2,000.00	
Do	National Rifle Assn of America	3,000.00	
Do	National Soft Drink Assn	3,000.00	
Do	Textron, Inc.	3,000.00	
Gerard Lavery Lederer, 900 19th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	U.S. Telephone Assn	1,000.00	
Lee Toomey & Kent, 1200 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Society for Payroll Management	1,000.00	5.00
Do	Avon Products, Inc.		5.00

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	ACX Technologies, Inc.		5.00
Do	Beckman Instruments, Inc.		5.00
Do	Becton Dickinson & Co.		5.00
Do	BellSouth Corp.		5.00
Do	Briggs & Stratton Corp.		5.00
Do	Burroughs Wellcome Co.		5.00
Do	Carolina Power & Light Co.		5.00
Do	Colgate-Palmolive Co.		5.00
Do	Coors Brewing Company and Subsidiaries		5.00
Do	Data General Corp.		5.00
Do	Deere & Co.		5.00
Do	Dun & Bradstreet Corp.		5.00
Do	Ecolab, Inc.		5.00
Do	First Data Corp.		5.00
Do	GTE Corp.		5.00
Do	Johnson & Johnson		5.00
Do	Millipore Corp.		5.00
Do	Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.		5.00
Do	Nestle Holdings, Inc.		5.00
Do	Premark International, Inc.		5.00
Do	Raytheon Co.		5.00
Do	Reynolds Metals Company		5.00
Do	Riviana Foods, Inc.		5.00
Do	RJR Nabisco, Inc.		5.00
Do	Sterling Winthrop, Inc.		5.00
Do	Tandem Computers, Inc.		5.00
Do	Thiokol Corp.		5.00
L. Courtland Lee, Inc. 3814 West Street Landover, MD 20785	Public Resource Assn		
Carroll H. Leggett, 560 Maryland Avenue, NE Washington, DC 20002	Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia	10,000.00	344.76
Mary Nell Lehnard, 1310 G Street, NW, 12th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	2,071.00	62.00
Leighton & Regnery, 1667 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Dairy Products Institute		
Do	Cordage Institute		
Do	Visiting Nurse Assn of America		
Donna Lenhoff, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20009	Women's Legal Defense Fund	398.00	149.00
David J. Lennett, P.O. Box 71 Litchfield, ME 04350	Environmental Defense Fund		
Jerris Leonard, 1000 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, #609 Washington, DC 20007	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Council of Prison Locals)		
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Federal Correctional Vendors Assn)	1,963.00	
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Krueger, Inc.)	50,431.48	
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:SICPA Industries of America, Inc.)	14,661.13	
Kathleen A. Leonard, 1000 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW, #609 Washington, DC 20007	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Council of Prison Locals)		
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Federal Correctional Vendors Assn)	1,963.00	
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:Krueger, Inc.)		
Do	Leonard Ralston Stanton & Danks (For:SICPA Industries of America, Inc.)	14,661.13	
Jeff Levey, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For:Royalty Coalition)	270.00	26.50
Morris J. Levin, 1050 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Persis Corporation	1,000.00	
Barbara W. Levine, 1015 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Public Health Assn	634.50	
David R. Levinson, 1133 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Office & Professional Employees Intl Union, Local 2, AFL-CIO		
Herbert J. Levy, 1614 King St. Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Housing Cooperatives		
James E. Lewin, 1850 M Street, NW, 11th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Sprint	14,000.00	1,392.72
Joseph Christopher Lewis, 1424 16th Street, NW, Suite 604 Washington, DC 20036	Consumer Federation of America	9,714.00	
Stuart A. Lewis, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #850 Washington, DC 20006	First Interstate Bancorp	800.00	
Lewis White & Clay, P.C., 1300 First National Building Detroit, MI 48226	Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy	2,956.25	
Judith Lichtman, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20009	Women's Legal Defense Fund		
Diane S. Liebman, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #560 S Washington, DC 20004	CSX Corporation	4,500.00	321.84
Diane Palmer Lilly, 1200 Peavey Building Minneapolis, MN 55479	Norwest Corporation		
Julienne Wood Lindley, 1725 17th Street, NW, #109 Washington, DC 20009	Bruce P. Cameron (For:Embassy of Mozambique)		
Do	Bruce P. Cameron (For:Embassy of Nicaragua)		
Kathleen M. Linehan, 1341 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	5,400.00	95.00
Melvin J. Littig, 1801 K Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Westinghouse Electric Corp	1,200.00	
Barbara A. Little, 1155 15th St., NW, #611 Washington, DC 20005	Ethyl Corporation	1,000.00	
David A. Litvin, 1600 M Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Kennecott Corporation	350.00	405.00
Livestock Marketing Association, 7509 Tiffany Springs Parkway Kansas City, MO 64153		33,500.00	19,839.00
Paul Locigno, 2550 M Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20037	Capitol International Group Ltd (For:City of America)		
Stephen G. Lodge, 7900 Westpark Drive, #A-320 McLean, VA 22102	National Confectioners Assn		2,030.33
Frank P. Lombardo II, 317 Baronne Street, N-25 New Orleans, LA 70112	Entergy Services, Inc.	1,110.00	75.53
G. Thomas Long, 1200 G Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Health Industry Manufacturers Assn		
Brian C. Lopina, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, SW East Bldg, #7112 Washington, DC 20024	Citizens for a Sound Economy		
Lord Day & Lord, Barrett Smith, 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #821 Washington, DC 20004	American Corporations for Coastwide Trade		
Do	Coffee Sugar & Cocoa Exchange, Inc.	8,946.75	
Do	Lafarge Corporation		
David Loveland, 1101 15th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Cargill, Inc.	1,250.00	
Charles M. Loveless, 801 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20434	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	19,177.00	821.34
James Lovell, 20361 Middlebelt Livonia, MI 48152	National Hearing Aid Society		
Mark A. Lowman, 1201 K Street, NW, #800 Sacramento, CA 95814	California Assn of Hospitals and Health Systems	13,000.00	13,305.00
P. Vincent LoVol, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company	5,000.00	
Amy J. Lucas, 15th & M Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Carla Luggiero, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn	9,306.38	711.17
Michael L. Luncford, 8787 Stemmons Freeway Dallas, TX 75247	May Kay Cosmetics, Inc.		
Kenneth N. Luongo, 1616 P Street, Suite 310 Washington, DC 20036	Union of Concerned Scientists	4,462.00	370.00
Janet Lynch, 601 13th Street, NW, Suite 11705 Washington, DC 20005	Microelectronics & Computer Technology Corp (MCC)	5,000.00	312.38
William T. Lyons, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Ciba-Geigy Corp	9,250.00	8,802.00
Robert E. Mackin, 122 South Swan Street Albany, NY 12210	National Conference of Insurance Legislators	12,500.00	
Brian C. MacDonald, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20004	Public Lands Council	1,000.00	
Edward R. Madigan, 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	McLeod, Watkinson & Miller (For:PromoFlor)	1,000.00	
James J. Wagner, 314 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	James J. Wagner & Associates, Inc. (For:ASARCO, Inc.)	10,523.07	390.56
Do	James J. Wagner Associates, Inc. (For:Inter-Mountain Forest Industries Assoc.)	2,959.61	39.63
Do	James J. Wagner & Associates (For:Kaibab Forest Products Company)	2,959.61	154.61
Do	James J. Wagner & Associates, Inc. (For:Northern Arizona University Foundation)	8,221.15	215.46
James J. Wagner and Associates, Inc., 314 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Asarco, Inc.	14,366.25	14,488.34
Do	Inter-Mountain Forest Industries Assn	3,750.00	4,004.70
Do	Kaibab Forest Products Company	3,750.00	4,004.70
Do	Northern Arizona University Foundation	11,250.00	11,229.59
Michael C. Maibach, 888 17th St., NW #860 Washington, DC 20006	Intel Corporation	23,800.00	4,138.21
Linda Major, P.O. Box 2801 Daytona Beach, FL 32120-2801	International Speedway Corp	150.00	1,009.67
Do	National Motorsports Council of ACCUS-FIA	150.00	1,009.67
Anthony S. Makris, 116 Waterford Place Alexandria, VA 22314	National Rifle Assn of America		
K. Wayne Malbon, 1250 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Assn	355.00	10.00
Andrew T. Malleck, 400 North Capitol St., NW, #852 Washington, DC 20001	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees	14,922.46	
Manatos & Manatos, Inc., 1750 New York Ave., NW, #210 Washington, DC 20006	United Hellenic Amer Congress & Amer Hellenic Alliance, Inc.		4,405.16
Anne Mancer, P.O. Box 530187 Birmingham, AL 35253-0187	Vulcan Materials Co.	1,500.00	1,423.18
Diane S. Mand, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #310 Washington, DC 20036	Dresser Industries, Inc.		
Peter T. Mangione, 1319 F Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20004	Footwear Retailers of America		
Jennifer A. Mann, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20006	Warner-Lambert Company	3,000.00	
Mary Jo Manning, 901 31st Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Hill & Knowlton (For:Motorola)	6,500.00	
Margaret A. Manthe, P.O. Box 16614 Arlington, VA 22215	National Steel & Shipbuilding Co	1,992.18	356.50
John V. Maraney, 324 East Capitol St., NE Washington, DC 20003	National Star Route Mail Contractors Assn		
Marc Associates, Inc., 1101 17th Street, NW, #803 Washington, DC 20036-4704	American Assn of Colleges of Osteopathic Medicine	1,665.00	
Do	American College of Foot & Ankle Surgeons	2,500.00	
Do	American Soc for Gastrointestinal Endoscopy	2,500.00	
Do	American Soc of Anesthesiologists	21,500.00	
Do	American Soc of Clinical Pathology		
Do	American Soc of Hematology	1,000.00	
Do	American Urological Assn/Amer Assn of Clinical Urologists	5,500.00	
Do	Health Industry Manufacturers Assn (HME)	21,000.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Health Industry Manufacturers Assn (IOL)	3,000.00	
Do	Helen Keller National Center	250.00	
Do	International Soc for Cardiovascular Surg/Soc for Vascular	4,500.00	
Do	Los Angeles County Transportation Commission	3,000.00	
Do	Merck Sharp and Dohme	1,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Epilepsy Centers	2,000.00	
Do	National Hemophilia Foundation	4,000.00	
Do	NI Industries	3,000.00	
Do	Recording for the Blind, Inc.	1,000.00	
Do	Research Society on Alcoholism	2,000.00	
Marine Preservation Association, 8777 North Gainey Drive, Suite 165 Scottsdale, AZ 85258	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Marc L. Marks, 1227 25th Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Diagnostic Retrieval Systems, Inc.	5,000.00	
Cynthia L. Martin, 1215 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1004 Arlington, VA 22202	National Parks & Conservation Assn	150.00	
Teresa Martin, 150 South 600 E., #5C Salt Lake City, UT 84102	Nutritional Health Alliance	10,000.00	7,850.79
Antonio C. Martinez II, 11128 Church Street Fairfax, VA 22203-4901	Westvaco Corporation		
Judith Marty, 1 Crane Place Bellevue Hill, NSW 2023 Australia	Air Traffic Control Assn, Inc.	1,014.12	
Ned W. Massow, 299 Park Avenue 13th Floor New York, NY 10171	BellSouth Corp	3,162.50	1,140.44
Suzette Matthews, Arlington Courthouse Plaza II 2300 Clarendon Boulevard, #711 Arlington, VA 22201	General Dynamics Corp	1,000.00	840.25
Daniel J. Mattoon, 1133 21st St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Commonwealth Edison Co	12,500.00	15,900.00
William W. Maurer, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #1000 Arlington, VA 22202	Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	8,100.00	1,235.00
John S. Maxson, 1722 Eye Street, NW, 6th Floor Washington, DC 20006	National Computer Systems	9,000.00	
Arnold Mayer, 4609 30th Street, NW Washington, DC 20008	Union Pacific Corp	13,750.00	1,479.92
Maurice W. Maynard, 44 Fifth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11217-2022	Asociacion de Hospitales de Puerto Rico	1,000.00	
McAdam Group, Inc, 1156 15th Street, NW, #502 Washington, DC 20005	Association of Progressive Rental Organizations	1,000.00	
Mary E. McAuliffe, 555 Thirteenth Street, NW, #450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	Buena Vista Golf & Country Club		
McAuliffe Kelly & Raffaelli, 1341 G Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Chabot Observatory & Science Center	300.00	
Do	City of Chattanooga	600.00	
Do	Cooper Hospital/University Medical Center	400.00	
Do	Council of American Overseas Research Centers	100.00	
Do	Creative Discovery Museum	600.00	
Do	Dean Witter Realty, Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	DeMarco Enterprises		
Do	Fl. Worth Transportation Authority	3,000.00	
Do	Golden Hill Pausussett Tribe	2,000.00	
Do	HealthInfusion, Inc.	1,200.00	
Do	Johnson Controls, Inc.	600.00	
Do	Medi-Vu, Inc.	400.00	
Do	MASSPORT/Commonwealth of Massachusetts	15,000.00	
Do	National Medical Care	15,000.00	
Do	Nevada Power		
Do	Nevada Resort Assn		
Do	Orlando-Orange County Expressway Authority	2,600.00	
Do	RAILTRAN		
Do	Tucker Fyler & Lewis		
Do	University of Nevada/Las Vegas Research Center	7,500.00	
Do	University of Nevada, Reno	12,000.00	
Do	Viacom International		
Charlie McBride Associates, Inc, 1730 M Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	American Nuclear Energy Council	3,000.00	241.32
Do	Carolina Power & Light Co	900.00	
Do	Commonwealth Edison Co	300.00	
Do	Consolidated Edison Co of New York, Inc.		
Do	Edison Chouest Offshore	2,400.00	201.32
Do	General Atomics	2,800.00	241.32
Do	ICF International	3,600.00	
Do	Louisiana Energy Services	1,200.00	
Do	National Assn for the Superconducting Super Collider	4,500.00	384.86
Do	Sealaska Corp	1,800.00	157.03
Do	Turlock Irrigation District	1,200.00	46.30
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	3,720.00	852.86
Do	Yukon Pacific Corp	2,400.00	241.32
Nancy K. McCann, 4000 Legato Road, Suite 850 Fairfax, VA 22033-4005	American Society of Cataract & Refractive Surgery	6,865.63	848.54
Katherine S. McCarter, 1015 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Public Health Assn	2,566.00	
Mark L. McConaghy, 1801 K St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Price Waterhouse (For-Royalty Coalition)	395.00	17.00
Stephen McConnell, 1334 G Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Alzheimer's Assn	3,500.00	50.00
Todd McCracken, 1155 15th Street, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20005	National Small Business United	1,000.00	
Charles J. McDermott, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	WMX Technology & Services, Inc.	12,250.00	235.59
Marianne McDermott, 1200 G Street, NW, #750 Washington, DC 20005	Resources for Group Management, Inc (For-Greeting Card Assn)		
McDermott Will & Emery, 1850 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	American Vintners Assn		
Douglas J. McDonald, 5735 Walcott Avenue Fairfax, VA 22030	VPSI, Inc.	2,016.00	269.00
Jack McDonald, 901 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2301	Outboard Marine Corp	7,500.00	30.00
Christine W. McEntee, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn		
Marianne McGittigan, 45 Memorial Circle Augusta, ME 04032-0957	Major League Baseball Players Assn	13,202.00	24,900.69
Patricia McGill, 1700 K Street, NW, Suite 906 Washington, DC 20006	National Council of Community Hospitals	10,003.32	322.76
McGuiness & Holch, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #585 Washington, DC 20001	Arch Mineral Corporation		
Do	RJR Nabisco		
McGuiness & Williams, 1015 15th Street, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005	Farm Labor Alliance	2,475.00	
Robert McIntyre, 1311 L St., NW Washington, DC 20005	Citizens for Tax Justice	16,988.47	
Lindsay McLaughlin, 1133 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	ILWU	10,000.00	1,556.73
Michael R. McLeod, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20001-1431	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Assn of Crop Insurers)	4,244.00	102.41
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Mushroom Institute)		
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Peanut Product Manufacturers, Inc)	8,148.00	84.87
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-Chicago Board of Trade)	8,750.00	381.59
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-PromoFlor)	8,313.00	108.19
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-Right Choice Task Force)	300.00	46.11
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-State of Florida Department of Citrus)	2,564.00	
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-United Egg Producers)	775.00	
Nancy L. McLernon, 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #704 Washington, DC 20006	Organization for International Investment (OFII)		1,892.00
Victor McMahan, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth	25.88	
Thomas E. McMahon, 11718 Bowman Green Drive Reston, VA 22090	National Automatic Merchandising Assn	9,687.00	1,272.34
Larry McNickle, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2873	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
James Meadows, 600 Congress Ave., #1360 Austin, TX 78701	Capital Network System, Inc.	1,200.00	
James Gregory Means, 1317 F Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20004	Alliance of Nonprofit Mailers	1,500.00	
Do	BP America, Inc.	4,250.00	
Do	Centor Energy Corp	10,000.00	
Do	Eltech Systems Corp	6,000.00	698.43
Do	Systech Environmental Corporation	7,800.00	
Medtronic, Inc, 7000 Central Avenue, NE Minneapolis, MN 55432			8.00
Stewart C. Megaw, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Waste Management, Inc.	620.00	
Mehl & Pickens Associates, Inc, 1400 L Street NW Suite 625 Washington, DC 20005	Bogan Aerotech, Inc.	10,000.00	
Do	Cessna Aircraft Company		
Do	Lockheed Aircraft Service Company		
Do	Sycron Corp		
Do	TCOM, L.P.		
Larry Mehlhoff, 23 N. Scott, #27 Sheridan, WY 82801	Sierra Club	7,323.75	645.75
Stanley Meierfeld, 4 World Trade Center New York, NY 10048	New York Mercantile Exchange		
Nanine Meiklejohn, P.O. Box 1 Garrett Park, MD 20896	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	8,748.00	73.00
Do	Coalition on Human Needs	2,250.00	54.50
Joseph R. Membrino, 1120 20th Street, NW, #750 South Washington, DC 20036	Hall Estill et al (For-Cherokee Nation)	6,961.50	937.08
Do	Hall Estill et al (For-Hoopa Valley Tribe)		
David Mengebier, 1016 16th St., NW, 5th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Consumers Power Company	6,000.00	6,998.00
William P. Mengebier, 655 15th Street, NW, #225 Washington, DC 20005	Rhone-Poulenc, Inc.	540.00	217.48

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
J. Roger Mentz, 1100 Connecticut Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	McClure Trotter & Mentz (For-Amway Corp)	552.00	
Edward A. Merlis, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707	Air Transport Assn	604.17	
Edward L. Merrigan, 6000 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20815	Central Gulf Lines, Inc.	10,625.00	166.43
Do	Merrill Lynch & Company, Inc.		
Nancy Jo Merrill, 1901 L St., NW, #260 Washington, DC 20036	March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation	1,325.00	15.50
Carol Messer, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	American Express Co	9,375.00	117.50
Howard M. Messner, 1015 15th St., NW, #802 Washington, DC 20005	American Consulting Engineers Council	625.00	
Jeremy Metz, 260 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10016	American Forest & Paper Assn		
David A. Metzner, 499 S Capitol St., SW, #520 Washington, DC 20003	Van Fleet Associates	13,749.00	
Alden M. Meyer, 1616 P Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Union of Concerned Scientists	2,975.00	448.98
Nicholas Meyers, 1400 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Psychiatric Assn	3,675.00	1,135.47
Basil J. Mezinis, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Automotive Warehouse Distributors Assn		
Michael G. Michaels, P.O. Box 150-160 Atlanta, GA 30315			
Richard P. Michalski, 9000 Machinists Place Upper Marlboro, MD 20772	International Assn of Machinists & Aerospace Workers	6,573.65	
Mid-Atlantic Medical Services, Inc., 4 Taft Court Rockville, MD 20850			12,000.00
Roger E. Middleton, International Square 1825 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	Martinez & Sandoval		
Rene Milam, 11600 Sunrise Valley Drive Reston, VA 22091	Newspaper Association of America	6,000.00	
Leslie K. Miles, 1156 15th Street, NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20005	National Abortion Rights Action League, Inc.	9,187.49	
Military Boot Manufacturers Assn, Belleville Shoe Manufacturing Co P.O. Box 508 Belleville, IL 62222			
Fred Millar, 218 D St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth		
Bonnie K. Miller, Box 528 Gainesville, VA 22065-0528	Liberty Lobby		
Do	National Council for Improved Health		
Clinton R. Miller, P.O. Box 528 Gainesville, VA 22065-0528	Liberty Lobby		
Do	National Council for Improved Health, et al.	3,500.00	1,939.75
Deborah Imie Miller, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
G. Daniel Miller, Suite 450 North, Homer Building 601 - 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-3807	Faegre & Benson (For-Church Alliance)	2,000.00	
Do	Faegre & Benson (For-Multifoods)	885.00	
Do	Faegre & Benson (For-National Car Rental)	38.00	
Do	Faegre & Benson (For-Plaintiffs in Federal Dist Court litigation in Anchorage, AK)		
Grant Miller, 1800 Diagonal Rd. # 600 Alexandria, VA 22314	Grumman Corp	3,000.00	400.00
Do	LTV Aerospace & Defense Co		
Do	Northrop Corporation	3,000.00	400.00
Do	Vought Aircraft Co	3,000.00	300.00
Howard Miller, 115 West College Drive Marshall, MN 56258	Schwan's Sales Enterprises, Inc.		
Vincent J. Miller, 225 North Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Non Commissioned Officers Assn	2,400.00	
William T. Miller, 1101 14th Street, NW, #1400 Washington, DC 20005	Miller Balis & O'Neil, P.C. (For-American Public Gas Assn (APGA))		
Miller & Chevalier, Chtd, 655 15th St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005-5701	American Craft Council		
Do	American Nuclear Energy Council		
Do	Arizona Health Care Contract Management Services, Inc.		
Do	Association of Financial Services Holding Companies	2,050.00	
Do	Blue Cross of California	4,700.00	
Do	Canadian Corps for Equitable Tax Treatment		
Do	Chevy Chase Savings Bank, FSB		
Do	CHAPS Health Services, Inc.		
Do	Dun & Bradstreet Corp		
Do	Electronic Industries Assn		
Do	Export Source Rule Coalition		
Do	Government of British Columbia/Min. of Dev. Trade & Tourism		
Do	Great Northern Insured Annuity Corp	4,373.50	
Do	Hewlett-Packard Co	5,250.00	
Do	Humane Society of the U.S.		
Do	Land Rover of North America, Inc.	3,000.00	
Do	Organization for Fair Treatment of Int'l Investments	6,125.00	
Do	Pulte Home Corp	13,950.00	
Do	SABIC Marketing Americas, Inc.	750.00	
Do	Helicopter Assn International	7,500.00	700.00
Do	American Council of Life Insurance, Inc.		
Anna Minaya, 2632 Wagon Drive, #20 Alexandria, VA 22303	Communications Industries Assn of Japan	6,500.00	6,855.00
Richard V. Minck, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20004	Siemens Corp	15,000.00	
Minority Asset Recovery Contractor's Assn, 200 L Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.	7,300.00	
Mintz Levin Cohn Ferris Glovsky & Popeo, P.C., 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20004	Axiom Corp		848.00
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	2,357.50	2,612.50
Do	Georgia-Pacific Corp	375.00	
Mitchell Williams Selig Gates & Woodyard, 1420 New York Ave., NW, #750 Washington, DC 20005	Axiom Corp		200.00
Do	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co	2,357.50	2,612.50
David T. Modi, 1875 Eye Street, NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Citizens for a Sound Economy		
Ark Monroe, 1420 New York Ave., NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20005-Mon	National Rural Water Assn	4,125.00	230.00
Do	Murray Scheer & Montgomery (For-Oklahoma State Medical Assn)	1,100.00	177.00
Michael Monroney, 1250 H Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-3908	Underground Injection Practices Council	700.00	50.00
John H. Montgomery, 2715 M St., NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	Evergreen International Aviation, Inc.		38.00
Do	Balch & Bingham (For-Alabama Power Co)	738.18	738.18
Kevin P. Montgomery, 1629 K Street, NW, #503 Washington, DC 20006	Balch & Bingham (For-Southern Company Services, Inc.)	310.05	310.05
Karl R. Moor, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036	National Council on Teacher Retirement	200.00	44.86
Do	Waste Management, Inc.	5,750.00	16.00
Cynthia L. Moore, 5808 North 35th Street Arlington, VA 22207	El Paso Natural Gas Co	1,000.00	
Frank B. Moore, 1155 Connecticut Ave., NW, #600 Washington, D.C.	Eli Lilly & Company	3,000.00	56.72
Michael D. Moore, 601 13th Street, NW, Suite 850 Washington, DC 20005	NCR Corp		
Walter K. Moore, 1901 L Street, NW, #705 Washington, DC 20036	American Express Co	16,450.00	
Laura Moorhead, 1120 20th Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20036	National Ocean Industries Assn	3,000.00	
Richard M. Moore, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Boeing Company	96.00	8.50
Robert J. Moran, 1120 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Delta Council		
Judith Morehouse, 1700 N. Moore Street Rosslyn, VA 22209	Communications Workers of America		
E.M. Chip Morgan, P.O. Box 257 Stoneville, MS 38776	ARA Services, Inc.		
John Morgan, 501 3rd Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Morrison Associates (For-Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn)	34,864.68	397.73
James W. Morrison Jr., 815 Connecticut Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	Lockheed Corp	2,000.00	380.74
Do	Baker & McKenzie (For-Continental European Insurance Coalition)		
Mark E. Morrison, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, VA 22202	Florida Sugar Cane League, Inc.		
Philip D. Morrisson, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Rio Grande Valley Sugar Growers		
Michael L. Morton, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #401 Washington, DC 20004-1701		23,980.68	23,980.68
Do	Adical		
Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc., 1600 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sawyer/Miller Group (for Philippine Sugar Regulatory Admin)		
L. A. Motley and Company, 1800 K Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006			
Do	Asea Brown Boveri, Inc.	7,500.00	53.82
Motorcycle Industry Council, Inc., 1235 Jeff Davis Hwy. Arlington, VA 22202	Center for Civic Education	3,026.83	73.19
Susan Connolly Moya, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Constitutional Rights Foundation	3,026.83	73.19
Mullenholz & Brimsek, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Equifax	1,519.90	21.27
Do	National Institute for Citizens Education in the Law	3,026.83	73.19
Do	Search Group Inc.	9,023.75	237.24
Do	FMC Corporation	2,400.00	85.50
Do	Cargill, Inc.	1,250.00	
John A. Mullett, 1627 K St., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20006	National Council of La Raza	21,948.36	21,948.36
Michael L. Mullins, 1101 15th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Village of Schaumburg		
Cecilia Munoz, 810 First Street, NE, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20002	BellSouth Corp	2,955.00	2,206.55
Murphy & Demory, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Asarco, Inc.	1,000.00	
Daniel H. Murray, 1133 21st St., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	Electronic Data Systems Corp	224.00	
Robert J. Muth, 180 Maiden Lane New York, NY 10038			
Karen Magee Myers, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1300-N Washington, DC 20004	Food Research and Action Center	924.66	
MHD Industrial Forum, 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 911 Washington, DC 20036		200.00	1,519.33
Mary Ellen Natale, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #540 Washington, DC 20009			
National Agricultural Chemicals Assn, 1155 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005			
National Assn for Stock Car Auto Racing, Inc. (NASCAR), P.O. Box 26765 1801 Volusia Avenue Daytona Beach, FL 32115-2875			
National Assn of Beverage Importers, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW, #1205 Washington, DC 20005			
National Assn of Federal Employees, 1140 N.W. 63rd Street, #301 Oklahoma City, OK 73116			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S., 15th & M Sts., NW Washington, DC 20005		102,491.37	181,478.24
National Assn of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001		7,133,938.00	140,398.92
National Assn of Mortgage Brokers (NAMB), 706 E. Bell Road, #101 Phoenix, AZ 85022		44,752.28	61,353.31
National Assn of Police Organizations, Inc., 750 First Street, NE, Suite 935 Washington, DC 20002-4241		27,500.00	27,400.82
National Assn of Wheat Growers, 415 2nd St., NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002		7,900.00	8,200.00
National Automobile Dealers Assn, 8400 Westpark Drive McLean, VA 22102			42,275.00
National Beer Wholesalers Assn, 1100 South Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314-4494		63,718.60	18,243.68
National Cable Television Assn, Inc., 1724 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036		26,428.05	76,428.05
National Coal Assn, 1130 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		1,655,619.37	18,449.39
National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship, 1010 Wayne Avenue, Suite 300 Silver Spring, MD 20910			89.50
National Coalition for Marine Conservation, Inc., 5105 Paulsen Street, #243 Savannah, GA 31405		13,293.61	38,044.27
National Comm of Cities & States for Air Service, Transportation Bldg., Room 417 St. Paul, MN 55156		2,402.42	176.91
National Comm on Pay Equity, 1126 16th St., NW, #411 Washington, DC 20036		61,471.71	
National Cooperative Business Assn, 1401 New York Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005		27,500.00	18,570.00
National Corn Growers Assn, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE Suite C-4 Washington, DC 20002		20,864.75	20,864.75
National Education Assn, 1201 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036		101,914.87	101,914.87
National Family Planning & Reproductive Health Assn, Inc., 122 C St., NW, #380 Washington, DC 20001		214,011.00	885.00
National Hearing Aid Society, 20361 Middlebelt Livonia, MI 48152			
National Independent Automobile Dealers Assn, 2521 Brown Blvd., Suite 100 Arlington, TX 76006-5299			9,400.00
National Industrial Transportation League, 1700 N. Moore St. S-1900 Arlington, VA 22209-1904			
National Knitwear & Sportswear Assn, 386 Park Avenue South New York, NY 10016			2,472.84
National League of Postmasters, 1023 North Royal Street Alexandria, VA 22314			42,080.00
National Leased Housing Assn, 2300 M St., NW, #260 Washington, DC 20037		2,000.00	2,000.00
National Milk Producers Federation, 1840 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, VA 22201		15,118.10	15,118.10
National Motorists Assn, 6678 Pertzborn Road Dane, WI 53529			2,757.71
National Motorsports Council of ACCUS-FIA, 1500 Skokie Boulevard, Suite 101 Northbrook, IL 60062		75,844.00	11,196.20
National Pork Producers Council, 501 School Street, SW, #400 Washington, DC 20074		144,889.89	138,558.38
National Rifle Assn of America, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036		285,211.20	570,035.69
National Rural Housing Coalition, 122 C Street, NW, #875 Washington, DC 20001		5,000.00	39.80
National Spa & Pool Institute, 2111 Eisenhower Ave. Alexandria, VA 22314		12,000.00	8,833.00
National Taxpayers Union, 325 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003		18,239.00	21,371.00
National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Assn, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005		7,166.00	7,166.00
National Tour Assn, Inc., 546 E. Main Street Lexington, KY 40508		52,767.00	52,767.00
Ralph G. Nease, 1629 K Street, N.W., Suite 1010 Washington, DC 20006	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	23,681.14	208.75
Allen Neece Jr., 1050 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Neece Cator & Associates (For American Industrial Hygiene Assn)		
Do	Neece Cator & Associates, Inc (For Association of Small Business Development Centers)	2,200.00	2,200.00
Do	Neece Cator & Associates, Inc (For National Small Business United)	2,200.00	2,200.00
Do	Neece Cator & Associates, Inc (For National Venture Capital Association)	1,300.00	1,300.00
Terry Neese, 4527 North 16th Street, Suite 200 Phoenix, AZ 85017	Small Business Alliance on Communications, Inc	80.00	357.00
Christine V. Nelson, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20001-1431	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For PromoFlor)	1,314.00	48.08
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For Right Choice Task Force)	714.00	48.08
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For United Egg Assn)	1,946.00	242.18
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For United Egg Producers)	4,281.00	243.59
Gaylord Nelson, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Wilderness Society		
Lisanne Nelson, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	National Audubon Society	3,312.50	
Mark D. Nelson, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20036	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co		
Scott E. Nemanich, 150 N. Michigan Ave., #2800 Chicago, IL 60601	Brydges Riseborough Morris Franke & Miller	3,703.00	
Tommie E. Netling, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20002	Career College Assn	3,132.00	
Louis H. Nevins, Thacher, Proffitt and Wood 1500 K Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC, DC 20005	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For Castine Partners)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For G.E. Capital Mortgage Insurance Corp)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For North Side Savings Bank)		
Do	Thacher Proffitt & Wood (For Peoples Westchester Savings Bank)		
Barry New, 11911 Freedom Drive, 6th Floor Reston, VA 22090-5602	Rolls-Royce, Inc	850.00	36.70
New York State Assn of Fire Chiefs, 1670 Columbia Turnpike Castleton, NY 12033			12,177.09
William B. Newman Jr., P.O. Box 23451 Washington, DC 20024	Consolidated Rail Corporation	5,500.00	449.57
Newspaper Association of America, 11600 Sunrise Valley Drive Reston, VA 22091		156,925.87	156,925.87
Daniel E. Nickelson, 2000 L St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	Cleveland Clinic Foundation		
William W. Nickerson, 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 850 Washington, DC 20006	Esstar	29,309.64	
David P. Nicoli, 1341 G Street, NW, 9th Floor Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	1,375.00	
Anne L. Nicoli, 50 F St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn	9,264.15	310.46
Nicholas K. Niemann, One Central Park Plaza, #1100 Omaha, NE 68102	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz, PC (For Nebraska Catholic Conference)	57.00	
Do	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz, PC (For Septemberfest Salute to Labor, Inc)	247.00	
Noah's Ark Crisis Center, Inc., P.O. Box 29192 Baltimore, MD 21213	Karalekas & Noone (For American Retirees Assn)	3,000.00	24.00
James A. Noone, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #318 Washington, DC 20036	Karalekas & McCahill (For Gates Rubber Company, et al.)		
Do	Matsumita Electric Corp of America	1,000.00	38.52
J. Hallock Northcott, 1819 L Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036-3822			4,368.99
Northeast Utilities Service Co, Seiden St. Berlin, CT 06037	Women's Legal Defense Fund	382.00	94.00
Helen L. Norton, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #710 Washington, DC 20009	Honeywell, Inc	4,000.00	2,720.79
Ellis T. Nottingham Jr., 7900 Westpark Drive, Suite A530 McLean, VA 22102	MCI Communications Corp	2,000.00	
Patrick J. Nugent, 1133 19th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036		213,082.00	185,060.00
Nutritional Health Alliance, P.O. Box 267 Farmington, NY 11735	Friends Committee on National Legislation	8,217.66	166.93
Nancy Nye, 245 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Anheuser Busch Co	37.50	
O'Brien Calio, 1350 Eye Street, NW, Suite 690 Washington, DC 20005	Federal National Mortgage Assn	211.50	
Do	General Electric Co	221.40	
Do	Storage Technology Corp	49.20	
Do	Tax Reform Action Coalition	186.00	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp	221.40	
Richard F. O'Connell, 233 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, IL 60601	Health Care Service Corp	12,500.00	4,000.00
Carolyn O'Connor, 444 North Capitol Street, #418 Washington, DC 20001	New England Council, Inc		
John T. O'Connor, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers' International Assn	19,490.00	
O'Connor & Hannan, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Cataract & Refractive Surgery		
Do	Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc	8,000.00	
Do	Bear Stearns & Company, Inc	11,960.00	
Do	Citizens Savings and Loan		
Do	Electronic Data Systems Corp		
Do	Evangelical Lutheran Good Samaritan Society		
Do	First Winthrop Corp		
Do	Healthcare Financing Study Group		
Do	MasterCard International, Inc	1,090.00	
Do	Miller & Schroeder		
Do	National Apartment Assn		
Do	Pacific Telesis Group	5,890.00	
Do	Securities Industry Assn	7,500.00	
Do	State Street Bank & Trust Company	9,000.00	
Do	UST	1,250.00	
Do	VISA USA, Inc	1,090.00	
Do	Westinghouse Electric Corp		
Do	Georgia-Pacific Corp		
Do	Union Pacific Corp	10,000.00	2,040.22
Do	Mutual of America	44,687.50	16,794.36
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn	25,000.00	
Do	American Trucking Assn	15,000.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	30,000.00	
Do	Blue Cross Blue Shield Assn	90,000.00	
Do	Boston Capital Partners, Inc	14,000.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson	30,000.00	
Do	Mexican Department of Commerce & Finance	150,000.00	
Do	Public Strategies Washington, Inc (For National Assn of Chain Drug Stores)	26,572.80	
Do	Public Strategies Washington, Inc (For Southwest Airlines)	9,000.00	
Do	Viacom International, Inc	10,000.00	
Do	Entergy Services, Inc	4,429.40	72.65
Jana R. Oakley, 1776 I Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20006	Mellon Bank N.A., et al.	2,000.00	612.51
Harry R. Obley, One Mellon Bank Center, #1905 Pittsburgh, PA 15258-0001			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
R. Michael Ochs, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004	American Trucking Assn		
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores	26,572.80	
Do	Public Strategies Washington, Inc (For-Southwest Airlines)	9,000.00	
Office & Professional Employees Intl Union, Local 2, AFL-CIO, 8455 Colesville Road, #1250 Silver Spring, MD 20910-3320	American Managed Care & Review Assn		120.00
Sharon E. Ogawa, 1227 25th Street, NW, Suite 610 Washington, DC 20037	Salt River Project	3,521.00	1,997.35
James D. Ogburn, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Suite 310 Washington, DC 20002	Seenic America		
Sally G. Ogham, 21 DuPont Circle, NW Washington, DC 20036-1109	Building Trades Assn, Inc		
Richard Oleck, 1181 South Rogers Circle, #5 Boca Raton, FL 33487-2724	U.S. Beet Sugar Assn		
Van R. Olsen, 1156 15th St., NW, #1019 Washington, DC 20005	Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc	4,333.00	
Erik Olson, 1350 New York Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20005	New York Mercantile Exchange	6,000.00	
Ronald S. Oppenheimer, 4 World Trade Center New York, NY 10048			793.00
Orbital Sciences Corporation, 21700 Atlantic Boulevard Dulles, VA 22166-6801		5,500.00	10,802.00
Organization for International Investment, 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #704 Washington, DC 20006-4604		2,884.82	1,113.25
Organization of Professional Employees of USDA, Rm. SM-3-S U.S. Dept of Agriculture Washington, DC 20250			178.18
Raul Ortega, 1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio Ext	200.00	
David E. Ortman, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Friends of the Earth	153.06	
David S. Osterhout, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, VA 22202	Lockheed Corporation	6,000.00	
Robert V. Oswald, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 1200 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance of America, Inc	175.87	
Karl Otosen, 208 G Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	NL Industries/Baroid Corp	11,250.00	
Do	U.S. Federation of Small Businesses, Inc	1,500.00	
Arthur R. Ouslander, P.O. Box 23451 Washington, DC 20026	Consolidated Rail Corporation	2,667.00	
Jack C. Overstreet, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway Suite 300 Arlington, VA 22202	Lockheed Corp	4,000.00	
Brian Pallasch, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Virginia N. Pape, 1250 24th St. NW, #300 Washington, DC 20037	Scripps League Newspapers, Inc	300.00	300.00
Nancy L. Parke, 5410 Grosvenor Lane, #100 Bethesda, MD 20814-2122	American Cong. on Survey & Mapp/Amer Soc of Photogrammetry	2,692.65	
James Parmelee, 11166 Main Street, Suite 302 Fairfax, VA 22030	Seniors Coalition	1,425.60	81.03
Jack C. Parnell, 1919 South Eads Street, Suite #103 Arlington, VA 22202-3028	Kahn Soares & Conway (For:Central Soya/Novamont)	15,000.00	363.25
Richard N. Parsons, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	956.00	
Richard E. Pasco, 501 School Street, SW, #400 Washington, DC 20024	National Pork Producers Council	10,000.00	782.21
Andrea B. Passarelli, 3025 South Parker Road, #1100 Aurora, CO 80014	TeleCheck Services, Inc		
Kevin Patrick, 515 Noth Washington Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2357	International Association of Chiefs of Police	9,410.00	1,666.81
M. Stephanie Patrick, 1101 15th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	Cargill, Inc	1,250.00	
Patton Boggs & Blow, 2550 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Edison Electric Institute		
Joann Payne, 622 North Tazewell Street Arlington, VA 22203	Associated Materials & Supply Co, Inc	4,500.00	
Do	Payne Shea & Associates, Inc (For:Curbs, Inc)	2,750.00	
Do	National Women Business Enterprise Associates	5,000.00	
Do	Safe T Flare		
Bruce Peabody, 110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Council for a Livable World	1,798.62	
Peabody & Brown, 2300 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037	Coalition to Preserve the Low Income Housing Tax Credit	2,000.00	
Do	Institute for Responsible Housing Preservation	2,000.00	
J. Leon Peace Jr., 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Robert Peck, 122 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	American Civil Liberties Union		
Lee Peckarsky, South Lobby - 9th Floor 1800 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	Kirkpatrick & Lockhart (For:Glendale Federal Bank, FSB)	66,622.50	646.27
Nicholas J. Penning, 1801 M. Moore Street Arlington, VA 22209	American Assn of School Administrators	9,500.00	
Monica S. Penwell, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn		
Laura T. Peralta, 1667 K Street, NW, #1270 Washington, DC 20008	Warner-Lambert Company	3,000.00	
Jeffrey L. Perlman, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	American Advertising Federation	1,100.00	216.15
Cidette S. Perrin, 1319 F Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20004	National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals	500.00	
Anne Powers Perry, 1212 New York Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20005-3987	Onp Energy Co	14,400.00	312.21
Robert Perschel, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005-2596	Wilderness Society	310.26	246.07
Susan Persons, 1522 K Street, NW, Suite 836 Washington, DC 20005	Consortium of Social Science Assn		34.73
Susan M. Petty, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Peyser Associates, Inc, 1001 G Street, NW, Suite 400 East Washington, DC 20001	City of Philadelphia	52,500.00	
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings, Inc		
Do	Medical College of Ohio	17,000.00	
Do	Metro	12,999.99	
Do	Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD)	8,333.32	
Do	New York State Thruway Authority	13,500.00	
Do	Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority	22,500.00	
Do	Toledo-Lucas Port Authority	7,500.00	
Laura Phelps, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20001-1431	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Assn of Crop Insurers)	5,246.00	223.85
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Mushroom Institute)	8,414.00	
Do	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For-American Peanut Product Manufacturers, Inc)	2,264.00	133.62
Joann Piccolo, 1350 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20005	Motorola, Inc	4,500.00	
Theodore M. Pierce, 5301 Wisconsin Ave., NW, #450 Washington, DC 20015	National Assn of Surety Bond Producers		14.00
Paul E. Pike, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20004-1707	Air Transport Assn	14,006.24	
Piper & Marbury, 1200 19th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Biotechnology Software Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Direct Marketing Assn	11,651.25	91.20
Do	Information Industry Assn		
Do	Journal of Commerce, Inc		
Do	Mead Data Central, Inc	17,192.50	60.23
Do	PCS Action, Inc	49,782.50	443.24
Jeffrey J. Pirruccello, One Central Park Plaza, #1100 Omaha, NB 68508	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz, PC (For:Nebraska Catholic Conference)	3,247.00	
Do	McGrath North Mullin & Kratz, PC (For:Septemberfest Salute to Labor, Inc)	3,212.00	
Martha Rachel Plotkin, 2300 M Street, NW, #910 Washington, DC 20037	Police Executive Research Forum	1,582.51	
Podesta Associates, Inc, 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East Washington, DC 20006	Allied-Signal, Inc	1,312.50	
Do	Assn of Directory Publishers	5,500.00	155.22
Do	Committee for America's Copyright Community	7,500.00	421.65
Do	Computer & Business Equipment Manufacturers Assn	2,500.00	32.16
Do	Digital Equipment Corp	2,250.00	560.06
Do	Electronic Frontier Foundation	4,112.50	1,255.69
Do	Genentech, Inc	10,667.00	399.89
Do	National Assn of Broadcasters	5,333.00	878.35
Do	National Conference of Bankruptcy Judges	9,442.51	289.37
Do	Newspaper Assn of America	21,837.50	485.71
Do	PCS Action Committee	42,840.00	1,228.58
Do	Times Mirror	3,000.00	66.43
Stephen Pohl, Box 1000/11880-054 Milan, MI 48160	Solar Energy Industries Assn	1,968.75	2,584.30
Anne L. Polansky, 777 North Capitol St., NE, Suite 805 Washington, DC 20002	American Hospital Assn	7,647.45	652.95
Jean S. Polatsek, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn	5,437.38	200.77
Richard J. Pollack, 50 F Street, NW #1100 Washington, DC 20001	National Coalition of Abortion Providers	39,324.57	40,923.49
Pollack & Greene, 206 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Department for Professional Employees AFL-CIO	8,623.35	
Harry L. Ponder, 815 16th Street, NW, #707 Washington, DC 20006	Executive Interventions		
John F. Pontius, 130 North Carolina Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy		
Kathryn Pontzer, 1100 17th Street, NW, 10th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Association of Independent Television Stations, Inc	500.00	
James J. Popham, 1320 19th Street, NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036			4,151.70
Port of Seattle, P.O. Box 1209 Seattle, WA 98111	Analit USA, Inc	675.00	133.21
Porter Wright Morris & Arthur, 1233 20th Street, NW Suite 400 Washington, DC 20036	Automanufacturas, SA de CV	2,659.25	195.76
Do	DSA America, Inc	378.00	40.91
Do	Patterson Belknap Webb & Tyler (For:Ministers & Missionaries Board of American Baptist Churches)		
David W. Powell, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 3600 New York, NY 10112	Dr. Pepper Co	3,481.00	
Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, 6th Floor Washington, DC 20004	International Telecommunications Satellite Corp	1,556.00	
Do	National Alliance for Infusion Therapy	14,044.00	
Do	NovaCare, Inc	3,816.00	
Prather Seeger Doolittle & Farmer, 1600 M Street, NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Banker's Assn for Foreign Trade	15,500.00	114.38
Do	Government of Rheinland-Pfalz	36,500.00	3,100.60
Do	Lead Industries Assn, Inc	2,040.00	10.00
Woodruff M. Price, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #560-South Washington, DC 20004	CSX Corporation	6,000.00	178.10
Price Waterhouse, 1801 K St., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20006	Chrysler Corporation		
Do	DuPont Co, et al.	395.00	8.00
Do	General Electric Co		
Ann L. Pride, 1776 I Street, NW, #275 Washington, DC 20006	Entergy Services, Inc	1,050.00	82.22

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
George W. Pitts Jr., 1745 Jefferson Davis Hwy., #1200 Arlington, VA 22202	Rockwell International Corp	1,875.00	110.45
Pro Life Congressional District 11, P.O. Box 6273 San Mateo, CA 94403-0991	Pro-Life Congressional District 11	42.00	150.21
Sydney Probst, 12 Fourth Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Kansas City Southern Industries, Inc	2,000.00	
Project Cure, Inc, 5910 N. Central Expressway, #760 Dallas, TX 75206	FMC Corporation	3,280.00	
Gerald R. Prout, 1627 K St. NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Association for Commercial Real Estate		3,000.00
Nicolette P. Payllas, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 100 Arlington, VA 22202	Advanced Micro Devices	7,500.00	
Public Resource Associates, 1815 H Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20005	American Forest & Paper Assn	25,000.00	
Public Strategies Washington, Inc, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20004	American Trucking Assns, Inc	15,000.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Co, Inc	30,000.00	
Do	Beneficial Management Corp		
Do	Blue Cross Blue Shield Assn	90,000.00	
Do	Boston Capital Partners, Inc	14,000.00	
Do	G-Tech Corporation		
Do	Johnson & Johnson	30,000.00	
Do	Metallgesellschaft Corp	15,000.00	
Do	Mexican Department of Commerce & Finance	150,000.00	
Do	National Assn of Chain Drug Stores	26,572.80	
Do	Southwest Airlines	9,000.00	
Do	Viacom International, Inc	10,000.00	
PCS Action, Inc, 1200 19th Street, NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20036		125,000.00	92,622.50
PFL Life Insurance Company, 9151 Grapevine Highway North Richland Hills, TX 76180-5605	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Assn	937.50	4,735.25
Patricia A. Quealy, 1310 G Street, NW, 12 Floor Washington, DC 20005	National Coal Assn	7,750.00	280.81
Harold P. Quinn Jr., 1130 17th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	Indiana Statewide Assn of Rural Electric Cooperatives, Inc	9,700.00	
Jeffrey L. Quyle, 720 N. High School Rd. Indianapolis, IN 46214	Health Industry Manufacturers Assn	5,000.00	1,407.94
George Gregory Raab, 1200 G Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20005-0000	Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	1,440.00	35.00
W. A. Radziewicz, 400 N. Capitol Street, NW, #860 Washington, DC 20001	Capitol Strategies Inc (For Arizona State University)	918.85	
George Ramonas, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1180 Washington, DC 20004	Capitol Strategies Inc (For Georgia Southern University)		
Do	Capitol Strategies Inc (For University of Utah)		
Do	Waste Management, Inc	10,000.00	5.00
James D. Range, 11240 Waples Mill Road, #101 Fairfax, VA 22030	Association of Container Reconditioners	2,065.00	200.00
Paul W. Rankin, 8401 Corporate Drive, #425 Landover, MD 20785	USA NAFTA	2,000.00	111.43
Charles R. Ranson, 215 South Monroe Street, Suite 804 Tallahassee, FL 32301	Assn for Enterprise Opportunity	323.00	
Robert A. Rapoza Associates, Inc, 122 C Street, NW, # 875 Washington, DC 20001	Association for Health Services Research	380.00	60.82
Do	Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corp	136.35	
Do	Bethel New Life	136.35	
Do	Center for Community Self Help	62.70	
Do	Chicanos Por la Causa	136.35	
Do	Coastal Enterprises, Inc	199.05	
Do	Community Development Corp of Kansas City	136.35	
Do	Community Enterprise Development Corp of Alaska	136.35	
Do	Community Resource Group	174.71	
Do	Community Transportation Assn of America	380.00	
Do	Delta Foundation	136.35	
Do	Eastside Community Investments, Inc	136.35	
Do	Great Lakes Rural Network/WSOS	174.71	
Do	Impact Seven, Inc	62.70	
Do	Kentucky Highlands Investment Corp	136.35	
Do	Local Initiatives Support Corp	494.00	
Do	Midwest Assistance Program	174.71	
Do	National Congress for Community Economic Development	1,159.00	
Do	National Cooperative Bank	136.35	
Do	National Council of La Raza	62.70	
Do	National Rural Housing Coalition	456.00	
Do	New Community Corp	136.35	
Do	Northern Community Investment Corp	199.05	
Do	Ridgecrest Enterprises	199.05	
Do	Rural Community Assistance Corp	174.71	
Do	Rural Housing Improvement	174.71	
Do	Rural Opportunities, Inc	62.70	
Do	Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Inc	136.35	
Do	Southern Development Bancorporation	62.70	
Do	TELACU	136.35	
Do	Virginia Water Project/SE RCAP	174.71	
Do	YouthBuild, USA	1,235.00	35.52
Daniel Rappaport, Four World Trade Center New York, NY 10048	New York Mercantile Exchange	1,000.00	
Kenneth E. Raske, 555 West 57th Street, 15th Floor New York, NY 10019	Greater New York Hospital Assn	3,433.00	1,048.00
John W. Rauber Jr., 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Helene Rayder, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	American Express Co	6,264.00	577.20
Robert S. Raymar, 1180 Raymond Boulevard Newark, NJ 07102	Hellring Lindeman Goldstein & Siegal (For GAF Corporation)		
Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc, 1020 19th St., NW #200 Washington, DC 20036		32,320.00	32,320.00
Clark E. Rector Jr., 1101 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite #500 Washington, DC 20005	American Advertising Federation		
Bill Redding, 214 N. Henry Street, #203 Madison, WI 53703	Sierra Club	2,016.67	
Jerrilene Reed, 1667 K Street, NW, #210 Washington, DC 20006	Rohm & Haas Company	200.00	60.30
Robert S. Reese Jr., 1341 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	3,000.00	592.52
Reese Communications Companies, Inc, 3050 K St., NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Philip Morris, USA		
Martin A. Regalia, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Savings and Community Bankers of America		
Do	U.S. Chamber of Commerce	1,500.00	
Timothy J. Regan, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004	Corning, Inc		
Michael W. Reid, 1300 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO	15,447.41	575.65
Reid & Priest, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	ABB C-E Nuclear Fuel		
Do	ABB Drives, Inc		
Do	City of Cleveland, Department of Port Control		
Do	City of Philadelphia	11,693.75	
Do	Henschel, Inc		
Do	Parsons Brinckerhoff Quade & Douglas, Inc	2,748.80	
Do	Robert E. Diercktor of Rhode Island, Inc		
Do	SPD Technologies	15,580.50	272.42
Reinsurance Assn of America, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., #900 Washington, DC 20004	Alascom, Inc		
Jerry Reinwand, 175 S. Franklin Street, #318 Juneau, AK 99801	Wilderness Society	912.23	
Joan Reiss, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Centro Industrial de Laboratorios Farmaceuticos Argentinos	160,307.12	46,845.25
Rendon Group, Inc, 2000 S Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	Associated Builders and Contractors	2,500.00	
Julia Renjilian, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Blue Diamond Coal Co	3,750.00	57.32
M. Leu Rennebaum, P.O. Box 1636 Middletown, NY 40965	Vista Chemical Company	4,364.00	20,411.00
Reserve Officers Assn of the US, 1 Constitution Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Greater New York Hospital Assn	176.92	319.40
Michael S. Reynolds, 900 Threadneedle Houston, TX 77079	J. Richard Government Strategies (For City of Fort Worth, Texas)	923.00	549.00
David C. Rich, 555 West 57th Street New York, NY 10019	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc	19,750.00	17,041.55
Jeffrey K. Richard, 317 Massachusetts Ave. NW, #200 Washington, DC 20002-5701	Electronic Industries Assn	3,000.00	178.38
Alan K. Richards, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	3,853.00	
Kevin C. Richardson, 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Akhok-Kaguyak, Inc, Alaska Native Corp	6,000.00	1,500.00
Paige Richardson, 2000 K Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	Old Harbor Native Corp	6,000.00	1,500.00
Timothy L. Richardson, 4104 Denfield Avenue Kensington, MD 20895	National Assn for Stock Car Auto Racing, Inc (NASCAR)		991.60
Do	National Motorsports Comm of Accus-FIA, Inc		991.60
Les Richter, 2555 M Street, NW, #327 Washington, DC 20037	Greenwich Capital Markets, Inc		
Do	Wilderness Society	3,906.97	1,552.23
James G. Rickards, 600 Steamboat Road Greenwich, CT 06830-7149	Association of Bank Holding Cos	2,210.00	
Norbert J. Riedy Jr., 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Lockheed Corporation	4,000.00	117.68
John S. Rippey, 700 13th Street, NW, #1170 Washington, DC 20005-3960	Assn for Governmental Leasing & Finance	670.00	93.00
Michelle Robbins, 1725 Jefferson Davis Highway, #300 Arlington, VA 22202	Babcock & Brown		
Liz Robbins Associates, 522 8th St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Cantor Fitzgerald & Co, Inc	10,500.00	3,905.47
Do			
Do			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Chicago Department of Aviation	1,729.00	987.00
Do	Chicago Educational Television Assn		
Do	Consolidated Rail Corp	3,070.00	1,118.00
Do	CO2 Coalition	29,250.00	8,014.00
Do	Forest City Ratner	581.00	
Do	Gibson Dunn Crutcher	10,500.00	2,590.00
Do	Goldman Sachs & Co	27,275.00	1,838.00
Do	Harvard Corp	2,000.00	227.00
Do	HJ Heinz Company	12,500.00	2,908.00
Do	Intergastro Insurance Co		
Do	Intel Corp	44,897.00	4,126.00
Do	Kalten Muchin Zavis... (for Saginaw Community Hospital)	4,420.00	364.00
Do	Merrill Lynch & Co	26,237.00	2,026.00
Do	National Assn of Independent Colleges & Universities	2,031.00	625.00
Do	National Council of Health Facilities Finance Authorities	7,500.00	1,022.00
Do	Natural Gas Vehicle Coalition	7,000.00	1,170.00
Do	New York State Housing Finance Agency	1,350.00	263.00
Do	New York State Medical Care Facilities Finance Agency	1,350.00	172.00
Do	North American Vaccine, Inc.	1,500.00	85.00
Do	Phoenix House Foundation	3,375.00	167.00
Do	Project Orbis, Inc.	1,500.00	356.00
Do	Reed Publishing (USA), Inc.	27,076.00	2,873.77
Do	Scholastic, Inc.	15,000.00	2,409.00
Do	Town of Avon	6,457.00	761.00
Do	Warburg Pincus Capital Corp	36,675.00	4,961.00
Do	Writers Guild of America, West, Inc.	3,000.00	197.00
William J. Roberts, 1875 Connecticut Ave, NW, #1016 Washington, DC 20009	Environmental Defense Fund	15,750.00	300.00
Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciresi, 1801 K Street, N.W., #1200 Washington, DC 20006	Crystal Cruises, Inc.	1,740.00	
Do	International Group of P&I Clubs	2,987.00	
Do	Polaris Industries, L.P.	5,335.00	48.20
Do			
Gail Robinson, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc.	485.00	
Nancy J. Robinson, 7509 Tiffany Spgs. Pkwy. Kansas City, MO 64190-1402	Livestock Marketing Association	16,200.00	2,364.00
Bob John Robinson, 1 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20001	Robison International, Inc (For-British Aerospace, Inc (Government Programs Office))	1,000.00	
Do	Robison International, Inc (For-FMC Corp)	1,000.00	
Do	Robison International, Inc (For-General Atomics Technologies)	1,000.00	
Do	Robison International, Inc (For-McDonnell Douglas Corp)	1,000.00	
Robison International, Inc, 1 Massachusetts Ave. NW, #800 Washington, DC 20001	Allied-Signal Aerospace Company	2,400.00	2,416.85
Do	British Aerospace, Inc (Government Programs Office)	9,014.98	10,735.40
Do	FMC Corporation	1,663.63	1,681.28
Do	General Atomics Technologies	4,830.27	4,833.70
Do	Mas-Hamilton Group	12,037.82	12,259.47
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp	3,600.00	3,432.68
Do	Oshkosh Truck Corp	500.94	507.88
Do	Solid Waste Composting Council	3,000.00	3,029.85
Do	SOPEC, Inc.	2,256.00	2,276.78
Do	Union Pacific Corp	10,500.00	2,513.98
Do	American Hospital Assn	13,651.19	824.36
Do			
Michael A. Rock, 555 13th St., NW, Suite 450 West Columbia Square Washington, DC 20004	American Assn of Homes for the Aging	92.91	24.63
Michael J. Rock, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	Burns & Roe Enterprises, Inc.		
Rocking K Development, 2200 East River Road, #115 Tucson, AZ 85718	Dow Chemical Co	500.00	6,987.00
Michael F. Rodgers, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	Siemens Corp		
Randall B. Roe, 1400 K Street, NW, #910 Washington, DC 20005	CIBA-GEIGY Corp	4,755.00	3,033.03
Margaret Rogers, 1776 Eye Street, NW, #575 Washington, DC 20006	Asarco, Inc.	8,400.00	
Robert G. Rogers, 701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 720 Washington, DC 20004	Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Assn		
George L. Rolofson, P.O. Box 18300 Greensboro, NC 27419	Group Health Assn of America, Inc.	18,347.49	
Emil A. Romagnoli, 180 Maiden Lane New York, NY 10038	Recording Industry Assn of America	3,200.00	
John C. Roney, 1156 15th Street, NW, #103 Washington, DC 20005	Allwaste, Inc.	3,000.00	
Leslie Rose, 1129 20th St., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Levin Rosenstein & Kudon, P.C. (For-National AG Underwriters, Inc)	300.00	
Hilary Rosen, 1020 19th St., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States	8,399.92	64.00
Richard Rosen, 6707 Old Dominion Drive, #210 McLean, VA 22101	American Assn of Retired Persons	1,665.87	
Albert B. Rosenbaum III, 499 South Capitol Street, SW, #520 Washington, DC 20003	INT'l Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine...	12,076.24	1,338.75
Larry M. Rosenstein, 1130 17th Street, NW, #314 Washington, DC 20036	Marconi Electronics, Inc, et al.	3,000.00	850.00
Manlyn Rosenthal, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	Ralvin Pacific Properties, Inc, et al.		
John C. Rother, 1909 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20049	Outdoor Advertising Assn of America, Inc		
Lauren J. Rothfarb, 1126 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Pharmaceutical Assn	500.00	
Linda Rothleder, 315 Bonifant Road Silver Spring, MD 20904	CIBA-GEIGY Corp	4,375.00	7,043.01
Do	American Psychiatric Assn	2,250.00	1,157.32
Roxton, Inc, 2000 S. Eads Street, #1003 Arlington, VA 22202	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.	9,875.00	
Eric M. Rubin, 1730 M Street, NW, #412 Washington, DC 20036	Assn of California Water Agencies	1,200.00	172.30
N. Lee Rucker, 2215 Constitution Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Allied Charities of Minnesota)		
Glenn S. Ruskin, 444 Saw Mill River Road Ardsley, NY 10022-699	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-City of Duluth)		
Cathleen Russell, 1400 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Control Data Systems, Inc)		
Christine Anne Russell, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Minneapolis Assn of Townships)		
Richard M. Russell, 444 North Capitol Street Hall of States, Suite 326 Washington, DC 20001	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Northwestern National Life Insurance)		
Michael J. Ryan, 403 First Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Planning Research Corp)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians)		
Do	Hessian McKasy & Soderberg (For-Wisconsin Towns Assn)		
Ryan-McGinn, Inc, 2300 Clarendon Blvd., #610 Arlington, VA 22201	Cathedral Healthcare System	4,500.00	107.77
Do	General Pneumatics Corp		
Do	Hercules Engines, Inc.		
Do	Independent Oil & Gas Association	1,800.00	100.64
RBC Associates, 122 C Street, NW, #850 Washington, DC 20001	Chicago & Northwestern Railroad	48,599.97	3,677.55
Do	Delaware Otsego System	6,032.59	3,677.55
Do	Environmental Transportation Assn	10,000.00	3,677.55
Do	Illinois Central Railroad	24,000.00	3,677.55
Do	Investment Counsel Assn of America, Inc	2,265.05	3,677.55
Do	Regional Railroads of America	54,000.00	3,677.54
Do	Turbomeca Engine Corp	52,000.00	3,677.54
Safe Streets Alliance, 1146 19th Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036			
Sagamore Associates, Inc, 1701 K Street, NW #400 Washington, DC 20006	City of North Las Vegas	4,266.67	112.99
Do	Ebasco Services Inc	3,000.00	34.10
Do	Erie County Industrial Development Agency		
Do	Goodwill Games, Inc.	8,000.00	1,375.60
Do	Indiana Electric Assn	23,344.00	1,753.45
Do	Indiana University	4,320.00	21.22
Do	MSE Corp		
Do	United Student Aid Funds	6,280.00	489.35
Sheldon W. Samuels, 815 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006			
Arthur R. Sando, 6560 Rock Spring Drive Bethesda, MD 20817	Communications Satellite Corp (COMSAT)	2,500.00	
C. Patrick Sankey, 501 School Street, SW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20024-2713	American Road & Transportation Builders Assn	500.00	
K.E. Santhanam, 91 Strawberry Hill Avenue, Suite 338 Stamford, CT 06902	American Occupational Therapy Assn, Inc		
James D. Santini, 1101 King Street, #350 Alexandria, VA 22314	National Parks Hospitality Association	6,000.00	471.40
Do	National Tour Assn, Inc.	27,225.00	7,093.52
Eric Saprstein, 1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20036	California Assn of Sanitation Agencies	6,300.00	2,748.92
Do	ENS Resources, Inc (For-East Bay MUD)	2,200.00	1,072.21
Do	Union Sanitary District		
Do	Western Research Institute	897.50	71.15
Susan Sarason, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1014 Washington, DC 20036	Ebasco Services, Inc	2,865.00	756.35

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Save Our Security, 1331 F Street NW Washington, DC 20004-1171	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	40,865.00	28,986.13
Paulusue Sawyers, 1300 North 17th St. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Sharp Manufacturing Company of America	2,500.00	
Charles Scaleria, 1200 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Marc Steven Scarduffa, 15th & M Street NW Washington, DC 20005			
Scenic America, 21 Dupont Circle Washington, DC 20036	American Gas Cooling Center	8,310.00	8,505.00
Jennifer A. Schafer, 962 Wayne Avenue, Suite 750 Silver Spring, MD 20910	Florida Solar Energy Center	800.00	1,002.00
Do	ICC Technologies	5,820.00	6,156.00
Do	University of Oregon	800.00	877.00
Do	Committee on Pipe & Tube Imports	6,887.00	75.00
Schagrin Associates, 1140 - 19th Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036	Tyco-Grinnell Laboratories, Inc	435.63	53.40
Do	Weirton Steel Corporation	6,070.00	96.31
Do	Group Health Assn of America, Inc		
Candace K. Schaller, 1129 20th Street NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Council for Citizens Against Government Waste	3,000.00	24.70
Thomas A. Schatz, 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	TRW, Inc	7,995.00	
Michael T. Schilling, 1001 19th Street North, #800 Arlington, VA 22209	Council of Nursing Home Suppliers	30,000.00	21,767.61
Schmeltzer Aptaker & Sheppard, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, 10th floor Washington, DC 20037-1905	Consumers Power Co	8,000.00	6,998.00
H. B. W. Schroeder, 1016 16th Street, NW, 5th floor Washington, DC 20036	National Council of Senior Citizens	18,578.17	
Daniel J. Schuler, 1331 F Street, NW 7th Floor Washington, DC 20004	Nichols Institute	1,315.54	58.80
Schwabe Williamson & Wyatt, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #570 Washington, DC 20037	Public Generating Pool	634.55	30.54
Do	Solid Waste Assn of North America	74.73	7.45
Do	Tru-Met	17,435.52	1,965.39
Elinor Schwartz, 318 S. Abingdon Street Arlington, VA 22204	Washington State Department of Natural Resources	7,770.00	27.82
Michael Schwartz, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, #950 Washington, DC 20077	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	12,000.00	270.00
Carl F. Schwensen, 415 2nd St., NE, #300 Washington, DC 20002	National Assn of Wheat Growers	1,500.00	
Ellen Scott, 1750 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal Workers International Assn	9,441.25	
Gregory R. Scott, 1341 G Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Philip Morris Management Corp	1,240.00	158.58
Michael Scott, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Wilderness Society	3,621.13	59.45
Robert T. Scully, 750 First Street, NE, Suite 935 Washington, DC 20002-4241	National Assn of Police Organizations, Inc	9,999.60	202.41
Timothy Scully, 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	3,258.28	
Mark Seetin, 919 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	New York Mercantile Exchange	6,000.00	700.00
Frances Seghers, 1600 Eye St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc		
John F. Seher, 1825 I Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20006	UST Public Affairs, Inc	9,000.00	5,000.00
M. Mark Seklecki, 50 F Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20001	American Hospital Assn		
Tom Sellers, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co		
William M. Sells III, 1212 Potomac Street, NW Washington, DC 20007	Computer Dealers & Lessors Assn		
Seniors Coalition, 11166 Main Street, #302 Fairfax, VA 22030		3,584,015.73	1,38,131.98
Kevin J. Shannon, 2001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Washington, DC 20006	Electronic Industries Assn	625.00	
Dennis P. Sharon, 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1200 Arlington, VA 22202	McDonnell Douglas Corp		
Mark J. Sharp, 1819 L Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036-3822	Matsushita Electric Corp of America	100.00	38.52
Susan Shaw, 2728 S. Arlington Ridge Rd. Arlington, VA 22202	National Treasury Employees Union	16,517.00	172.86
Shaw Pittman Potts & Trowbridge, 2300 N Street, NW, #5121 Washington, DC 20037	Waste Management, Inc		
Quinlan J. Shea, 1920 N Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Mining Congress		
James V. Sheahan, 3333 State Bridge Rd. Alpharetta, GA 30202	Siemens Corporation		
John E. Sheeley, 1 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20001	McLeod Watkinson & Miller (For American Assn of Crop Insurers)	5,607.00	285.97
Karin P. Sheldon, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006-2596	Wilderness Society		
Sheridan Group, 1775 T Street, NW Washington, DC 20009	Campaign for Military Service	60,000.00	25,163.43
Do	Cities Advocating Emergency Aids Relief (CAEAR)	76,750.02	11,530.99
Do	CFDS Assn, Inc	15,000.00	3,009.73
Carl Shipley, 1575 Eye Street, NW, #325 Washington, DC 20005	Western Southern Life Insurance	3,000.00	316.00
John B. Shlaes, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	Global Climate Coalition		
Shook Hardy & Bacon, One Kansas City Place 1200 Main Street Kansas City, MO 64105	Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation		2,529.78
Jill Showell, 1101 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #950 Washington, DC 20004	Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp	3,208.92	2,352.25
Julie Shroyer, 1400 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Psychiatric Assn	2,100.00	906.79
David Todd Sidor, One Constitution Square New Brunswick, NJ 08901-1500	New Jersey State Bar Assn		
Richard M. Siebert, 10 Whitestone Lane Rochester, NY 14618-4118	Association of Fire Districts of the State of New York, Inc		
Sierra Club, 730 Polk Street San Francisco, CA 94109		336,803.22	336,803.22
Pam Silberstein, 1101 14th Street, NW, Suite 1400 Washington, DC 20005	Miller Balis & O'Neil (For American Public Gas Association (APGA))		
Howard J. Silver, 1522 K Street, NW, #836 Washington, DC 20005	Consortium of Social Science Assns		39.50
Karen H. Simon, 2600 Virginia Ave., NW, 10th floor Washington, DC 20037-1905	Schmeltzer, Aptaker & Shepard (For Council of Nursing Home Suppliers)	6,000.00	
Talmage E. Simpkins, 444 North Capitol Street, #801 Washington, DC 20001	Labor-Management Maritime Committee, Inc	2,875.00	563.00
William G. Simpson, 1155 15th St., NW, #504 Washington, DC 20005	State of Mississippi	10,000.00	
Bonnie J. Singer, 1101 30th Street, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20007	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For JEFA International, Inc)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For Prodigy Services Company)		
Do	Murphy & Demory, Ltd (For U.S. Telephone Assn)		
Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom, 1440 New York Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Electronics Assn	125.00	
Do	Computer & Business Equipment Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Conkling, Fiskum & McCormick	375.00	
Do	Council on Research & Technology	2,250.00	18.00
Do	Hewlett-Packard Company	23,922.00	160.00
Do	Solar Energy Industries Assn	6,600.00	19,181.39
Scott Sklar, 777 N. Capitol St. NE #805 Washington, DC 20002	Honeywell, Inc		
Glen J. Skovholt, P.O. Box 524 Minneapolis, MN 55440-0524	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
William T. Slider, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	Pennzoil Co	6,000.00	
Smathers Hickey & Smathers, 1050 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #222 Washington, DC 20036	Communicating for Agriculture		5,000.00
Jeffrey Smedsrud, 1101 15th Street, NW Suite 425 Washington, DC 20005	E. Del Smith & Co (For ASCA Treatment Centers)		
Edward Del Smith, 905 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	E. Del Smith & Company (For BEMS)	1,533.91	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For California Independent Producers Assn)	9,224.36	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Calleguas Creek Flood Prevention)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Cement Importers Group)	9,000.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For CenterPort Int'l)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For City of Anaheim Civic Center)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of Anaheim Public Utilities)	2,850.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of Chino Hills)	3,000.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For City of Laguna Beach, CA)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For City of Long Beach, CA, Intergovernmental Relations)	22,395.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of Newport Beach)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of Santa Barbara)	2,400.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For City of Santa Monica)	4,500.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of South Gate)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For City of Victorville, CA)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For County of Los Angeles)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For Deskin Research Group)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For Disproportionate Share Hospitals of L.A. County)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Hidden Valley Resources, Inc)	1,500.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Long Beach Naval Shipyard Employees Assn)	3,427.85	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For National Independent Schools Assn)	2,400.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Nevada Resort Association)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Northern California Power Agency)	14,632.07	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Port of Hueneme, CA, Oxnard Harbor District)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Port of Long Beach, CA)	30,906.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Port of Santa Cruz, CA)	1,950.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Rancho Palos Verdes)		
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Signal Landmark, Inc)	3,000.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Company (For Teague-McKevitt Company)	3,600.00	
Do	E. Del Smith & Co (For Wickland Oil Co)		
Elizabeth M. Smith, 490 L'Enfant Plaza East, SW Suite 4200 Washington, DC 20006	Xerox Corp		
Marc Smith, 714 Jackson St. Suite 939 Dallas, TX 75202	International Speedway Corp	2,200.00	9,410.03
Philip Hardy Smith, P.O. Box 2801 Daytona Beach, FL 32115	National Motorsports Comm of ACCUS-FIA, Inc	2,200.00	9,410.03
Do	Textron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Richard F. Smith, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Friends of the Earth	19.23	
Velma Smith, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	VISA USA, Inc	26,249.99	74.13
W. Lamar Smith, 1600 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Smith Dawson & Andrews, Inc, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, #302 Washington, DC 20036	Composite Technology Transfer Consortium	20,000.00	
Randall D. Snodgrass, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	National Audubon Society	2,950.00	1,000.00
Paul M. Snyder, 1455 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004	Advanced Micro Devices	7,500.00	
Do	American Forest & Paper Assn	25,000.00	
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc	30,000.00	
Do	Blue Cross Blue Shield Assn	90,000.00	
Do	Boston Capital Partners, Inc	14,000.00	
Do	Johnson & Johnson	30,000.00	
Do	Mexican Department of Commerce & Finance	150,000.00	
Do	Viacom International, Inc	10,000.00	
Society of Glass & Ceramic Decorators, 888 17th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors' Nat'l Assn		
Thomas J. Soles Jr., 4201 Lafayette Center Drive Chantilly, VA 22021-1230	National Assn of Letter Carriers	56,944.54	
Vincent R. Sombrotto, 100 Indiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	Alaska Native Health Board		
Sonosky Chambers Sachse & Endreson, 1250 Eye Street, NW #1000 Washington, DC 20005	American Association of Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine		
Do	Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes		
Do	Class of Native Alaskan Plaintiffs		
Do	Colville Business Council		
Do	Cook Inlet Regional Citizen Advisory Council		
Do	Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission		
Do	Hatteras Tuscarora Tribal Foundation		
Do	Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians of Maine		
Do	Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians		
Do	Multi-Housing Laundry Assn, Inc		
Do	Pueblo of Jemez		
Do	Sault Ste. Marie		
Do	Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation		
Do	Standing Rock Sioux Tribe		
Do	Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corp		
Southwestern Power Resources Assn, P.O. Box 1360 1800 Canyon Park Cr., #403 Edmond, OK 73083-1360	Capitol Counsel, Inc		6,200.00
James M. Sparling Jr., 1733 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Center for Housing Management	2,164.00	48.00
Specialized Carriers & Rigging Assn, Inc, 2750 Prosperity Avenue, #620 Fairfax, VA 22314	McAuliffe Kelly & Raffaelli (For:Desert Research Institute)	1,200.00	
Specialty Vehicle Institute of America, Inc, 1235 Jefferson Davis Hwy, Suite 600 Arlington, VA 22202	North American Interstate Weather Modification Council		
Wilbur R. Speer, 1275 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Society of Glass & Ceramic Decorators (SGCD)	2,500.00	
Richard L. Spees, 1341 G Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Associated Builders & Contractors, Inc	1,120.00	
Do	Council for a Livable World		2,000.00
Sandra Spence, 888 17th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006-3953	Screen Actors Guild, et al.		
William B. Spencer, 1300 North 17th Street Rosslyn, VA 22209	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors' Nat'l Assn		
Joel B. Spoonheim, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 409 Washington, DC 20002	Wilderness Society		
Squadron Ellenoff Plesent Sheinfeld & Sorkin, 551 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10176	Public Resource Associates		
John W. Sroka, 4201 Lafayette Center Drive Chantilly, VA 22021-1230	Eckert Seamans Cherrin & Mellott (For:Ormet Corp)	250.00	
James St. Pierre, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006-2596	Eckert Seamans Cherrin & Mellott (For:Regional Transportation Commission)	2,590.00	77.20
Elvis J. Stahr Jr., 1815 H Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	National Corn Growers Assn	3,643.00	20,864.75
Jane Sutter Starke, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #600 Washington, DC 20037	Barnes & Thornburg (For:Indiana Glass Company)		
Do	Barnes & Thornburg (For:Special Comm for Workplace Product Liability Reform)		65,837.00
David Stawick, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	Kmart Corp		
Randolph J. Stayin, 1815 H Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006	American Health Care Association	2,062.50	130.77
Do	AEtina Life & Casualty	21,604.00	130.77
Steel Tank Institute, 570 Oakwood Road Lake Zurich, IL 60047	Johnson & Johnson	17,740.00	25,122.50
Steele Silcox & Browning, P.C., 1220 19th Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20036	Lockheed Information Management Systems Company	7,019.50	130.77
Law Offices of Deborah Steelman, Columbia Square 555 13th Street, NW, #1220 East Washington, DC 20004-1109	National Assn for the Support of Long Term Care		
Do	National Health Labs, Inc	16,960.00	25,600.00
Do	Pfizer, Inc	17,737.50	25,495.00
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	15,327.50	29,225.00
Do	Private Benefits Alliance		
Do	XOMA Corporation	15,867.50	23,355.00
Charles W. Stellar, 1227 25th Street, NW, #510 Washington, DC 20037	American Managed Care & Review Assn		
Jo Stephens, 139 Blue Ridge Acres Harpers Ferry, WV 25425	Farm Sanctuary	3,703.00	185.72
Stephens & Johnson, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Association of Private Pension & Welfare Plans, Inc		
Robert B. Stewart, 1120 G Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	5,363.00	
Helen H. Stidham, 5999 Stevenson Avenue Alexandria, VA 22304	American Counseling Assn	7,708.00	
Bradley Stillman, 1424 16th Street, NW, Suite 604 Washington, DC 20036	Consumer Federation of America	6,368.00	78.00
John E. Stiner, 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #850 Washington, DC 20006	American Electronics Assn		
Alex Stoddard, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW, #200 Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn	1,200.00	
Judith Lee Stone, 777 N. Capitol Street, #410 Washington, DC 20002	Advocates for Highway & Auto Safety	1,440.25	
Dena G. Stoner, 2000 L Street, NW #601 Washington, DC 20036	Council for Educational Development & Research	1,162.50	115.49
David A. Streilein, 5525 Reitz Avenue Baton Rouge, LA 70809-3802	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Louisiana	1,200.00	2,067.19
Do	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Mississippi, Inc		
John F. Sturm, NAA 529 - 14th Street, NW, #440 Washington, DC 20045	Newspaper Association of America	15,000.00	637.00
Francis J. Sullivan, 16 W. Walnut Street Alexandria, VA 22301	Frank Sullivan Associates (For:Ingalls Shipbuilders)	138.00	
Do	Frank Sullivan Associates (For:ITT Corporation)	97.00	
Do	Frank Sullivan Associates (For:Textron, Inc)	102.00	
Do	Frank Sullivan Associates (For:Waste Management Inc)	163.00	
Judy M. Sullivan, 1614 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314	National Assn of Housing Cooperatives		
Richard J. Sullivan, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Association of American Railroads)	11,000.00	
Do	Richard Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Design Professionals Coalition)		
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Harbor Dredging)	2,000.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:National Utility Products Company)	4,350.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District)	1,950.00	
Do	Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc (For:Water Environment Research Foundation)	4,700.00	
Sullivan & Cromwell, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006	American International Group, Inc		
Do	Securities Industry Assn		
Richard J. Sullivan Associates, Inc, 1507 Laburnum Street McLean, VA 22101	Association of American Railroads	12,499.98	16,049.07
Do	City of San Liandro	2,500.00	6,049.07
Do	Design Professionals Coalition	5,000.00	6,049.07
Do	National Utility Products Company	5,000.00	8,899.07
Do	Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District	5,200.00	6,499.07
Do	Water Environment Research Foundation	6,000.00	8,749.07
Do	Heckler & Koch, Inc	500.00	
Charles Sunderlin, 21480 Pacific Boulevard Sterling, VA 22170	Federation for American Immigration Reform		
Sutherland Asbill & Brennan, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20004	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	25,645.50	
David A. Sweeney, 25 Louisiana Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001	Electronic Data Systems Corp	496.00	386.24
William R. Sweeney Jr., 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1300-N Washington, DC 20004	American Bakers Assn		
Swidler & Berlin, Chtd, 3000 K Street, NW, #300 Washington, DC 20007	American Gas Assn		
Do	Bayh Connaughton Fensterheim... (for Merrill Lynch & Co Inc)		
Do	Collier Shannon... (for Independent Gasoline Marketers Assn)	783.75	
Do	Grocery Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Integrated Waste Services Assn	2,240.00	30.25
Do	International Service Agencies		
Do	MacAndrews & Forbes Group, Inc	3,506.25	202.56
Do	National Council of Community Hospitals	265.00	
Do	New England Power		
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	3,210.00	9.00
Do	UST Public Affairs, Inc	4,500.00	750.00
Chris Ray Swonger, 1825 I Stret, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	10,000.00	5,000.00
Szavik Hogan & Miller, Inc, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20036	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Empresariales de Comercio Ext	968.00	968.00
SJS Advanced Strategies, 1330 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	Asa Brown Boveri Inc	8,500.00	
SPACECAUSE, 922 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE Washington, DC 20003	National Pork Producers Council	10,000.00	2,026.13
Bruce B. Talley, 1101 15th Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20005	Communicating for Agriculture		5,000.00
Alan Tank, 201 Massachusetts Ave, NE, #C4 Washington, DC 20002			
Jennifer Tanner, 1101 15th Street, NW Suite 425 Washington, DC 20005			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Lonnie P. Taylor, 1615 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20062	US Chamber of Commerce	11,250.00	282.37
R. William Taylor, 1575 Eye Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	American Soc of Assn Executives	300.00	
Richard Taylor, CNG Tower 625 Liberty Avenue 21st Floor Pittsburgh, PA 15222-3319	Consolidated Natural Gas Co	200.00	
Sandra E. Taylor, 1600 M St., NW, #702 Washington, DC 20036	ICI Americas, Inc	20,000.00	228.33
Saramae Teich, 4527 North 16th Street, Suite 200 Phoenix, AZ 85016	Small Business Alliance on Communications, Inc		
Ellen S. Teller, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #540 Washington, DC 20009	Food Research and Action Center	282.01	
Leonard B. Teir, 815 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20006-4078	Baker & McKenzie (For Continental European Insurance Coalition)		
Richard Paul Teske, 1500 K Street, NW, #625 Washington, DC 20005	Burroughs Wellcome Co	35,000.00	880.00
Textron, Inc, 40 Westminster St. Providence, RI 02903		3,900.00	
Thacher Proffitt & Wood, 1500 K Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005	Castine Partners	14,568.00	850.00
Do	General Electric Capital Mortgage Insurance Corp		
Do	North Side Savings Bank	6,215.33	425.00
Do	Peoples Westchester Savings Bank		425.00
Do	W.R. Grace & Co		
Edlu J. Thom, 1333 New Hampshire Ave., NW Suite 1001 Washington, DC 20036	Textron, Inc	600.00	150.00
Gordon M. Thomas, 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Law Enforcement Alliance of America	14,559.93	9,817.00
Bill Thompson, 7700 Leesburg Pike, #421 Falls Church, VA 22043	Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors National Assn		
Dana S. Thompson, 305 4th Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002	American Speech-Language-Hearing Assn		
Kathryn S. Thompson, 10801 Rockville Pike Rockville, MD 20852	Axiom Corp		210.00
Nick Thompson, 1420 New York Ave., NW, Suite 750 Washington, DC 20005	Organization of Professional Employees of USDA	800.09	
Otis N. Thompson, U.S. Department of Agriculture (OPEDA) Room SM - 3 - South Ag. Bldg. Washington, DC 20250	United Illuminating Company	2,739.00	
Patricia L. Thompson, 601 Pennsylvania Avenue #620-North Building Washington, DC 20004	New York Mercantile Exchange	5,000.00	
Patrick Thompson, 4 World Trade Center New York, NY 10048	City of Tacoma	4,275.00	5,176.72
Timothy C. Thompson, 2200 First Interstate Plaza P.O. Box 1157 Tacoma, WA 98401-1157	CH2MHill Hanford, Inc	5,808.00	8,026.92
Do	Fluor-Daniel, Inc	4,106.25	24.00
Thompson & Hutson, 1317 F St., NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20004	National Dual Shop Coalition		
Do	American Subcontractors Assn, Inc		
Sarah R. Thomson, 1004 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314	Automotive Warehouse Distributors Assn		
George A. Tobin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20036	Blue Cross and Blue Shield Assn	750.00	
Greg R. Toomey, 655 15th Street, NW, Suite 350 Washington, DC 20005	Friends of the Earth		
Marijke Torfs, 218 D Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	Electronic Publishing Group	25,000.00	
Charles H. Tower, 1026 16th Street, NW, #503 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Psychiatric Health Systems	500.00	
Robert L. Trachtenberg, 1319 F Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20004	Blue Cross & Blue Shield Association	1,087.50	52.00
Bernard R. Tresnowski, 1310 G Street, NW, 12 Floor Washington, DC 20005	United Mine Workers of America		
Eugene M. Trisko, P.O. Box 596 Berkeley Springs, WV 25411	Navistar International Transportation Corp	1,000.00	3.64
Thomas L. Trueblood, 455 North Cityfront Plaza Drive Chicago, IL 60611	American Insurance Assn		
Paul E. Tsongas, Foley Hoag & Eliot One Post Office Square Boston, MA 02109	Humane Society of the U.S., et al.		
Do	Amtrack Conrail Pennsylvania Railroad Retirees	350.00	118.50
Rowland V. Tucker, Box 133 Darby, PA 19023	Georgia-Pacific Corp	4,800.00	
John M. Turner, 1875 Eye St., NW, #775 Washington, DC 20006	Ethyl Corporation	1,700.00	40.50
Max Turnipsed, 451 Florida Blvd., #948 Baton Rouge, LA 70801		8,913.79	15,494.51
U.S. Border Control, P.O. Box 10800 Springfield, VA 22009-0800			
U.S. Recreational Ski Association, 1315 East Pacific Avenue Anaheim, CA 92805			
U.S. Telephone Assn, 900 19th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20036			7,500.00
Stewart L. Udall, 1244 Camino Cruz Blanca Santa Fe, NM 87501	Claimants Under Proposed Radiation Exposure Compensation Act	47,000.00	
Mark J. Ugoretz, 1400 L St., NW Ste. 350 Washington, DC 20005	Erisa Industry Committee	2,062.00	
Unifi, Inc, P.O. Box 19109 Greensboro, NC 27419	PRC, Inc		1,676.11
Donald W. Upson, 1500 PRC Drive McLean, VA 22102	Computer & Business Equipment Manufacturers Assn	6,000.00	1,874.08
Anne I. Urban, 1250 Eye Street, NW, #200 Washington, DC 20005		983.50	2,288.02
USA NAFTA, 1317 F Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20004	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc	4,851.00	
Jack J. Valenti, 1600 Eye St., NW Washington, DC 20006	Cadillac Gage Textron	6,000.00	1,031.11
Van Fleet Associates, Inc, 499 South Capitol St., SW, #520 Washington, DC 20003	Harsco Corporation	27,000.00	10,440.90
Do	American Gas Assn	31,248.00	2,067.67
Do	DGA International	787.50	26.15
Do	Electrospace Corporation	10,500.00	172.23
Do	Fischer Imaging Corp	5,400.00	275.94
Do	E. Bruce Harrison	600.00	
Do	Litton Applied Technologies	21,000.00	3,958.80
Do	Magnavox Government & Industrial Relations Co	22,350.00	
Do	Martin Marietta Corp	18,750.00	540.61
Do	Miltope Corp	7,500.00	414.83
Do	NCube	7,500.00	1,148.85
Do	Omni-TECH Medical	3,000.00	7.04
Do	Sea Beam Instruments, Inc	9,000.00	1,011.27
Do	Southern Maryland Naval Alliance		
Do	Thermo Trex	7,500.00	206.73
Do	Vanguard Research, Inc	6,000.00	55.81
Matthew Van Hook, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Forest & Paper Assn		
Burkett Van Kirk, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc		
Bronson Van Wyck & Co, 2141 Highway 224 East Tuckerman, AR 72473		12,235.05	21,519.77
Ross P. Vartian, 122 C Street, NW #350 Washington, DC 20001	Armenian Assembly of America	941.00	
Philip M. Vaughn, 800 Connecticut, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20006	Fluor Corp	5,000.00	84.00
Verner Lippert Bernhard McPherson & Hand, Chtd, 901 15th Street, NW, #700 Washington, DC 20005-2301	Advanced Television Research Consortium (ARTC)		
Do	American Museum of Natural History		
Do	Ameritech		
Do	Association of American Railroads	570.00	
Do	Brown & Root, Inc		
Do	Burlington Northern, Inc		
Do	Central Gulf		
Do	Commonwealth of Puerto Rico	30,007.00	
Do	David Sarnoff Research Center	485.00	
Do	General Dynamics Corp	650.00	
Do	GenCorp	8,165.00	
Do	George Washington University	1,465.00	
Do	Guardian Industries	1,320.00	
Do	Hughes Communications, Inc	2,530.00	
Do	Hughes Network Systems, Inc	1,625.00	
Do	Insurance Solvency Coalition	4,163.00	
Do	Investment Company Institute	7,959.00	
Do	K Mart Corp		
Do	Kellogg		
Do	Large Public Power Cos		
Do	Manville Corp	4,973.00	
Do	Mars, Inc	8,134.00	
Do	McDonnell Douglas Corp	45,401.00	
Do	Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc	7,739.00	
Do	Michelin North America	1,878.00	
Do	Northwest Airlines	17,100.00	
Do	NBC	3,673.00	
Do	Puget Sound Power & Light Company	900.00	
Do	Rubber Manufacturers Assn		
Do	Travelers Companies	26,609.00	
Do	TRW, Inc		
Do	Uniroyal Chemical Company, Inc		
Do	Upjohn Co		
Do	Western Michigan University	2,574.00	
David Vienna & Associates, 401 Wythe Street, #2-A Alexandria, VA 22314	American Assn of Classified School Employees	735.00	
Do	California Department of Insurance	1,706.25	
Do	California Franchise Tax Board	6,556.25	
Do	California Public Employees' Retirement System	13,518.75	
Do	California State Senate	6,100.00	
Do	Executive Life Insurance Company of California		
Do	Pacific Stock Exchange, Inc		
Do	Regional Stock Exchanges Coalition	15,600.00	

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	State Board of Equalization (Calif)	218.75	
Earl J. Volk, 245 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Friends Committee on National Legislation	3,861.71	1,069.33
Ellen M. Vollinger, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, #540 Washington, DC 20009	Food Research and Action Center	2,082.71	
Sarah C. Von der Lippe, 80 Trowbridge St. Cambridge, MA 02138	Kids Project	200.00	
Kurt Vorndran, 1126 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	National Council of Senior Citizens	13,755.12	217.79
Vorys Sater Seymour & Pease, 1828 L Street, NW, #1111 Washington, DC 20036	Advanced Material Resources, Inc		
Do	Ohio Soft Drink Assn		
Jay J. Vroom, 1155 15th Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20005	National Agricultural Chemicals Assn	200.00	1,319.33
Robert Waffle, 1421 Prince Street, #230 Alexandria, VA 22314	International Hardwood Products Assn(HPA)	875.00	1,151.36
Timothy C. Wagner, 4301 N. Fairfax Drive, Suite 360 Arlington, VA 22203-1608	National Utility Contractors Assn		
James Wagoner, 1156 15th Street, NW, 7th Floor Washington, DC 20005	National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL)	20,909.57	
Frederick P. Waite, 1275 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20004-2404	Ackerson & Bishop, Chtd. (For American Wire Producers Assn)		
Do	Ackerson & Bishop (For-Chiquita Brands International, Inc)		
James C. Waldo, 2200 First Interstate Plaza P.O. Box 1157 Tacoma, WA 98401-1157	City of Tacoma	3,050.00	1,780.14
Richard P. Walker, 801 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #352 Washington, DC 20004	Central and South West Services, Inc	7,750.00	889.90
Robert J. Walker, 1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	16,313.00	
Wallace & Edwards, 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, #507 Washington, DC 20036	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia		
Lionel L. Wallenrod, 260 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10016	American Forest & Paper Assn		
R. Douglas Wallin Jr., P.O. Box 1417 D49 Alexandria, VA 22313	Allied Signal Aerospace		
Anne Marie Walsh, 1101 Connecticut Ave., NW, #700 Washington, DC 20036	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc	1,875.00	900.00
James Waltman, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	National Audubon Society	1,800.00	16.00
Robert A. Warden, 1331 F Street, NW, #400 Washington, DC 20004	Public Employees Retirement Assn of Colorado	2,500.00	
Michael O. Ware, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co	5,534.00	300.16
Washington & Christian, 805 15th Street, NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20005	City of Cleveland	1,196.00	72.77
Do	City of Miami	4,500.00	148.07
Do	City of Oakland	907.00	165.74
Do	Coca-Cola Company	123.75	
Do	Gabonese Republic		
Do	Government of the People's Republic of Angola		
Do	Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority	1,000.00	48.77
Do	San Francisco Public Utilities Commission	1,077.00	30.21
Washington Strategic Consulting Group, Inc, 805 15th Street, NW, Suite 1000 Washington, DC 20005	Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria		
Ronald D. Waterman, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	Milwaukee County-Intergovernmental Relations	14,619.24	171.36
Do	Wisconsin Counties Assn	12,816.57	140.36
Waterman & Associates, 900 2nd Street, NE, #109 Washington, DC 20002	All Industry Television Committee	6,000.00	826.70
Do	American Foundrymen's Society, Inc	24,000.00	742.02
Do	American Metalcasting Consortium (AMC)	11,500.00	984.66
Do	Cast Metals Coalition	7,500.00	46.80
Do	North American Die Casting Assn (NADCA)	18,249.99	1,157.78
Jerry B. Waters, 777 14th Street, NW, #680 Washington, DC 20005	Farmhand Industries, Inc	10,000.00	560.48
David Weaver, 1225 Eye Street, NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005	Handgun Control, Inc	1,002.00	
Andrew H. Webber, 810 First Street, NE, #410 Washington, DC 20002	American Medical Peer Review Assn		
Susan Weber, 1400 16th Street, NW, #320 Washington, DC 20036	Zero Population Growth, Inc	23.00	
Webster Chamberlain & Bean, 1747 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #1000 Washington, DC 20006	Commercial Law League of America		
Robert K. Weidner, 2300 M Street, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20037	James W. Bunker & Associates		
Do	Rural Utah Public Lands Council	1,000.00	
Theodore F. Weihe, 1800 Massachusetts Avenue, NW 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20036	U.S. Overseas Cooperative Development Committee	2,000.00	
Deborah Weiner, 11004 Petersborough Drive Rockville, MD 20852	American Soc for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	2,000.00	1,400.00
Stanley P. Weiner, One Kansas City Place 1200 Main Street, #3000 Kansas City, MO 64105	Shook Hardy & Bacon, P.C.		2,529.78
Arthur E. Weisberg, 220 South Sixth Street Minneapolis, MN 55402	Dorsey & Whitney		
Arthur A. Weiss, One Woodward Avenue, Suite 2400 Detroit, MI 48226	Jaffe Raitt Heuer & Weiss, P.C.		
Suzanne Weiss, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2837	American Assn of Homes for the Aging		
Stuart P. Wells, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	National Assn of Home Builders of the United States		
Margaret A. Welsh, 2715 M Street, NW, #150 Washington, DC 20007	Electric Generation Assn	980.77	44.80
Michael L. Welsh, Executive Mews, Suite D-20 Cherry Hill, NJ 08003	Welsh Consulting Corporation		
Frederick C. Wendorf, 801 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #352 Washington, DC 20004	Central & South West Corp	15,680.00	2,393.75
Sabrina L. Wesley-Nelson, 1819 L Street, NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20036	Consolidated Natural Gas Service Co, Inc		
Wexler Group, 1317 F Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20004	Allied-Signal, Inc	14,427.00	4.00
Do	American Airlines, Inc	32.51	211.81
Do	American Dietetic Assn		
Do	American Institute for Foreign Study Scholarship Foundation		
Do	American Public Transit Assn	14,049.75	30.65
Do	Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.	16,447.89	37.00
Do	ARCO	4,044.00	53.50
Do	Camp Barsh & Tate		
Do	Catholic Health Assn of the U.S.		
Do	Century Council	11,452.39	128.00
Do	City of Petoskey, MI		
Do	Columbia Hospital for Women Medical Center		
Do	Comcast Corporation	9,037.50	53.75
Do	Connie Lee Insurance Company	5,868.00	21.80
Do	Consortium of State Maritime Schools	490.20	
Do	Coopers & Lybrand		
Do	Crow Tribal Council	1,363.50	76.41
Do	Defense Rations Manufacturers Assn	2,909.25	1,513.44
Do	Foothills Pipe Lines (Yukon) Ltd		
Do	Fox Bennett & Turner	3,573.00	7.75
Do	FHP		176.20
Do	General Motors Corp		
Do	Grand Trunk Western Railroad, Inc	525.00	
Do	Grant Communications		
Do	Hallmark Cards, Inc		
Do	Hughes Aircraft Company Space and Communications Group	8,632.50	128.90
Do	Intermountain Rural Electric Assn		
Do	J.P. Morgan & Co, Inc		9.50
Do	John I. Haas, Inc		
Do	Johnson & Johnson	1,647.00	
Do	Joslin Diabetes Center	3,945.00	20.00
Do	Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory	481.35	60.00
Do	Massachusetts Foundation for Excellence in Marine & Polymer	733.20	
Do	MetPath, Inc	345.00	7.75
Do	Motion Picture Assn of America, Inc		5.45
Do	National Association for Music Therapy		
Do	National Association of Community Health Centers		
Do	National Foundation of Women Business Owners		
Do	National Gypsum Co	240.21	6.00
Do	New England Aquarium	1,218.00	
Do	Oceanic Institute	2,115.60	
Do	Ohio Edison	4,653.75	
Do	Ross Laboratories	40.45	13.00
Do	Science Applications International Corp	1,414.20	
Do	South Fork Broadcasting Corporation		
Do	U.S. Bioscience		
Do	USA NAFTA	944.57	1,323.45
Do	Washington Consulting Group		
Do	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co		
Do	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc	214.64	1,553.96
Do	Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association	5,250.00	261.00
Do	Union Camp Corporation	4,144.00	54.00
Do	Texas Instruments, Inc	1,846.00	200.08
Do	U.S. Telephone Assn	25.00	
Do	County of Los Angeles	22,500.00	2,616.00
Do	Houghton Mifflin Company	23,410.43	
Do	Association of Bank Holding Cos		
Elian Wharton, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, #900 Washington, DC 20006			
Gordon B. Wheeler, 1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036			
Thomas E. Wheeler, 1133 21st Street, NW, 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20036			
John C. Whitaker, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., #206 Washington, DC 20036			
Toni D. White, 1745 Jefferson Davis Highway, #605 Arlington, VA 22202			
Ward H. White, 900 19th Street, NW, #800 Washington, DC 20006			
Susan J. White & Associates, 1111 North Pitt Street, Suite 2-B Alexandria, VA 22314			
White Fine & Verville, 1156 15th St., NW, #1100 Washington, DC 20005			
Richard M. Whiting, 730 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005			

Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Ronald P. Whitmire, 1120 G Street, NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	National Ocean Industries Assn	825.00	
Steven C. Whitney, 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Wilderness Society		
Wickham & Associates, 1016 16th Street, NW, 6th Floor Washington, DC 20036	Times Square Center Associates		
Valerie Wilbur, 901 E Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20004-2037	American Assn of Homes for the Aging	376.91	161.18
Wiley Rein & Fielding, 1776 K Street, NW, 12th Fl. Washington, DC 20006	BMW of North America, Inc		
Do	Ruddy Institute for Maritime Communications	2,476.00	24.76
Do	UtiliCorp United	2,338.00	
David A. Wilkinson, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #890-North Washington, DC 20004	Martin Marietta Corporation	667.00	
Edward Rockne Wilkinson, 905 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	Laborers' International Union of NA, AFL-CIO	5,416.66	66.00
Clark Williams, 666 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003	National Audubon Society	6,500.00	625.00
Perry F. Williams, 225 Main St. Newington, CT 06111	American Radio Relay League, Inc	4,412.00	2,980.00
Robin L. Williams, 1667 K St., NW, #210 Washington, DC 20006	Rohm & Haas Co	500.00	
Williams & Connolly, 725 12th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	JM Family Enterprises, Inc		
Williams & Jensen, P.C., 1155 21st Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Home Products	6,610.00	
Do	Association of Family Farmers		
Do	BancFirst, et al.		
Do	Robert M. Bass Group	390.00	
Do	British Petroleum	1,590.00	
Do	Century 21 Real Estate Corp		
Do	College Board		
Do	Colonial Pipeline Company	4,800.00	
Do	Continental Airlines Holding, Inc	2,645.00	
Do	Credit Suisse Financial Products USA		
Do	CIGNA Corp	2,520.00	
Do	Estee Lauder, Inc		
Do	First Boston Corp	2,095.00	
Do	Greenwich Capital Markets, Inc		
Do	GAMMA Corp		
Do	Kelly Appleman Hart & Hallman		
Do	Keystone Provident Life Insurance Co		
Do	Marks Murase & White		
Do	Mustang Fuel Corporation		
Do	National Assn of Rehabilitation Agencies		
Do	National Board for Professional Teaching Standards		
Do	National Soft Drink Assn		
Do	Norfolk Southern Corp		
Do	Normandy Foundation		
Do	Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co		
Do	Owens-Illinois, Inc	1,340.00	
Do	Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn	1,310.00	
Do	Pittston Co	10,800.00	
Do	Recording Industry Assn of America, Inc	870.00	
Do	Southern Pacific Transportation Co.		
Do	Southwest Airlines	290.00	
Do	Student Loan Marketing Assn (Sallie Mae)	13,072.50	
Do	Texaco, Inc	2,740.00	
Do	Turner Broadcasting System, Inc	1,450.00	
Do	TTX Company		
Do	U.S. English		
Do	U.S. Telephone Assn		
Do	Universal Foods, Inc		
Do	USAA Financial Service Co		
Do	Council for Responsible Nutrition	7,254.00	
Do	Educational Testing Service		
Do	Zero Population Growth		
Do	National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Assn	1,422.00	16.00
Do	Asea Brown Boveri, Inc	5,900.00	
Do	American Airlines, Inc		
Do	Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp	1,912.50	41.45
Do	Morik-Austin, Inc	4,331.25	48.38
Do	Trading & Investment Corp		48.38
Do	Lehman Brothers, Inc	1,000.00	24.15
Do	American Resort & Residential Development Assn	6,000.00	
Do	Union Pacific Corp	9,375.00	722.68
Do	Wilkes Artis Hedrick & Lane (For:Aldrich, Eastman & Walch, Inc)	32,550.00	
Do	Alltel Corp		
Do	American Home Products Corp	4,750.00	40.13
Do	American Honey Producers Assn	4,000.00	36.00
Do	American Insurance Assn		
Do	Barr Laboratories, Inc	16,200.00	761.25
Do	Bayernische Vereinsbank AG, et al.		
Do	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co	4,750.00	40.13
Do	Carus Chemical Company	8,988.75	78.65
Do	Cooper Tire & Rubber Company	1,181.25	41.00
Do	CSR, Ltd	1,500.00	59.00
Do	Data Transformation Corp	1,500.00	1,500.00
Do	Federal Intermediate Credit Bank of Jackson	3,018.75	32.67
Do	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	1,000.00	
Do	MERCK & Co, Inc	4,750.00	40.13
Do	National Bulk Vendors Assn	3,000.00	3,000.00
Do	Port of Pascagoula (Jackson County, MS)	12,000.00	190.06
Do	PFIZER, Inc	4,750.00	40.13
Do	SPR Task Force for Southeast Mississippi	4,059.82	114.75
Do	U.S. Rice Producers Legislative Group	12,000.00	180.00
Do	Waggoner Engineering, Inc	10,300.00	121.42
Do	Western Peanut Growers Assn	2,220.00	
Do	ANS		
Do	California Energy Company, Inc	1,500.00	
Do	Geotherman Resources Assn		
Do	Kern County, CA	7,500.00	500.00
Do	Matthews Foundation for Prostate Cancer Research	3,000.00	155.00
Do	National Assn of Credit Management	12,000.00	680.00
Do	San Francisco Bar Pilots Assn	6,000.00	400.00
Do	Burger King Corp		748.94
Do	International Paper Co	3,250.00	122.53
Do	National Comm to Preserve Social Security & Medicare	2,807.00	
Do	Eckert Seamans Cherin & Mellott (For:Regional Transportation Commission)	2,310.00	15.00
Do	Teco Energy, Inc	20,700.00	
Do	National Assn of Air Traffic Specialists	7,800.00	600.00
Do	Woods Research Associates, Inc		
Do	American Assn for Marriage & Family Therapy	5,241.00	
Do	Greater Buffalo Athletic Corp		9,809.06
Do	Southern Company Services, Inc	105,000.00	106.04
Do	American Assn of Airport Executives		
Do	American Iron & Steel Institute		
Do	Ashland Oil Company		
Do	Bituminous Coal Operators Assn	12,000.00	77.85
Do	Browning-Ferris Industries		
Do	Circuit City Stores, Inc		
Do	Committee Against Revising Staggers		
Do	Electronic Industries Assn	6,000.00	80.05
Do	General Motors Corp		
Do	Grand Metropolitan, Inc		
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Organization or Individual Filing	Employer/Client	Receipts	Expenditures
Do	Guam Tax Code Commission		
Do	Industrial Oil Consumers Group		
Do	Intermarne USA	2,400.00	337.45
Do	North American Phillips Corp	2,113.44	78.85
Do	NESEA		
Do	NYNEX Corp	6,000.00	156.85
Do	Refiners' Coalition for Competitive Markets	2,720.00	72.90
Do	Westinghouse Airship Industries	6,000.00	
Do	Transportation Trades Department, AFL-CIO	3,500.00	
Do	American Paper Institute, Inc	600.00	
Edward Wytkind, 400 North Capitol Street, NW, #861 Washington, DC 20001	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
Marc D. Yacker, 1250 Connecticut Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036	American Road & Transportation Builders Assn	12,500.00	123.92
Milan P. Yager, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005	American Express Co	10,281.00	227.68
John W. Yago, 501 School Street, SW, #800 Washington, DC 20024	Florida Sugar Cane League, Inc		
Deborah K. Yamada, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Rio Grande Valley Sugar Growers		
Dalton Yancey, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #401 Washington, DC 20004-1701	Health Insurance Assn of America, Inc	143.70	
Do	American Fed of State County & Municipal Employees	14,375.90	502.03
Jonathan P. Yates, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #1200 Washington, DC 20036	Association of America's Public Television Stations	3,500.00	152.88
Caryl Yontz, 1625 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	James Brown & Associates	4,500.00	
Ann S. Young, 1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 200 Washington, DC 20036	National Assn of Home Builders of the U.S.		
Robert A. Young, 12248 Turkey Creek Maryland Heights, MO 63043	Neece Cator & Associates (For: American Wood Preservers Institute)	2,000.00	2,000.00
Paul J. Zanowski, 15th & M Streets, NW Washington, DC 20005		4,365.00	4,417.00
Sharon G. Zedd, 1050 17th Street, NW, #810 Washington, DC 20036	Sierra Club	3,692.55	420.51
Zero Population Growth, Inc, 1400 16th St., NW, #320 Washington, DC 20036	International Swap Dealers Assn, Inc		1,225.88
Carl A. Zichella, 214 N. Henry St., #203 Madison, WI 53703	American Assn of University Women	5,000.00	36.30
Bradley P. Ziff, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, #2118 Rockefeller Center New York, NY 10020-1702	American Express Co	6,683.00	135.25
Nancy Zirkin, 1111 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	American Therapeutic Recreation Association		
Amy G. Zirkle, 1020 19th Street, NW, #600 Washington, DC 20036	Federal Express Corp		
John L. Zorack, 1111 14th St., NW, #1001 Washington, DC 20005			
Do			

SENATE—Tuesday, November 9, 1993*(Legislative day of Tuesday, November 2, 1993)*

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Honorable BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, a Senator from the State of Colorado.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

As we pray, let us remember in silence the mother of Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN.

Eternal God, sovereign Lord of history, the Apostle Paul shares a very basic insight in his epistle to the Romans:

For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for the sin, condemned sin in the flesh: That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.—Romans 8:3-4.

Paul was talking about the perfect law of God which he revered. Even that law is inadequate—because of the “weakness of the flesh.”

Patient Lord, we understand that law is important—freedom without law is anarchy. But law does have its limitations, and sometimes the problem seems to feed on the solution. Paul reminds us, gracious God, that the law is fulfilled by walking in the Spirit—rather than in the flesh. When there is no spiritual dimension—no spiritual consensus—flesh takes over, and greed, lust, pride, and anger find ways to subvert the law—even simple traffic laws.

Mighty God, our disorderly culture, without moral absolutes and spiritual restraint, can be redeemed only by a spiritual awakening which must begin in the churches and among the people of God. Grant it. Restore us to the faith of our fathers.

We pray in His name who is the Light of the world. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, November 9, 1993.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby

appoint the Honorable BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, a Senator from the State of Colorado, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ROBERT C. BYRD,
President pro tempore.

Mr. CAMPBELL thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADERSHIP TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994—CONFERENCE REPORT**MOTION TO INVOKE CLOTURE**

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate shall resume consideration of the motion to invoke cloture on the conference report to accompany H.R. 2520, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Conference report to accompany H.R. 2520, an act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the conference report.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Time for the debate shall be limited to 1 hour with the time to be equally divided and controlled between the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES] or their designees.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID] is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, during the debate on the Interior appropriations bill, the President pro tempore of the Senate, Senator BYRD, said there came a time when someone had to acknowledge a loss and take it like a man. Well, I am here today, Mr. President, to acknowledge a loss, and I hope to take it like a man. But I also want to indicate that I am not taking this loss for me, HARRY REID, but also for the American public and the American taxpayer.

Mr. President, there are real problems facing this country: Health care, trade, the economy, foreign affairs, many things spread across the width and breadth of this country and this world. But here we are in the Senate once again tied up in knots, over what?

We are tied up over herds of cattle in the Western States, less than 2 percent of the livestock industry of this country. We have stalled a \$13 billion bill which funds our national parks, our public lands, Indian health services, and many other programs essential to the well-being of this country. The answer is that we are here because of a practice that is now being abused by Members of the Senate. This is known as filibuster. Some of us refer to this as gridlock.

Mr. President, this is not about grazing fees as indicated in a chart stuck up on a panel by my friend from New Mexico. This is not about grazing fees. It is about gridlock.

But I think, realistically, it is about grazing fees. It is about really a subsidy that people across this country should be tired of and should get rid of. It is about the multiple use of our public lands. It is about a minority of people, some 18,000 out of 250 million, who have controlled this Chamber since 1976.

As I have stated here on previous occasions, I am a westerner, and there are days that I wish that the West was the way it used to be. But it is not, Mr. President. The population of the Western States has increased 300 percent during my lifetime. Our resources are strained. Our cities are crowded. The West per capita is now urbanized more than any other region in the country. People do not understand that, but the fact is that is true. The West I grew up in is gone. We are fighting now to protect a new West, and we have got to continue fighting for this new West. That does not mean there is not room in this new West for ranching families, because there is.

We are not trying to drive anyone off the lands with the Reid amendment. I am just trying to say that the ranchers have a right to use the public resources, but the taxpayer has a right to a fair return. Others have a right to use those same public resources. I find a bit of irony in the zeal of the opposition to this compromise. Some of them say that they are fiscal conservatives. They say they want to cut Federal spending, but when it comes to subsidy, it is no longer a subsidy; it is a right. We found that with wool and mohair. We found it with honey. We found it during my amendments I offered to the farm bill, how we should cut Federal farm subsidies to the wealthy. We were unable to prevail on that issue. So, Mr. President, we are talking about subsidies. We are talking about the fact that they should stop.

We are all familiar with myths in the West, but in this debate I believe the myths have become pernicious. I believe that we have to realize there is a new West where people with four-wheel drive vehicles want to come out of Denver, Los Angeles, or Salt Lake and go into areas that at one time were the areas only for cattle, only for cattlemen.

That is no longer the case. Those who oppose this amendment even said that these land management reforms would affect oil wells, reservoirs, bridges, and dams. Of course, it is absurd, but it was the politics of fright, the politics of fright tactics.

After 17 years of contention, I stepped into this issue and tried to arrive at a compromise that I felt was appropriate and good. What I offered is very simple: Raise the fee to \$3.45 instead of \$4.28 and prevent the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service from raising that fee after 3 years by 25 percent a year. My amendment would only allow 15 percent. My base was \$3.45. Under Secretary Babbitt's proposal it is \$3.96. There were in my amendment certain Forest Service practices that were put into effect with the Bureau of Land Management that had been in place in the Forest Service for many years.

In addition to that, I prohibited in this amendment the Interior Department from certain management practices that I felt would not have been good for ranching communities and ranchers. Even after this modest increase that I suggested, the taxpayers would still subsidize this program. Today, the break-even point is about \$3.70 an animal unit per month. At the end of 3 years, it would be \$3.45. Even at that period of time we would not arrive at the ability to cover the costs of the program.

I do not think the opposition is so concerned about the changes I propose, but about change in and of itself. There has come a time in this country where after 15 years those people felt that there could never be changes in the way we graze cattle on public lands. They want no change. They want gridlock, and basically that is what they got for about a month.

The will of the majority of the House of Representatives, 317 votes, was thwarted. They thwarted the will of the taxpayers, the National Taxpayers Union, and the will of the majority of the Senate has been thwarted. They have talked about minority rights. But the fact is this is a tearing of the minority. The minority has been able to stop what the majority wanted in the House and in the Senate.

Mr. President, there has been failure to halt certain things, but the one thing that the people who oppose this amendment have been unable to halt is raising this issue to a level of national debate. Now this grazing issue has been

brought to national attention. I think that is important. This issue has been recognized throughout the country as being a nuance. There is going to be change taking place across this country. It is inevitable. It is not going to be turned back. We all have to recognize that.

Let me take a brief overview of a few of the editorials, about 25 editorials, written on this subject, 25 favorable editorials from all over the country.

The Salt Lake City Tribune, among other things—headline:

Ranchers Should Accept Compromise As Best Grazing Deal They Can Get.

So the argument is really over how long to delay the inevitable. That is really what it amounts to.

The editorial goes on to say:

In Washington, these issues are not settled by the Old West form of high-noon confrontation; they are settled by compromise. And ranchers would be better off taking the compromise deal's 85 percent fee increase.

Lincoln Journal, the headline:

Grazing Fees: Old Cowboys, But They're Wearing Guccis.

"Old cowboys," as one Senator called them, "struggling folks who would have to hang up their spurs if they had to pay any more."

The article says:

Old cowboys? Hardly, judging from a review of the top 500 holders of federal grazing permits. According to the New York Times, they include the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., which controls 800,000 acres, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), a Japanese conglomerate, the Nature Conservancy and several of the wealthiest families in the country.

Interior Department records show that the top 10 percent of the permit holders control about half of U.S. public grazing lands. Only 12 percent of the permit holders are categorized as small operators.

This doesn't sound like plain folks threatened by bankruptcy if the fees are increased.

Oh? In this case, we suggest the rancher's brother, like Caesar's wife, needs to be above suspicion.

U.S.A. Today, headline:

Raise Grazing Fees; End Subsidies to the Wealthy.

Get out your crying towels.

More than 300 of the nation's wealthiest corporations and individuals, including Union Oil, Getty Oil, Pacific Power, Union Power and Light, and four Forbes billionaires are in danger of losing a handout from the taxpayers.

The issue: Who controls the public's resources, and particularly how much private parties should pay to let their cattle and sheep graze on public land.

They now argue the issue isn't really the grazing fee; it's the effrontery of the government in trying to reclaim the right to manage the land and resources that the public owns. But their doomsday scenarios—all rejected by the Interior Department—shouldn't scare anyone but those who've been enjoying the private use of land and water that belong to every American.

The Oregonian:

The power of the filibuster is the power to thwart the will of the majority. It should be

used sparingly, when significant rights of a minority are at risk. It is an inappropriate tool for every policy disagreement that comes along.

This is nothing short of a back-door attack on prudent regulation of grazing.

New York Times:

While some of the largest permit holders say they are willing to pay more, most of the ranchers are fighting to hold on to what critics say is one of the great bargains in the Federal store. Rates for the 280 million acres of public rangeland available for lease are one-fifth of rates on private grazing land in the West.

The Seattle Times has an excellent editorial talking about the giveaway programs.

The Denver Post:

These and the other proposed changes should help enhance the condition of thousands of acres of public rangelands, mostly in the West, that have been routinely overgrazed for years.

In sum, while the compromise wouldn't do everything the Clinton administration hoped, it would go a long way toward reining in the abuses these lands have suffered under for years. Congress should approve the reforms and put an end to this long-simmering debate.

But, Mr. President, even after all of these editorials, after even all of the debate that took place on the Senate floor, we still have gridlock. And who are we protecting by this gridlock? We are not protecting the small ranchers that have been the main focus of the debate by my friend from the opposite side of the aisle. The top 10 percent of permittees—I repeat, the top 10 percent of permittees—control half of our public grazing lands, 150 million acres.

One permittee in California and Nevada has permits covering 5 million acres, an area the size of the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Metropolitan Life, based in New York, controls 800,000 acres in Montana. There is even a Japanese company that controls a huge tract of land in Montana.

As I indicated earlier, Union Oil, Getty Oil, Pacific Power, Union Power, four Forbes billionaires, at least, are people who control lands and grazing who are receiving these subsidies as we speak. These are the entities in danger of losing a handout from the taxpayers.

I believe in the Western way of life, and I have fought for these 12 percent that make up the grazing permittees in this country, and I will continue to do that. But I am going to also fight for the American taxpayer so that they get a fair return.

Too often these "Old Cowboys," as referred to by one newspaper, "wearing" wingtips and "Guccis." What we are talking about is who controls the public resources and how much private parties should pay. I do not mean to be talking about whether the West will be independent as its history claims or dependent on the Federal dole. I think clearly this subsidy is a form of a dole. It is all it is.

So, Mr. President, it appears that we must drop this compromise. I have called my friend from New Mexico this morning, and indicated to him what I think the chairman of the Appropriations Committee will do, and that is ask unanimous consent to have the amendment, the Reid amendment, taken from the Interior appropriations bill. I understand that the other amendments will be accepted en bloc, and it should move over to the Senate in a matter of minutes.

But that, of course, will not end this issue. It appears that we are going to do what I said I did not want to happen, and that is that if the Reid amendment loses, the ranchers of the West lose.

But I am confident that the President, through his Cabinet officers who have made misstatements over the months, said that if the Reid amendment did not pass, they would move forward with regulations—I am confident that they will do that.

I am also confident that that will happen because, as most of you know, what is in my amendment is in AL GORE's, the Vice President's, reinventing Government, that there should be an equitable return on the grazing lands in much of the West.

As I have indicated earlier, Mr. President, when we drop this amendment, it will not be Metropolitan Life that suffers or a Japanese conglomerate. They can pay anything. It will be the people that I was raised with, the people that ranched around Searchlight, people like Mr. Meyers, or Ed Davis, people who are small ranchers who will have more difficulty paying the \$4.28, and some other land management reforms that go into effect.

I, though, reach out to the President, and I reach out to Secretary Babbitt. I hope that during the administrative process, which will be completed about March or April of next year, that even in spite of the statements he has made about the \$4.28 grazing fee and the indication that he is going to move forward on all these land reform loopholes, I hope that the President and Secretary Babbitt will take into consideration the small rancher and try to do what I was unable to do—that is, maybe develop a two-tiered grazing fee, where you would have the small rancher pay less than the big rancher. I hope that the Secretary will consider that.

As the Presiding Officer knows, we attempted that during the development of this compromise and were unable to do so. The fact that I was unable to do it under the constraints in which we worked in the conference does not mean it cannot be done. I reach out to Secretary Babbitt, and I would tell him this personally: The \$4.28 may be the fee that the Japanese conglomerates pay and that Metropolitan Life pays, but let us work on a fee for the small ranchers.

I want to take a few minutes and talk about some of the people during this past month that I think deserve accolades and special attention. Mr. President, in my notes today, I have your name written. I had this not knowing that you would be the Presiding Officer. I was going to do this publicly and I will do it publicly now. I want to acknowledge how we vehemently disagree on this issue. But I think the people of Colorado are so well served by you, by the junior Senator from the State of Colorado, because even though you disagreed with my amendment vehemently, strongly, you approached this as a gentleman; you were never personally negative about me on any occasion or anybody pushing this amendment. And if there is anything that this Senator can do to impart to the people of Colorado how fortunate they are to have an advocate like you, all you have to do is raise your hand, and I will come charging to Colorado whenever it is necessary—even though I think you are wrong on this issue.

I also think it is important that I acknowledge the work done by the senior Senator from the State of Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI] who is retiring in about a year. It would have been easy for him, because he was the key vote in the appropriations conference, to have this matter brought to the floor. It would have been easy for him because there are lots of reasons for him not to support this amendment, but he believed, as some of us did, that it was time for us to put this issue before the American people and to have a full, complete debate and hopefully work out a compromise, as we did, that would be helpful to the ranchers of the West.

Even though he took that chance and now we are going to withdraw the amendment, I still acknowledge his courageous vote on the Appropriations Committee. Whether you agree or disagree with him, he was the crucial vote. I will always be indebted to him for allowing this matter to come before the Senate, which would not have been done otherwise.

I also have to acknowledge the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who stood by one of the junior members of the Appropriations Committee, the Senator from Nevada, through this past month. We all know how much pride he has in the Appropriations Committee and especially the pride that he has in his Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, which he also chairs. He stood by me, as he indicated to everybody, "shoulder to shoulder" on this. I acknowledge the advice that he gave me during this process and, more importantly, the friendship he showed during this process.

Mr. President, I also have to acknowledge three people who have not been heard in the debate. But the States of Delaware, Maine, and Rhode

Island are States that are well served by Senators ROTH, COHEN, and CHAFEE. I believe that these three Senators from the States that I have just mentioned are people who are statesmen. As I was told by numerous people on the other side of the aisle, this was a matter of solidarity, Republican solidarity. They did this as a matter of friendship, putting aside the fact that the merits, as a number of them indicated to me, were on my side. Senators ROTH, COHEN, and CHAFEE did what they felt was appropriate; they broke from the pack. It was not easy. It was not an easy vote for them. They have to live within their caucus. I publicly applaud and commend these three statesmen for the work they did.

Mr. President, there was nothing we could do to work this out. We tried. As you know, there was a lot of debate on this issue about water. It is the water language. So I prevailed upon the House, could we change the water language and make it so that the attorney general of Oregon and other Western attorneys general who had written us letters, so that we would comply with their wishes. Would that be satisfactory? Sure.

We got the House to agree with those changes. But, of course, that was not enough. That was just opening the door, and the fact of the matter is that changing the water language was not enough. There was nothing you could do to satisfy the opponents of this amendment, because clarifying the water language was not enough. What they wanted was to go on since we have since 1976, where a grazing fee, for example, in the State of Montana on Federal lands is \$1.86. On private lands, it is almost \$12. In the State of Nevada, the grazing fee on Federal lands is \$1.86; private lands, \$10.23.

We know that the arguments are made, well, "I do not have to take care of the fences on private land." We have received scores of letters from people throughout this country who indicate that that is not the fact all of the time. In fact, on private lands you do have to do those kinds of things. I do not dispute that the grazing fee perhaps on private lands should be lower than that on public lands. But there should be, Mr. President, some comparability.

So, as I have relayed my message to the Senator from New Mexico and the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, either Senator BYRD or I or Senator NICKLES, whatever the chairman wants, will ask unanimous consent to drop the Reid compromise from the bill and strip all grazing provisions from it. But I will do this with the knowledge and conviction that despite the gridlock that has been illustrated this past several weeks here in the U.S. Senate on this issue, we will never return to a West that some in this body think exists, because it only exists in their minds.

I am hopeful that one day we can find a true compromise that includes ranchers, the wise use of public resources, and the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, first, I wish to compliment my friend and colleague, Senator REID of Nevada, for dropping this amendment. I do think this is the correct solution to this dilemma that we found ourselves in, because frankly I do not believe that the so-called Reid proposal should have been included in this conference report in the first place.

This language was not in the Senate bill. It was not in the House bill. As a matter of fact, there was no language in the House bill that dealt with grazing. There was no grazing fee increase. As some mentioned, it was originally reported out of committee, but it was stricken on the House floor.

In the Senate bill, there was a moratorium on regulations proposed by Secretary Babbitt. The Reid amendment came in as a substitute to that proposal and was not just raising grazing fees but also dealt with a lot of other issues, issues that are very important, issues that affect hundreds of millions of acres of land and, as pointed out so well by our colleague, Senator BROWN, of Colorado, it also affected water and affected water in every State in this country.

As acknowledged by my friend and colleague, Senator REID, this morning, I think Secretary Babbitt realized he made mistakes in water policy. The Reid proposal had mistakes dealing with the water issues. They agreed to possibly make changes in that area. Frankly, there may well be mistakes in the other 19 pages of legislation.

So maybe not all the proposal was wrong, I will tell my friend and colleague from Nevada. I, for one, am open as I stated in the past. I am not against raising grazing fees to some extent.

I also noted my colleague used the words "gridlock" and "continued gridlock." No, we do not have gridlock. There is no moratorium on regulations. So Secretary Babbitt will have the freedom to exercise his administrative regulations under the present law.

Included in that includes the right or the power to increase some grazing fees and make some other changes in public policy.

Some of us think before those regulations go too far, we should have some hearings. I do not think that is too much to ask. We never had hearings on the proposal submitted by my friend and colleague from Nevada. So it is only appropriate that we do so and have hearings and maybe have hearings out in the West and have hearings and find out what these proposals are. If they do affect water and land to such an extent, hundreds of millions of acres, certainly, we should take a close look at it, not an indefinite postponement, not indefinite gridlock, and

allow the Secretary to make such changes which are proper, right, and fair, but certainly not to go so far as to confiscate individuals' property or the taking of individuals' improvements or not allowing permits to go forward on public lands.

Mr. President, I urge the Secretary to be prudent, to be fair, and to be just in these regulations. If not, I am sure that Congress will try to exert some influence on those proposals as they go forward.

I again think this solution by Senator REID by dropping this amendment is the right solution. Again, this proposal was not in the Senate bill; it was not the House bill. It does not belong in the conference bills. And I would just tell all the conferees on appropriations—and I am on the Appropriations Committee—or any conference to pull in a totally extraneous provision and try to adopt that which has never passed the House or the Senate, if it is a controversial provision, is not smart, and it is quite likely to bog down the legislative body.

There are reasons that we have procedures to go through the authorizing committees. There are reasons that a bill is supposed to be reported out of either the House or the Senate and go into conference and resolve those differences. That makes sense to work through the legislative procedure, and the correct way is not to pull in a totally extraneous provision that has passed neither House and try to insert that in conference when it is a very controversial provision that is not likely to succeed.

Mr. President, finally, I compliment my colleagues who worked very diligently in trying to stop this proposal, which include Senator DOMENICI, Senator WALLOP, and Senator CAMPBELL, who is presiding, I think deserves extra credit for his courage; and Senator CRAIG, Senator BURNS, and Senator BROWN, who spoke out very forcibly trying to represent their constituents because they felt we are not just talking about an issue of grazing fees. I will repeat that, because I think I heard from everybody on my side who said they are willing to negotiate grazing fees.

So I hope the press will note that this was not just a debate on whether or not we are going to raise grazing fees by X percent. It really was a much broader policy on land, on water, and on governmental policy and regulations of vital interest particularly to Western States but I will say to all the States.

So I compliment my colleagues for their perseverance and their tenacity and compliment my friend and colleague, Senator REID, for withdrawing his amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] be in charge of the remainder of our time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to Senator WALLOP.

Mr. WALLOP. I thank you, Mr. President, and I thank the Senator from New Mexico.

I say to my friend from Nevada that I think he has chosen a wise course.

He mentioned in his remarks it was a loss for the taxpayers. That is not true. They will not be hurt out of this. It was not the grazing issue.

Mr. President, I refer to a memorandum to Secretary Babbitt from Kevin Sweeney, dated June 23, 1993, in which they say the following:

We realize you want to use price increases as a straw man to draw attention from management issues.

The management issues were the key. The management issues were the problem in the legislation that lay before us.

I also reiterate what has been said before. In this same memo, they said the following:

Riparian Zones. Our own statistics can be used to show the range is in better shape than at any point in this century. With that in mind, we must make deliberate and public attempts to prove how bad the conditions are in many riparian zones.

Mr. President, that is what has been at the problem and the root of the differences between ourselves. I do not say in any way that the Senator from Nevada was trying to do the Secretary's bidding, but the effect was the Secretary's program and the straw man was what was dividing us. It was not the grazing issue. It was about 19 pages of new law.

The filibuster was not an abuse. The process was the abuse, the process that put in 19 pages of law that had never been heard and considered by either House, by any committee, and no hearings were held.

Mr. President, that is why we have a letter from seven Western Governors, Republicans and Democrats alike, asking us to stay with our opposition to this thing. Let me just read one paragraph of it.

As governors of western states, we have serious concerns about the effects of the proposed legislation upon the citizens of our states. . . . We do not believe the language was drafted with enough care to clarify the intent and scope of the proposed law.

These are elected people representing their States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Sweeney memorandum and the letters from the seven Western Governors be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1. LET'S NOT ISSUE DRAFT REGS WITH A RANGE OF POSSIBLE FEES

A shift in the Administration's approach to mining and grazing revenues was the most

visible sign of backsliding on the budget. Part of our role this summer is to help them get back on track—to give them a clear victory in this area. For that reason, we do not think we should release draft regulations which have a range of possible fees. That might make it seem as if the Administration is unwilling to take the heat and it might drag the issue out over a much longer period. We can help the Administration look decisive.

We realize you want to use price increases as a straw man to draw attention from management issues. But there are other ways this might be done.

There are already people out there who are raising the specter of \$8 and \$12 AUMs. Others are raising expectations for us; we may not need to do this on our own.

We could also begin to talk about a range of possible fees during the month of July. We can do this through leaks, press releases, op-eds, whatever. But we would keep this period of uncertainty limited—so that the Administration's position gets clear fairly soon.

2. WE NEED TO SELL THESE REGS—IN ADVANCE

We've not yet done enough to sell the public and media on what will be coming out in the regs. We should work to justify what is in the regs before they actually come out.

There are two major changes which will come out in the regs, and we should construct a few events that help us justify those changes.

Riparian Protection. We should have one or two field trips to focus on riparian zone protection. One is tentatively scheduled for Arizona on July 9—depending on DeConcini's schedule. If he can't make it, we should still do the event though we needn't do it in Arizona.

Grazing Committees. We may want to have one public meeting in the West where we have a panel of people who sit on grazing committees and multiple use committees talking about how their operations work. The goal would be to have the strengths and weaknesses of the various systems surface.

GRAZING POLICY COMMUNICATIONS PLAN, INTERIOR OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS, JUNE 23, 1993

I. GENERAL APPROACH

Project Goal:

The following are the goals for the communications strategy, which should last through the summer.

Introduce the new regulations into a Western environment that is somewhat receptive, and

Manage the first public comments so that the regs are perceived to be fair and in the long-term interest of the region.

Ultimate Story Lead:

We'd like stories and editorials to focus on the following points:

The new regulations show real balance: they call for greater protection of the land, but don't lead to excessive regulation or monitoring problems.

They recognize that many things are best done on the local level: riparian zone regulations are run out of Washington, but herd size will be determined at the local level. Local control has therefore been given when necessary.

The fee increases are not so bad, and are far below what many opponents said they would be.

They bring better participation to the process and help avoid past problems in grazing committees by shifting towards the Forest Service model.

II. STEPS PRIOR TO RELEASE OF REGULATIONS

Specific Goals:

Prior to the release, we should consider steps to adjust expectations in the following areas.

Riparian Zones. Our own statistics can be used to show the range is in better shape than at any point in this century. With that in mind, we must make deliberate and public attempts to prove how bad the conditions are in many riparian zones.

Grazing Committees/Multiple Use Committees. We should highlight the difference between the Forest Service model and the BLM model. We may also want to prove to Westerners that the grazing committees have often abused their power and need to be reformed to allow the West to be more productive.

Tactics:

Early July: Series of Bob Armstrong and Jim Baca one-on-one interviews with western reporters focusing on grazing committee structural problems and riparian zone issues. Done from Washington or on the road.

Early July: Begin letting reporters know we are shifting away from the incentive-based approach to range management. The positive spin is that we heard during the hearings that this might not work and might require too much management. Secretary Babbitt is listening.

July 9: Western field meeting and tour focusing on the need for riparian zone protection. There can be public participation, but the majority of the activities must underscore riparian protection. This is more of a media event than the four previous hearings—we don't need to accommodate hundreds of people.

Mid-July: Hold a Western field hearing on the difference between different models for supervising committees affiliated with both the USFS and BLM. This would allow committee members to comment on the strengths and weaknesses of each system. It will pave the way for a major change in committees.

Mid-July: Congressional hearing on problems in the grazing committees—abuse of power and funds. We would need to request this very soon.

Mid-July: Secretary Babbitt, Lyons, Armstrong, Robertson and Baca op-eds focus on two main substantive issues: management of riparian zones and herd size.

Mid-July: Conference call press conference with Secretary Babbitt, focusing on grazing issues.

Late July: Briefing for Members of the House and Senate on the general approach.

Late July: Announce dates and locations for the hearings where the public will be allowed to comment on the draft regulations. By releasing this date before hand, we show that the process is still fluid and that people will still have a chance to weigh in. This may help to soften some opposition.

Late July: External affairs arranges briefing for cowboys and environmental groups on the general direction for changes in grazing policy.

III. STEPS DURING WEEK WHEN REGULATIONS ARE RELEASED

Goals:

Recognizing that the first impression often sticks, the primary goals for this period are to:

make sure our friends (and others) hear about the release prior to reading about it in the paper;

make sure our friends know what to say if they are interested in supporting our efforts; and

make sure editorial writers and others have the information they need to write favorable stories right away.

Tactics:

Prior to: Send FedEx packages to editorial writers so they have full information about the regs on the day of release. Included are press release, fact sheet, and supportive analytical documents.

Day of: Morning briefing for Senator and Members of Congress.

Day of: Mid-morning, pre-press conference briefing for environmental groups.

Day of: Late morning news conference on the day of the announcement.

Day of: Babbitt, Lyons, Armstrong and Baca do telephone interviews with editorial writers in the West.

Day after: Babbitt does one or two day road show to raise the flag for the new regs. Once done, his participation in this process is concluded.

IV. POST RELEASE

Hold public hearings to receive substantive comment on the new regulations. These may need to be held where there have been successful management efforts in riparian zones—we want some locals who will be vocal in their support of these proposals.

External affairs manages receipt of public comment at the outset only; responsibility then transfer entirely to BLM.

STATE OF UTAH,

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,

Salt Lake City, November 8, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,

Senator of Wyoming, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: We the undersigned, as governors of western states, oppose passage of the proposed management provisions contained in the Department of Interior Appropriations Bill, H.R. 2520, and urge you to stand firm in your opposition to the entire rangeland management package. We do not oppose improvement of rangeland management priorities, nor do we think all provisions of the legislative package are bad. However, the legislative package lacks any provision for proper stewardship incentives. The Administration and the legislative sponsors have summarily dismissed the usefulness of incentives. We strongly support revisiting this idea.

The western governors, through the Western Governors' Association, have previously expressed consensus views on the Administration's proposal concerning rangeland management, and on early thoughts concerning the proposed legislation. In addition, individual governors have expressed different points of view on the legislative package.

As governors of western states, we have serious concerns about the effects of the proposed legislation upon the citizens of our states, and upon the jurisdiction of the various states. We do not believe the language was drafted with enough care to clarify the intent and scope of the proposed law. The explanations given by the Senators in favor of the package, and the explanations given by the Administration do not satisfy any of our concerns. Legislation that is open to multiple interpretations is not good policy. We are therefore compelled, as officers of the public trust, to oppose the legislation.

In addition, we also ask that you hang tough in your opposition to the entire package of management issues, and not be convinced to resolve a single issue and let the rest become law. All the management issues need serious work in open, public debate.

Sincerely,

Michael O. Leavitt, Governor of Utah;

Mike Sullivan, Governor of Wyoming;

Walter D. Miller, Governor of South Dakota; Bruce King, Governor of New Mexico; Ed Schafer, Governor of North Dakota; Fife Symington, Governor of Arizona; and Marc Racicot, Governor of Montana.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada refers to a new West. All of us who are westerners understand that it is a new West. We live in our States. We see them changing. We see people coming to live in our States because they do not like living in other States where crime and other kinds of things are a problem to their families and their security.

But that is why the western Governors wrote this because it is about a West which is a partner, not a colony, to the rest of America. That is why the argument arose between ourselves, because these 19 pages of law completely changed the relationship of the Federal Government to its western public land States. It was not about just a few odds and ends, administrative changes in the way the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service deal. It was a complete wholesale reorganization of the fundamental relationship of the Federal Government in those States.

I ask unanimous consent that a series of objections to that amendment be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OBJECTIONS TO REID AMENDMENT GRAZING FEES

Sec. 405

The Reid amendment to the appropriations conference report defines a new forage value index with 1990, 1991, and 1992, as the base years. Four yearly increments will have passed by the time the new forage value index is used as a multiplier. The first year's increase above the \$3.45 will likely exceed the 15% cap and it is safe to project that the 15% cap will be reached every year thereafter. The real grazing fee five years out will be in the \$5.00 range which is above the \$4.28 as originally proposed by Secretary Babbitt.

RANGELAND REFORM

Sec. 406

Under existing law, the authorized officer may make a decision regarding the amounts of active AUM's allowed on federal lands; however, the permittee can appeal this decision while continuing to work the land.

The Reid proposal makes the permittee guilty until proven innocent and forces the permittee to comply with the decision of the authorizing officer until an appeal is filed and completed. Appeals can take up to five years. Additionally, the authorized officer is not bound by science or fact to make his decisions on the state of the rangeland.

ALLOTMENT CLOSURES

Section 406 C2

Part of this proposed legislation requires the authorized officer to close allotments, or modify their use, pretty much at will.

Once again we are confronted with a provision that goes far beyond the current criteria for closing an allotment without even a pretense of objective criteria for the action.

SUBLEASING

Section 406 E

This provision of the amendment adds the common livestock business practices to the definition of "subleasing"—i.e., leasing base property, and pasturing livestock owned by persons other than the permittee or lessee. In addition, the provision imposes a punitive surcharge to AUM's increased under these two legitimate business practices.

First and foremost, subleasing is a misnomer, because the grazing permit is not a lease. Unfortunately, the rationale for a surcharge for leasing a permit has not been explained in comprehensive terms—it is just there. Nor do we know of any justification for the amount of the surcharges.

The proposed subleasing language will preclude those permittees who may have to sell their livestock to meet financial obligations from using the livestock of others to realize income from their private investments in infrastructure and water rights, simply because the financial penalty proposed will exceed the ability of the improvements to generate adequate income.

This provision will only further discharge financial institutions from accepting livestock and/or federal lands ranches as collateral for loans. Banking institutions have relied on the current partnership between the private sector and the government, but that partnership status will no longer exist.

Apparently this authorizing language also will prevent many family-owned operations from sharing grazing permits and will impose a completely irrational sanction on this common practice. There is no explanation of the problem this limitation is intended to remedy.

UNAUTHORIZED GRAZING USE

Section 406 F

Since these proposed regulations fail to distinguish which class of violation is subject to criminal penalty, the very real possibility exists that even a non-willful violation would be subject to criminal penalty.

The unauthorized grazing use provisions of this amendment result in a double penalty through loss of federal permit and state law sanction. If a finding is made that there has been any violation of federal or state laws or regulations affecting any part of the environment (i.e., putting pesticides in your flower bed, failing an auto emissions test) then a grazing permit could be lost under this legislative language.

What does "other property of the United States" entail?

What is the difference between "nonwillful" and "incidental" with regard to a violation?

RESOURCES ADVISORY COUNCILS

Section 406 G

The amendment by Senator Reid will do away with the two boards and replace them with resource advisory councils, members of which will be appointed by the Secretary or his designees and one or more councils will be established in each state.

Resource Advisory Councils cannot replace Grazing Advisory Boards. Grazing Advisory Boards were established to review the distribution of grazing fee revenues for range improvements.

Moreover, the new resource advisory councils won't concern themselves with ranch management plan, construction of range improvements, or related livestock grazing programs.

The new advisory councils will only advise the Bureau on multiple use plans, programs

for public lands and resources within an area which could be the size of a whole State.

Further, what criteria would be considered for qualification for appointment. Do you have to be a resident of the state in which you are appointed?

In order to secure an appointment, are you required to be familiar with operating a business on public lands, must you possess knowledge of the Bureau of Land Management programs or be familiar with regulations controlling use of the public lands.

RANGE IMPROVEMENT FUNDS

Section 406 H

These regulations authorize use of federal grazing funds for projects not related to livestock grazing and range improvement. Since these are fee-derived funds, it is simply inequitable to authorize their use for vague broader purposes that have not received the benefit of public review and comment.

This section would place the burden for many reclamation activities on the livestock industry, when many other public land uses have much greater impact.

The provision regarding public involvement is also unnecessary since public involvement for all range improvements currently exists. It does serve to demonstrate the micro-management theme of this legislation.

In its "state of the public rangelands 1990" report, BLM states that "public rangelands are in better condition than at any other time in this century". So, what is the problem which is the focus of this provision.

Why should the federal grazing permittees pay for rehabilitation, protection and improvement of a public ecosystem.

There appears that there is no limit to the use of these funds. In fact, under the literal wording of this amendment, nothing would prevent the Secretary from using range improvement funds for aquatic public ecosystems such as those rumored to be in the US Virgin Islands.

RANGE IMPROVEMENT OWNERSHIP; RANGE IMPROVEMENTS

Section 406 I 1-6M

Under the Reid amendment, private investment will no longer be encouraged, since if any permittees, or lessee applies for a range improvement permit to install, use, maintain, or modify any range improvement, the permittee or lessee shall agree to provide full funding for construction, installation, modification or maintenance of the improvement. But, the permittee or lessee will not maintain ownership of the improvement. Ownership will vest in the government.

This proposal is a disincentive to the construction of improvements on public lands.

This proposal is a good example of the type of inverse condemnation caused by over-regulation of private property. Property which is constructed and maintained by the rancher but utilized by a wide variety of other users.

To believe that range improvements will be made or maintained to a much higher standard if title is in the United States rather than the individual who invests the time and money to make the improvement is contrary to common sense.

It is possible if this provision were enacted that it would preclude an entire segment of the Agricultural sector from being able to depreciate capital improvements.

MANDATORY QUALIFICATIONS

Section J1-6

The same section also requires permittees to be in substantial compliance with the terms and conditions of any federal or state grazing permit.

The federal government and its agents should have no authority, either expressed or implied, concerning state grazing permits, including the determination of the terms or conditions of these permits.

The whole section would seem to imply that if a permittee is in violation of one permit that all other permits shall be deemed to have an unsatisfactory performance record.

Finally, the "satisfactory record of performance" requirement is vague and is fraught with problems caused by the limited administrative appeal available. It could take up to five years to have Interior Board of Land Appeals render a decision. In the interim, the rancher could be out of business because there are limited private lands available for holding the livestock.

SUSPENDED NONUSE

Section 406 K

This criterion is so open-ended as to be useless at best and dangerous at worst. There is absolutely nothing in the amendment which explains what the standards and guidelines are, what they do, or how they operate.

More critically, the ownership patterns of the west—a patchwork of public and private lands—ensures that ranchers have no real choice between using public and/or private lands. They require a balanced mix of public and private land if their livestock operations are to be viable.

This section of the amendment ignores the fact that many conservation-minded and prudent operators regularly put some part of their grazing permit in suspended non-use during a drought, or other natural disaster.

Deletion of suspended non-use will wipe out otherwise valid grazing authorizations and will further punish the prudent and careful operator. This in turn only provides additional support for the conclusion that these provisions are geared towards removing livestock operators from the public rangelands, rather than protecting the range or providing for a sound range management program.

PROHIBITED ACTS

Section 406 L

This provisions says that a ranchers' permit can be suspended or revoked if there is an administrative finding of violation.

Anyone knows that an administrative finding is not necessarily a final ruling of the guilt or innocence of a person.

This is clearly overreaching and serves no identified legitimate purpose. Under this amendment, an individual may be punished or have his rights taken away by the government before he is found guilty of a violation.

CONSERVATION NONUSE

Section 406 N

This section provides that the Secretary will be able to terminate any permit for any area, for any reason that he deems should be set aside for conservation purposes, and eliminate any grazing activity for up to ten years.

This could remove an allotment from grazing for its term and probably have the term permit renewed for any number of subsequent terms.

When "conservation non-use is put into effect, there will be a loss of taxes as well as a similar loss in payment in lieu of taxes—will the conservation non-use permit holder make up for the lost revenues?

One outgrowth of this provision of the Reid proposal would be to permit wealthy non-profit organizations and others to purchase ranches and not use the federal grazing permits for up to 10 years.

STANDARDS

Section 406 O

The amendment does not specify by whose "common sense?" And by whose "minimum standards"? And which "rangeland ecosystems"?

Does diversity include the inclusion of the non-native plants that are causing so much range damage in some parts of the West? By including them, the goal of diversity could more easily be reached, but the cost to rangeland health could be great.

The amendment does not specify what constitutes an ecosystem. At one point the Secretary stated before a House hearing that "an ecosystem is in the eye of the beholder."

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada said that his amendment was about multiple use, not a single use.

We believe the multiple use exists today. We do not believe that ranchers are the only interests that exist in the West. We know about multiple use. Our ranchers live with it. Our timber operators live with it. Our counties live with it. Our recreational interests live with it. All of us live with it.

What we were objecting to was the narrowing of uses, not the expansion of uses, that took place in this amendment. Again, I say it was not about grazing fees. Everyone has agreed there would be an increase in grazing fees.

The occupant of the chair and I have a bill in to increase grazing fees. That has not had hearings, not because of recalcitrance on our part, but because we were not able to get the committee to hold the hearings.

The complaints about Metropolitan Life and other wealthy people are yet another strawman. Metropolitan Life owns these things I tell my friend because they are a mortgagor and they have foreclosed on mortgages because grazing fees are a little bit too high.

If Secretary Babbitt wants to take revenge on this loss on the people of the West, he can. He should not, but he can. If he does, however, Mr. President, he will be accountable and he will not have had the Congress as his accomplice.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time has expired.

Mr. WALLOP. I thank the Senator from New Mexico.

I ask unanimous consent that a couple additional remarks be printed in the RECORD together with some letters from people that supported our position.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PETROCHEMICAL ENERGY GROUP,

Washington, DC, November 5, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: I am writing you to express our deep concern with respect to Amendment No. 123 to the Conference Report H.R. 2520, pertaining to the Department of Interior Appropriations.

The Petrochemical Energy Group ("PEG"), an organization of petrochemical and allied

companies who are not vertically integrated with major oil companies, respectfully request that our concerns be considered.

PEG is concerned that the passage of the Conference Report with new Federal Land Policy and Management Act Sections 406(l) and 406(m) would operate to reduce domestic supplies of natural gas, liquids, and crude oil. While PEG companies are not in the business of exploration and production of oil and gas, PEG companies are vitally interested in access to a viable domestic supply in order to be able to maintain production and jobs in this country. Undoubtedly, other manufacturers and consumers have the same interests.

One of these provisions has been interpreted by some to allow the federal government to cancel oil and gas leases without due process if an administrator in the bureaucracy is of the view that a federal or state environmental or conservation act has been violated. Another provision has been interpreted to give title to the federal government to natural gas liquid processing plants and other facilities built on federal leases. We have been unable to find any legislative history that would shed light on the situation, either in the Senate or in the House, and thus have no way to ascertain whether the interpretations are well grounded or not. If they are, then those who must live under the constant threat of what some might consider arbitrary cancellation and forfeiture of leases and facilities are not likely to be as motivated to develop our domestic resource base for crude oil, gas, and gas liquids. While this may be the chosen goal of some, we would recommend against making it more difficult for the domestic economy, both industry and personal consumers, to get energy and feedstocks from existing reservoirs, forcing up both prices and imports of energy and finished products.

May we respectfully suggest that this language not be included in the Conference Report and, instead, all affected persons be given an opportunity to be heard before Congress acts on such an important matter?

Sincerely,

DAVID DAMRON,
Chairman.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN
OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION,
Denver, CO, October 27, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: The Rocky Mountain Oil & Gas Association (RMOGA) is a trade association with hundreds of members, both large and small, who account for more than 90 percent of the oil and gas exploration, development and transportation activities in the Rocky Mountain West. Our members rely upon public lands to sustain a healthy domestic oil and gas program. As such, we believe that proposals such as the grazing amendment to the Interior Appropriations Bill proposed by Senator Reid will clearly have a significant detrimental effect on western economies, land uses and water rights.

RMOGA is especially concerned that the broad changes proposed in the grazing amendment have been made hastily, without benefit of public hearings which are designed to aid Congress in drafting reasonably balanced legislative proposals. It is an important part of the process to determine the potential effects proposed legislative changes will have on existing programs and statutes, as well as on the states, the public and affected parties. The failure to hold public

hearings is a clear indication that no attention has been given to the ramifications such profound changes in public land management will have on public land users in the affected states.

We believe the current grazing reform proposal will have much broader application than just livestock grazing. The water rights language alone would negatively impact the manner in which oil and gas operations, mining activities, irrigation on private lands, and municipal water requirements are managed on public lands. Moreover, the proposal appears to require private water rights holders and states to relinquish their water rights to the federal government in order to "benefit the public lands and the resources thereon". This is contrary to Constitutional law which guarantees that states have the authority and right to regulate, control and protect all waters within the state's boundaries. The taking of private and state water rights will severely compromise the future of western states where water is the lifeblood of the economy.

Moreover, the proposed amendment contains language which could require additional regulations to be promulgated by the Secretary of Interior. Subsection (l), Prohibited Acts, unnecessarily adds another layer of protection for wild horses and threatened or endangered species. These resources are already legally protected and regulated in conjunction with several existing statutes, including the Endangered Species Act of 1973 and the Wild Horse and Burro Act. There is no need to further complicate an already extremely complex process with additional law and regulation. The same can be said for Subsection (o), Standards, which would require the Secretary to establish minimum conditions for the protection of rangeland ecological health. Such guidance has already been instituted through the land management planning process as required by the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA).

In conclusion, RMOGA strongly opposes the proposed grazing amendment to the Interior Appropriations Bill. Clearly, the annual appropriations process is not a suitable avenue to institute sweeping controversial and perhaps unconstitutional changes to long standing public land statutes and programs. It is ill-advised to circumvent the normal legislative process to accomplish far-reaching and potentially devastating changes which have not been properly aired before the public, the states or even the Congress.

We therefore urge you to vote against closure on the Conference Report for the Interior Appropriations Bill. As discussions follow, we encourage you to ensure that any compromise includes the deletion of the Rangeland Reform provisions in this legislation.

Thank you for your consideration of these views.

Sincerely,

JESS COOPER.

ARCO COAL CO.,

Denver, CO, November 2, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate, Russell Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: ARCO Coal Company and its affiliate Thunder Basin Coal Company have reviewed portions of the Conference Report on the Department of Interior's Appropriation Bill concerning amendments to Title IV of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1973. Section 406 of H.R. 2520 entitled Rangeland Reform con-

tains provisions which appear to extend well beyond the scope of this proposed legislation and cause us great concern.

Although it appears that the intent of this section is to control the impacts of grazing on federal lands and protect the ecological health of our national rangelands, Section 406(l) entitled "Prohibited Acts" appears suddenly to make a sharp left turn. This subsection, as presently drafted, would allow for the cancellation or suspension of any permits and leases on federal lands if a violation of any one of a whole host of federal laws occurs. In the case of a mining operation such as Thunder Basin's Black Thunder Mine, which annually produces more than 30 million tons of coal per year from federal lands; such a provision could have significant and potentially devastating impacts. Further this provision may supersede the current statutory and regulatory authority of the EPA, the Office of Surface Mining, the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management and the Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, all of whom regulate our activities on federal lands under their respective laws and regulations. As drafted, Section 406(l) at a minimum would add yet another layer of bureaucratic review, which is both unnecessary, frivolous and redundant. We strongly urge that this provision be modified to reflect that it pertains only to grazing activities on federal lands and that coal mining operations on federal lands, which are already regulated by the above-mentioned federal and state agencies, be expressly excluded.

Similarly Section 406(o) entitled "Standards" is clearly too broad in scope as well. This provision should not be applicable to operations on federal lands already governed by existing federal and state regulations such as coal mining. As you know, mining operations on federal lands are already required under the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act as well as Wyoming Environmental Quality Act to restore the land to its premining condition and must comply with all applicable environmental regulations including, but certainly not limited to, the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act. Again this provision should be redrafted to clearly indicate that it applies only to grazing operations on federal lands.

We sincerely hope that you will take these comments into consideration. If you would like any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me at (303) 293-4680.

Sincerely,

TERRY L. O'CONNOR.

NOVEMBER 9, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: The undersigned organizations representing producers and consumers of the nation's natural resources hereby express their strong concern over Amendment Number 123 included in the conference report accompanying H.R. 2520, the Interior Appropriations bill. This amendment introduces broad and vague legislative language into the Interior Appropriations measure that could have significant consequences for anyone with an interest in development on public lands.

We are particularly concerned that the proposed new Federal Land Policy and Management Act Section 406 could seriously impact present and future development of natural resources on public lands. Though this section is entitled "Rangeland Reform," it contains provisions that have been inter-

preted by some as broad enough to affect the production and transportation of natural gas, natural gas liquids, crude oil, coal, hydropower, electricity and hard rock mining on public lands throughout the 50 states.

For example, Section 406(l) does not appear to be limited to controlling grazing on federal lands. As currently drafted, this subsection has been interpreted by some as allowing the cancellation or suspension of any permits and leases on federal lands if any one of a wide range of federal laws is violated. And, Section 406(m) can be interpreted to allow the federal government to claim title to any facilities built on federal leases.

Unfortunately, there is no legislative history in either the Senate or House to define Congress' intent in these matters. Hence, we strongly suggest that the legislative language included in H.R. 2520 be deleted from the bill, and given the benefit of thorough hearings and consideration by the appropriate authorizing committees. This will allow Congress to clearly define its intent and provide a forum for all affected parties to voice their concerns.

Sincerely,

American Mining Congress, Edison Electric Institute, Independent Petroleum Association of America, National Association of Manufacturers, National Coal Association, National Ocean Industries Association, Natural Gas Supply Association, Petrochemical Energy Group.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Colorado, the occupant of the chair, and I ask that the time that is taken to relieve him of Chair duties not be counted against our time.

(Mr. REID assumed the chair.)

Mr. DOMENICI. I take 30 seconds of my time first.

Mr. President, I am not going to have enough time in my 5 or 6 minutes at the end to thank everybody I should. There are plenty of heroes on our side as Senator REID thought they were on his side.

I say I did not know the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado until this event. I really have great respect for the Senator from Colorado. He has been a stalwart. He has great courage. I compliment him for it. I hope it has paid off in the decision today because I think it is a very good one for our ranchers and those he was defending throughout these days.

I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I thank my friend from New Mexico.

Let me make a few very short comments. I certainly congratulate the people who had a very strong belief on both sides of this issue. I think they were doing what they believe was best for the West. I, obviously, took the position that, because we had not had any public input in what was done in the conference committee, it was not done in the scrutiny of the media or the people who were being involved, it was simply bad policy.

But, there were obviously some changes, and I think as people began to

recognize how the changes were going to affect them, they came forward.

Yesterday, I had the opportunity, as my friend from New Mexico knows, to talk to the President, who called me at about 2 o'clock on this issue.

I, frankly, was amazed to find out that the President did not know that what we were being asked to codify was not in the House version of the bill and that we had not dealt with it on the Senate floor either and, in fact, it did come through the conference report. His exact words were, "I will get to work on it right now," which I took to mean he would personally get involved. I certainly commend the President for that. I know he is very busy with all the issues that we have on our plate now, with health care and Somalia and Haiti and many other extremely important issues.

He was not aware of what we were going through. And I repeat, I want to commend him for getting personally involved. I do not know if he had anything to do with this portion of the bill being pulled, but I think he probably did.

But this issue is still alive. As our colleague from Wyoming mentioned, we do have a bill in. We are not trying to promote gridlock. In fact, when you talk about gridlock, the only lock involved was us being locked out of the debate in the beginning. I am in hopes that we will be able to take this up now.

As my friends who live in the West know, the West is changing and we are going to have to do something about it. The bill we have does in fact raise the fee 25 percent, as my friends know. So we are not opposed to dealing with the issue. We are just opposed to having it come through kind of a back door system where we have nothing to say on it.

And I also believe, as I know my friends do, that because we won this particular go-around, we are not here on the floor to gloat about it or to brag about it. We were very, very concerned and we expressed our concerns. From my perspective, we are keeping our end of the bargain which we made with the President early in January when he dropped the language from the budget resolution and told us that we should come up with an alternative proposal.

I think we now have that opportunity to deal with it in a legislative manner in committee and I am looking forward to working with people on both sides of this issue and particularly my friend from Nevada, Mr. REID, who I know differs with me on this particular issue but has been a great friend in many areas and certainly a terrific Representative from his great State of Nevada.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished

Senator from Utah. I thank him for his efforts. He has been a stalwart, and I am very appreciative and I know his people will recognize it.

Mr. HATCH. I thank my distinguished colleague from New Mexico.

I want to personally thank Senator DOMENICI, Senator CAMPBELL, Senator WALLOP, Senator BAUCUS, and all of the others who have worked so hard on this, including my own junior colleague from Utah, Senator BENNETT.

The reason I brought this map with me today is to talk about grazing advisory councils. I am very happy that Senator REID is willing to withdraw his amendment. That means a lot to me personally. We have to fight this thing out and do it right.

But just to show you what the Secretary of the Interior wanted to do in Utah, I refer to this map. We have five advisory councils, represented by the black line. In other words, each district in our State has its own advisory council for grazing and land management purposes.

If these rules are enacted or implemented by the Secretary of the Interior, there will be one grazing advisory council for the whole State. All of the individual and special needs of each of these five districts would be ignored.

And I have to tell you, it would be absolutely catastrophic in our State. That happens in every State, as I understand it. But in Utah, it would be just catastrophic.

So I just want to say that I could not be happier than to have this matter resolved in this way today. What it means is that we can now have hearings on this matter. We can now get the public involved. We can now get Governors to come in and say what they feel about it. We can get ranchers and others to come in and say what they feel about it. And then I think we will have some real advice on this matter, instead of just having a big Government bureaucracy tell us what we can or cannot do. I do not mean to accuse anybody of being a dictator, but that is the potential here.

But, frankly, if these grazing advisory boards were dissolved and made into one great big State advisory board, you can imagine how the people, individuals and individual areas in our State would have even less input in decisionmaking. This more restricted access would really hurt them.

So I want to personally thank my colleagues. This is one of the best things that has happened in a long time and that is to give us a chance to explain our side of this issue without the prejudice of no explanation. And I think we can show why we are so up in arms about what is really happening in here.

Mr. President, it is important to remember that the rangeland reform 1994 plan, the modified version of which is now embodied in the so-called Reid-

Babbitt compromise in the Interior appropriations bill, is much more than just an increase in the grazing fee.

An increase in the grazing fee is detrimental enough to Utah and other western ranchers; but, the other elements of rangeland reform 1994—the land management reforms—are equally, if not more, harmful.

For example, section 406(g) of the Reid-Babbitt language proposes to eliminate the current authority that establishes grazing advisory boards and district advisory that establishes grazing advisory boards and district advisory councils and replace these boards and councils with entities called resource advisory boards. This policy shift does not make sense and should be rejected.

First and foremost, grazing advisory boards have proven their value as a systematic communication tool between ranchers and the local agency officials. The boards are comprised of informed individuals who are committed to the efficient use of Federal lands, who serve without pay, and who live in the local area of jurisdiction. In sum, these are people who make a living off the land and know the importance of stewardship of the land. These are people who know that there is no future in the reckless exploitation of the land.

Many professions benefit from a peer review board in order to assist individuals within that profession to act responsibly and to adhere to the standards of that profession. For the legal profession, the peer review role lies with a State bar association; for the medical profession, it is a State medical association. For the livestock industry, the grazing advisory board is the entity with the duty to monitor the practices of its professionals.

A free society is heavily dependent on the motivation of individuals not only to earn a profit, but also to maintain their own honor and integrity. And, since a person may be judged by the company he keeps, there is a clear reason and incentive for professional groups to voluntarily adhere to certain standards of performance and conduct.

The grazing advisory boards have provided the structure for this kind of professional monitoring in the ranching industry. The Reid-Babbitt proposal currently contained in the Interior appropriations bill eliminates this resource. In my view, however, this is a huge mistake. On the contrary, the grazing advisory board structure should be strongly supported and enhanced because of its ability to foster accountability and good stewardship of the public lands. After all, not even BLM can be everywhere, nor can a government agency apply what is often the most effective form of persuasion, namely peer pressure.

I do not think we can overstate the benefit to land management of maintaining a cooperative, collegial approach to policy development and enforcement instead of a heavy-handed, adversarial one.

Currently, there is a district grazing advisory board and a multiple use advisory council in each district of the Bureau of Land Management. In Utah, the BLM has a total of five districts—Salt Lake, Vernal, Richfield, Cedar City, and Moab—for a total of five grazing advisory boards and five multiple use advisory councils. The purpose of the grazing advisory board is to advise and to make recommendations to the local BLM district manager and his or her staff on range management policies, including the construction of range improvements and related livestock grazing programs. Members of the board are elected by rancher permittees who live within the geographic boundaries of that district.

The multiple use advisory councils are councils that advise the BLM on land use plans and the classification, retention, disposal, and general management of Federal lands. Members to these councils, on the other hand, are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. Selection to these councils can be dominated by politics and by personal relationships rather than by an individual's specific expertise in land management issues.

Section 406(g) will replace these two boards, which are both located within each BLM district, and replace them with, as the report language says, "one or more resource advisory councils * * * for the area within the jurisdiction of each Bureau of Land Management State Office."

The language does not state that every BLM district office will have one of these councils similar to the existing structure; it says that each BLM State office will have a council. This means the entire State of Utah could have only one Resource Advisory Council to provide that BLM with advice and recommendations for all statewide BLM activities.

And in a State like mine, every district from border to border has its own unique natural resources, and their management decisions should be made locally by project land managers and local users and not by political appointees with hidden agendas who live 300 miles away.

There is good reason why grazing advisory boards are located in each district: they are in the best position to provide the most recent and most accurate information concerning the physical, economic, and local conditions of each district to the appropriate BLM officials. Now, all of a sudden, the Reid-Babbitt compromise would give the Secretary of the Interior the authority to organize an advisory council comprised of individuals who may not

live anywhere near a BLM resource area.

For example, under this language, the Utah Resource Advisory Council could likely be dominated by individuals who reside along the Wasatch Front where 80 percent of Utah's population is located. People who live near Salt Lake city—a area of nearly 1 million people, few livestock, and very limited acreage of rangeland—may well find themselves providing advice on decisions affecting the management of a wide variety of resources located on Utah's BLM lands.

These areas include the wild buffalo herd of the Henry Mountains area of southeastern Utah, the oil—and tar sands-enriched Book Cliffs area of eastern Utah, the scenic Escalante Canyons region of southern Utah, and the arid West Desert and world renowned Bonneville Salt Flats of western Utah. All of these resources are located on BLM-managed land.

This language takes control away from those who must directly suffer the consequences of wrong decisions and centralizes both advisory as well as decisionmaking authority. And, it sets up the possibility that those who serve on the Resource Advisory Council will be isolated from the ramifications of their own advice.

In a State like mine where every region—from border to border—has its own unique natural resources and corresponding demands, like those I have just mentioned, the proper management of these resources should be made locally and not by individuals who live two or three hundred miles away.

If the goal of section 406(g) is to provide the best information and advice available concerning use of natural resources in each BLM district, then I fail to see how just one council, consisting of individuals appointed by the Secretary and conceivably without firsthand knowledge of lands under the council's jurisdiction, can replace the operations of the district boards. I also believe, Mr. President, that these boards should be comprised of professional land managers and local users, not political appointees with hidden agendas.

Moreover, Mr. President, I have yet to hear one valid criticism of the current advisory councils. There has been no accusation that they have not functioned well or fulfilled their purpose. There has been no assertion that they are partisan or dishonest.

Mr. President, "if it ain't broke, don't fix it."

And, this message is not just from me, but from the experts. For example, the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture recently adopted a resolution that states: Grazing advisory boards * * * are useful, necessary, and representative entities. * * * [They] provide the forum for cooperative, productive, and informed

dialogue and interchange between BLM permittees and BLM administrators. The proposed resource advisory councils may lack the necessary background, education, and experience to adequately advise agencies in implementing their multiple use management mandates; rather, the councils may evolve into a forum for special interest groups to express their philosophies instead of sound ecologically based multiple use management principles."

The new resource advisory councils, proposed by the Reid-Babbitt compromise, at least on paper, will not address such resource issues as range management, the construction of range improvements, or related livestock grazing programs. Section 406(g)(2) of the Reid-Babbitt language identifies that one appointee to the council shall be an elected official; but, it stops there, without specifying any further backgrounds or positions required for the council. Absent, of course, is specific language identifying an appointee who is a livestock permittee or selected by the permittees in the local area.

It seems obvious that recommendations on the management of rangelands by the new council will be made by individuals who are not range specialists, who are not on the range on a daily basis, and who may have plans encouraging the use of Federal lands for purposes other than grazing related activities. How will this help improve the long-term condition of America's rangelands?

Mr. President, the new advisory councils will advise the BLM on "multiple use plans and programs for public lands and resources," as stated in 406(g)(3), within the council's geographic area. The Reid-Babbitt language raises many questions to which I believe our ranchers deserve answers.

For example, I have mentioned before the lack of specificity in the qualifications required for appointment to a council other than at least one must be a local government official. What other criteria would the Secretary use or consider for qualification for appointment?

We have already determined that a council member need not live near a particular resource, but does a candidate to the council need to be a resident of the State for which that person is appointed?

In order to receive consideration and secure an appointment, does one need to be familiar with operating a business on federal lands?

Must one possess a current knowledge and understanding of BLM programs, or at least familiarity with regulations controlling the use of Federal lands?

Should a candidate have a background that is familiar with the effective and efficient production potential

of resources located on Federal lands? Should that background be extensive or simply a passing interest?

Mr. President, as with most sections of the Reid-Babbitt language, we do not have the answer to these and other questions related to the resource advisory councils that are established under section 406(g). Yet, we are about to eliminate the one effective tool that promotes proper stewardship of rangelands and replace it with an organization, comprised of novice and inexperienced individuals, that could cause more harm than good to our Nation's resources.

I repeat what I have attempted to make clear here today on this particular subject. The diversity of uses, activities, programs, and land management requirements across Utah and other Western States cannot be effectively addressed by one or two or three statewide councils. These issues can best be addressed at the district level by citizens who reside in the affected area and who have the most to lose if the rangelands are misused.

I can only surmise that the origin of this language is a fundamental distrust of the judgment of our rural citizens. I, for one, have great confidence in the people, including those who reside in rural areas, to manage the land for the future.

In closing, Mr. President, I would like to quote from a letter I recently received from Mr. Ray Yardley, president of the grazing advisory board for the BLM Cedar City District, which comprises the southwestern corner of Utah. Mr. Yardley is very outspoken in his opposition to the original rangeland reform 1994 proposal.

Regarding grazing advisory boards, Mr. Yardley states that "grazing advisory boards are the most efficient means of maintaining contact and continuity with individuals—that are—both interested and involved with management of public lands. * * * The present boards should be maintained to advise on-the-ground local, site-by-site decisions on grazing management schemes and problems."

Mr. Yardley even went so far as to recommend that the chairman of the grazing advisory board should be an automatic representative for grazing interests on the Multiple Use Board, which would include the Resource Advisory Council. I suggest to my colleagues that this is some food for thought from someone who lives and breathes these issues on a daily basis.

Mr. President, the rangeland reform 1994 plan goes way beyond a simple hike in grazing fees. It includes a number of substantive changes—like abolition of the locally based grazing advisory boards—that will have long-term impact not just for ranching and rangeland management, but also for the West as a whole. I urge my colleagues to delete the Reid-Babbitt language from the Interior appropriations bill.

I could go on and on on the issue of the rangeland reform plan, but I just want to personally thank my colleague from Nevada for withdrawing this amendment. It gives us a chance to get our side out there, gives us a chance to help to amend this proposal so that our people are not hurt as badly as they would have been had we not amended it.

There is one thing I do disagree with my friend from Nevada on: The Old West is still alive. The Old West is still there. And a lot of us belong to the Old West. The Old West represents the spirit of independence and determination that I am proud to share.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes to Senator CRAIG.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. CRAIG] is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank my colleague from New Mexico for yielding. Let me personally thank him for the tremendous leadership he has demonstrated in opposition to this very improperly placed and crafted issue that we have had before us that has held the Senate and the appropriations legislation in its grip for the last several weeks.

Let me also say to the Senator from Nevada that I appreciate his willingness to pull this issue. But he is absolutely right. The issue has not disappeared.

Let me also say, in his closing remarks he said those of us who opposed him wanted no change. That is not a valid statement. That is an improperly placed statement. The Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Wyoming, with my cosponsorship, offered a very significant change in grazing fees.

What we did not want was the very issue I talked about a week ago on this, a major power shift away from the States of Nevada and Colorado and Idaho and New Mexico and all of those other Western States, to Washington, DC. I do not believe the Senator from Nevada, who spoke eloquently about the new West, would want the new West to have to constantly come to Washington as the throne of power to bow for the right to live and operate in their own State. That is not the new West, and that should not be the Old West either.

We once had an example of centralized power. It crumbled. It was the Soviet Union. It did not work. Now individual States are forming again to try to create their own independence and freedom. There is just a little bit, if not a lot, of that in the debate of the last several days.

I ask unanimous consent to have a letter from the attorney general of the State of Idaho, Larry Echhawk, printed in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CRAIG. By the way, this attorney general happens to be a Democrat. This is not a partisan issue; it was a very real bipartisan issue.

This is a letter to Senator REID where he pleaded with him to pull his legislation because of the danger of the kind of water language that was in this legislation. We are right in the middle of adjudicating water in the State of Idaho for the whole of the Snake River drainage right now, and the Federal Government is coming in and filing right over the top of private water rights.

What this legislation would have done, it would have given them the power to do even more. We recognize the Federal Government ought to be able to obtain a right to water, but they ought to come through the State and through the water rights processes and understand the balance and importance of water rights usage instead of just saying, from the Federal level, "We have the right and we are going to take it," as this legislation did.

What this battle is about, and it is a battle that will go on whether it is in mining law reform—and we saw very important legislation that will pass in the House probably in the next few days. With that, again, the Senator from Nevada and I would not agree, probably. We have good mining legislation here.

The West is impacted by public policy because most of those States have a very significant amount of their land base controlled by Federal agencies. So what we do here on the floor, what the Reid amendment would have done, would have had tremendously significant impact on the lives of individual citizens.

Whether it is the small rural community or the big sprawling metro area of Las Vegas or Boise, the new West comes to the Old West because of the lifestyle that the Old West has. Whether it is the ranching family or the small community or the communities in which there is less crime and greater freedom—that is what the new West comes to obtain. How do you get there? You get there by keeping just a little bit of what you have had.

What this debate has been about for an awful long while is not grazing fees. We have all agreed there should be some increases. What it is about is who makes the decision on how you operate and how you run and how you function and how you live with those public lands. Why should States like Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming not have the right to determine some of their own destinies, instead of Bruce Babbitt and a couple of his cohorts sitting down and saying, "This will be the policy?"

I hope the Secretary does come back. But I hope he will come to the authorizing committee that I serve on and these other gentlemen serve on and run the process, have the public hearings. Let us look at the detail. Let us try to understand how this is going to impact grazing along with all other kinds of activities on our public lands. Our intent is not—nor should it be the intent of anyone in this Senate—to run people from the land; but to make sure that while they are on the land they use it wisely and appropriately. That has always been our process. That has been our responsibility. That is not what would have happened with the Reid amendment. We are very pleased it is pulled now. We hope the right process can go forward with substantive hearings, responsible to determining good public policy.

I yield the remainder of my time.

EXHIBIT 1

STATE OF IDAHO,
Boise, November 8, 1993.

Hon. HARRY REID,
Senate Hart Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR REID: I write to express a serious reservation about H.R. 2520, the appropriations bill for the Department of the Interior. The present language regarding water rights may make broad and undesirable changes to existing federal policy, and may have significant negative effects upon the states of the West.

I am concerned that the language in subsection 406(d), providing that all future water rights obtained for "grazing-related actions on public lands" must be in the name of the United States, may have implications for adjacent lands, not in the ownership of the United States, where water rights could be connected to grazing-related actions. I am similarly concerned as to the potential impact on state laws requiring ranchers to obtain water rights through the state regulatory process.

The language seems to permit no role for the procedural and substantive requirements of state law. The implications of this language threatens the delicate balance of interests which has been worked out in years past, particularly in the McCarran Amendment.

Also troublesome in subsection 406(1)(2), mandating that the "United States shall assert its claims and exercise its rights to water developed on public lands to benefit the public lands and resources thereon." Since 1877, the Congress has refused to create a reserved federal water right for general public lands, but this language may imply a federal nonreserved water right. The commandment that the United States assert its claims not only suggests such a right, but seems to guarantee that the United States will be pressing claims in contradiction to existing water rights acquired under state law.

The other portion of subsection 406(1)(2) is likely to cause equally grave problems. In what might have been an attempt to allocate ownership interests between the United States and its lessees, the section provides: "The authorization for permanent water developments, such as spring developments, wells, reservoirs, stock tanks, and pipelines, shall be through cooperative range improvement agreements to protect the public interest for multiple use of rangeland

ecosystems." On its face, this section overrides all provisions of state laws which require authorization for permanent water developments to be acquired by state law processes. Negotiated range improvement agreements for the development of springs, reservoirs or pipelines, would by definition exclude state involvement.

I understand that the Department of the Interior disclaims an intention to change the fundamental structure of Western water law. Nonetheless, the language of this appropriations bill that I have identified creates more than a faint possibility of that occurring. I must also note that the short time available for review of the proposal has given me no confidence that I have identified all the provisions that may impact existing state law.

I know that you are striving to find a fair middle ground in the controversial area of grazing fees and the issues associated with the use of federal land for that grazing. I want to remove the issue of water rights from that debate. The cleanest way to achieve that goal would be to remove the entire subject of water rights from the appropriations bill. Removal of the language would permit the subject to be raised in the appropriate water policy committees, where there problems could be evaluated in a less frenetic atmosphere, and where the competing policy issues could be discussed and resolved more fairly.

Sincerely,

LARRY ECHOHAWK,
Attorney General.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. How much time is remaining?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico has 7 minutes 16 seconds. The Senator from Nevada has 5 minutes 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. DOMENICI. I was expecting Senator BURNS. I yield 2 minutes to the senior Senator from Colorado.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN], is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, let me first of all say to the distinguished Senator from Nevada how delighted I am that this amendment will be pulled down and we will go through the normal process. I believe the Senator from Nevada is very sincere in his efforts. He is a very responsible legislator. I think what he has done is moved the process along. I pledge to him I want to work with him in this regard.

Let me simply add this. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of an editorial from the Pueblo Chieftain as well as three letters on this subject.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BROWN. This issue struck at the very heart of the West because the fact is, whether it was the original amendment or even the later amendment, it established a new standard for renewing Federal permits. That standard was almost impossible to meet, at least in the view of many water attorneys who had looked at it. It is not the kind of

thoughtful thing I think this Nation needs to move ahead. Having another barrier for a permit is not the kind of thing we ought to think about in terms of making this country more efficient, more productive, more effective, and more creative. We ought to be thinking of ways to simplify things and move things along.

Last, let me simply emphasize this. This battle has never been about grazing fees. The Secretary has the ability to increase grazing fees any time he chooses. My guess is he will move ahead with that process. This battle has been about making sure citizens all across this Nation do not lose the rights they have been granted and any time people's property is taken they ought to receive fair compensation.

I thank the Presiding Officer, and I thank the distinguished Senator from New Mexico for the job he has done in leading this debate.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Pueblo (CO) Chieftain, Nov. 8, 1993]

WATER WAR

The liberal wing of the democratic party is pressing its assault on the long held multiple-use doctrine of public lands through subterfuge. In particular, it is an attack on Colorado and its water, an attack that could have debilitating consequences for this state's cities.

The Democrats have included in the Interior Appropriations Bill a "compromise" between the administration's insistence on increased grazing fees and those who would have no or moderate increases, such as the bill sponsored by Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado.

The subterfuge is that drastic new environmental rules and regulations have been added to the appropriations bill. The liberals are trying to force them through with the threat that the bill's failure would shut down a giant federal agency. Grazing fees are but a smokescreen.

The bill contains 19 new pages of provisions asserting federal dominance over states' water laws. Sen. Hank Brown of Colorado complained last week that none of this new language has had proper hearing.

Gov. Roy Romer is alarmed that the bill would tear asunder Colorado's historic doctrine of allocating water for beneficial private and public use. In that vein, Rep. Scott McInnis notes that the bill could sharply curtail Colorado cities from using water which somewhere along a stream flow crosses public lands.

What is interesting is who is behind this, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Sen. Harry Reid D-New., the sponsor of the "compromise." Both have transparent parochial interests.

Babbitt is a former governor of Arizona. Limiting Colorado's access to its own water as determined by the Colorado River Compact would benefit Arizona, which already takes huge volumes from the river through the Central Arizona Project.

Likewise, Nevada would benefit from extra Colorado water as it builds huge casinos and golf courses on a thirsty desert floor. California politicians are on board, too, eying more water for the overbuilt Los Angeles Basin.

These politicians know they probably could not ride roughshod over the Colorado

River's Upper Basin states without more ammunition. So the grazing fees and other environmental provisions, popular with the anti-growth environmentalist industry, are in the bill. The combination of California and Nevada growth interests and the environmentalist lobby, while a marriage of strange political bed-fellows, makes perverse sense.

Some bureaucrat down the line could rule that the water shipped under the Continental Divide from the Colorado River Drainage Basin into the Arkansas River—including water owned by the city of Pueblo—should remain on the West Slope so as to maintain predetermined environmental standards there. And, by coincidence, flow on to Nevada, Arizona, and California.

But then again, as Sen. Brown pointed out, the issue has not been forced to go through the legislative forge of full hearings.

During a demonstration by ranchers against the bill in Canon City last week, one commented that "I am one of the biggest endangered species in Colorado right now." The residents of Colorado's cities are part of that species, too.

We urge Sens. Brown and Campbell to fight this attempted grab of Colorado water and water rights with all of the political coinage at their command.

This is war.

DAVIS, GRAHAM & STUBBS,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
Denver, CO, November 8, 1993.

Hon. HANK BROWN,
U.S. Senate, Hart Senate Office Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR BROWN: Upon review of the Skaggs proposed amendments to Section 406 offered as a compromise on the Interior appropriations bill, I would respectfully submit for your consideration that his amendments may offer some minimal improvements to Section 406(d) and Section 406(o). They do not cure the whole problem in my judgment. FLPMA would still require permits for cities and other water users to cross Forest Service lands and this certainly does not seem, in my estimation, to cure that situation. At most, it leaves FLPMA permits subject to all present rules and regulations that have been attempted to be imposed by the Forest Service for such rights-of-way.

More importantly, however, the proposed amendment does not do anything to cure the defects of Section 406(1)(2). This still leaves open, in my mind, the question as to whether the present administration is advocating the non-Federal reserved water right theory repudiated by opinion of Solicitor Martz. It is my wish that all language relating to water rights be deleted from the Interior appropriations bill so that it can proceed as it should, and not try to develop FLPMA legislation in an appropriation bill. Amendments to FLPMA should only be made after complete legislative hearings have been held and the public has been given an opportunity to comment upon any such proposals.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. SAYRE.

AURORA, CO, November 8, 1993.

Hon. BOB DOLE,
Senate Minority Leader,
Washington, DC.

Hon. GEORGE J. MITCHELL,
Senate Majority Leader,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATORS MITCHELL AND DOLE: I am writing to add my concern to others which have been expressed about the Reid Amendment. The City of Aurora has a current popu-

lation of 240,000. Located on the high and dry plains east of Denver, the City's entire water supply must be imported from Colorado's mountains. A large percentage of the supply originates from snow melt run-off from federal lands. The City owns an interest in 4 water resource projects which have easements and diversion points located directly on federal property.

The City of Aurora and other Colorado entities have developed water supplies with a reliance on the statutes and precedents of Colorado water law. This reliance has resulted in vested property rights owned and protected for the benefit of our citizens and businesses, present and future. These acquired water resources represent, in Aurora's case, an investment of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The current language in the Reid Amendment sends an alarming cloud over the City's investment and the future of water supply throughout the entire west. It appears that the intent of this language is to add yet another federal regulatory standard for the "protection and restoration of riparian values. * * *" The City of Aurora has taken significant steps to enhance the mountain environment which has been impacted by our projects. The language contained within the Reid Amendment could have a very negative impact on our urban environments.

The ambiguity in the Reid Amendment language causes us grave concern. The impact of this Amendment potentially extend far beyond concerns related to grazing on public lands. I urge caution and a full public process which can analyze these impacts.

Sincerely,

Mayor PAUL TAUER.

BOARD OF WATER COMMISSIONERS,
Denver, CO, November 5, 1993.

Senator HANK BROWN,
U.S. Senate, Hart Senate Office Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR BROWN: With the assistance of members of your staff, the staff of Denver Water has conducted a preliminary review of H.R. 2520 now under consideration in Congress.

We have concluded that some provisions of H.R. 2520 would affect, perhaps in significant ways, western water rights even though the bill purports to address the topic of grazing rights and fees on public land.

The Denver Water Department would like you to know that we are concerned by the language of H.R. 2520, because we believe it inappropriate that fundamental issues affecting western water rights should be ancillary topics to grazing or permit fee legislation. These issues are of critical importance to the water users and utilities throughout the western states, and should not be the subject of federal legislation without close and careful committee consideration by the Congress commensurate with the immense impacts for citizens of this region. We would very much appreciate your consideration and support in this matter.

Sincerely,

H.J. BARRY,
Manager.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I have just talked a moment with Senator REID. Since I have committed a couple of minutes to Senator BURNS, I wonder if I might ask unanimous consent we each have an additional 2 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. I am going to leave 2 minutes for Senator REID. How much do I have? Do I have 5 minutes if I leave him 2?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico has 7 minutes 24 seconds with the additional 2 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield myself 5 minutes at this point, and I will have 2 left over.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, this is one of those occasions in the Senate that rarely comes, because, from the standpoint of this Senator, a very large group of Senators have supported us through three clotures. It is a rare, rare thing to see victory, to see us win on an issue of this type. So I have too many people to thank. I have other things to say, so in due course I will put each of their names in this RECORD because we had Senators who truly, based upon the political pressure, should have voted against us.

Some would say it was done out of personal friendship. I believe what we have done in the past three clotures with our debate, with all the things we have said and done in our States, with the help of our Governors—as Senator WALLOP has indicated—I think we have convinced a very large group of Senators that our issue was not a gridlock issue. Our issue was not an issue of unfairly using a filibuster, as some editor in some eastern or midwestern paper said.

If ever there is a cause for shedding light on an issue through the use of the Senate's time, it is this one, predicated upon a very basic principle: Fairness. How can you jeopardize, eliminate, take away rights from people without any hearings, without an opportunity for them to appear anywhere and make their case in Congress, by writing authorizing legislation changing their property rights, the value of their property, their families' future without even one single opportunity to be heard? That is why we got a lot of Senators who supported us. And we have won today, because all of that law has been stricken, or will be soon, and there will be no new law about the ranching interests of this country on the books in this rather unreasonable mode of writing it in the office of the Secretary of the Interior with a couple of other people helping him and then putting it on a bill.

So our cause was right. We used only legal and accepted methods here. And we have prevailed. Now it is in the hands of the Secretary. He can follow the old law, not the new law. This is not an issue of grazing fees. Already they were suggesting yesterday they ought to take out all the water law because it is written improperly. What about the rest of the bill? If we had a

chance to shed light on it, we would find that they ought to start over. And that is exactly what they are doing. From my standpoint, the filibuster and three cloture votes with the threat of another one has done the following: It has caused a lot of heat and a lot of pressure. But it has shed light on the issue. Indeed, it will be a different environment for the Secretary of the Interior when he goes out there to accomplish this through rules. The Governors are going to be involved. They are not going to sit by and watch in some placid manner.

The citizens of our Western States are going to get involved and the Secretary, indeed, is not going to have the carte blanche he had a couple of months ago when he was going to proceed to change everything. Yes, he has the legal authority, but he will be operating in an environment of substantial constraint predicated upon the light that has been shed on this issue because of three cloture votes, the debates attendant to them and, indeed, a fourth was threatened, which brought us to this case.

A lot of things have been said in this Chamber that deserve rebuttal, but I am going to take only one, and that is the issue of the very large corporate entities that have permits. The New York Times, I hope, will accept a letter from this Senator rebutting with facts the article that was written that talked about the very large, large corporations and rich cowboys. Let me tell you why it is a distortion.

There are 28,000 permittees at least and there are 500 who are extremely wealthy or big corporations; 500, less than 2 percent. Indeed, there are only 3,300 very small ones. So it is the big middle again, the middle-class rancher who was not even mentioned in those articles and has nothing to do with Exxon, has nothing to do with the little tiny ones that this writer talked about, but rather trying to make a reasonable livelihood.

We only wanted fairness from the beginning. We will get fairness only if the Secretary will now be fair.

I want to close by saying today I am putting in the RECORD a copy of a letter we are sending to Senator BENNETT JOHNSTON, the authorizing committee chairman. We are saying to him, we have time now because these 19 pages of law—new law—are gone, and we are asking that he begin with us to conduct indepth hearings on grazing fees, on all of the range improvement proposals, and let us do right by a minority group in this country and let them be heard.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print that letter in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, DC, November 9, 1993.
Senator J. BENNETT JOHNSTON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR BENNETT: As this letter is being written, there is a very real prospect that the debate over the Reid Amendment will be removed from the Interior Appropriations Conference Report. While that result is certainly not our first choice, it is, under the current circumstances, the best possible result. This result prevents some truly bad provisions from becoming the law of the land, without Congressional hearings or consideration by more than a select handful of people.

This result also allows for Congressional hearings to take place in a timely manner to determine which changes in current law and practices are really necessary or appropriate. As Chairman of the Committee of jurisdiction, we urge that you commit to comprehensive hearings on the many complex issues involved and give all sides adequate opportunity to participate and be heard.

That opportunity, when all is said and done, is all we have sought through our opposition to the Reid Amendment, because without it the essential requirement of fairness is lost. We offer to assist and cooperate in every possible way in the series of hearings we request.

Sincerely,

PETE V. DOMENICI.
BEN NIGHTHORSE
CAMPBELL.
CONRAD BURNS.
MALCOLM WALLOP.
LARRY E. CRAIG.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, how much time do I have left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KOHL). The Senator has 2 minutes left.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield 2 minutes now to Senator BURNS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes Senator BURNS.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I thank my good friend from New Mexico. I thank him personally for the leadership he has shown on this issue. I also thank the Senator from Nevada, [Mr. REID], who has, in his judgment, done what he thought was right. That is kind of what makes this body, this U.S. Senate, a special place.

But the big thanks should go to the small farmers and ranchers and small-town business operators and people who are affected by policy change on public lands the most. They are the ones who went in the trenches, they are the ones who shored up the strength of those of us who represent those States and, yes, made their case to some people who did not come from those States that have a high propensity of public lands.

This is not a grazing fee issue, it is a policy issue. I want to publicly thank my farmers and ranchers in Montana for their steadfast support during this very, very important debate as it unfolded in the U.S. Senate.

I want to, again, thank and advise the chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee of the U.S. Senate to start those hearings immediately, not only on grazing but on

rangeland reform, what we can do to make it better, how we can all work together to make it better, because we know there are some areas in which we can do better and should do better, working with the Society of Range Management, working with professional people who understand range, to make it better. So I thank those folks.

I thank my friends, Senator WALLOP of Wyoming, and Senator BROWN of Colorado, who were first in doing the work to bring to our attention the issue of water—and, yes, water is an issue here—as we talked about these things. I thank my friend from New Mexico for his work on this.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I close now by saying to my friend, Senator REID, before we started this debate the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Nevada had worked on a number of issues, not all of which were about the West, but many were. I hope we leave here today willing to do that again.

I want to say to him I am willing to work with him on the remaining issues of the West and on this issue. I do congratulate him on the way he conducted himself from the beginning of this to this very day. I submit that we had a difference of opinion, but I do not really think we had a difference in what we were trying to do, what we were trying to accomplish. We thought of different ways to do it.

I leave the Chamber today with mixed feelings because I wish we had been on the same side all the way through. I somehow feel it might have come out a little different than it has. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID. Mr. President, if we have accomplished nothing else in this debate, we have accomplished the fact that now there is agreement with the minority and the majority that after 15 years there should be hearings and, I hope, a bill reported out of this Congress; that is, next year there be a comprehensive bill on grazing reform. That keeps in mind the fact that the Secretary is going ahead with his rulemaking. If the Congress does not like something in the rulemaking, they have the right to change it.

I hope everyone realizes we have accomplished that. We have elevated this debate to the point where now everyone acknowledges something needs to be done. I also will say to my friends who just spoke, that though some have declared this a victory, I want everyone in the Senate and everyone within the sound of my voice to understand that it probably is a victory for special interests, for the billionaires who graze on public lands, for the Japanese conglomerates. I am sorry to say it is probably a victory for gridlock.

I do understand that this debate has been about fairness—fairness to the taxpayers, fairness to the public, those who use the public lands. They say that there are those who want to change, and I agree there should be change.

I will also say, Mr. President, that I want entered in the RECORD letters that I received this day from the Board of Educational Lands and Funds from the State of Nebraska, which in effect says, among other things, that they want to take the opportunity to offer support for the changes suggested in my amendment. They say in Nebraska they have 1.2 million acres that they feel should be treated as indicated in my amendment.

I have a letter, that I ask unanimous consent be made part of the RECORD, from Garry Mauro from the State of Texas who is the commissioner of the land office. He supports the amendment, including the fee increases on the Federal rangeland leases. He expresses his support for this amendment in the strongest terms: Commonsense demands that for any and all use of the lands held in the public domain to the benefit of all citizens.

I have a letter from the State of Oklahoma land office, one Carol Ford. She encourages and supports the efforts to implement these changes.

I also have a similar letter from the State of Colorado. This is from the Board of Land Commissioners.

I ask unanimous consent that all those letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOARD OF EDUCATIONAL
LANDS AND FUNDS,
November 8, 1993.

Mr. JIM BACA,
Director, Bureau of Land Management, Wash-
ington, DC.

DEAR MR. BACA: We want to take this opportunity to offer our support for the BLM's efforts to implement changes in the grazing fee structure and lands management practices on Federal Lands.

This Board manages the approximately 1.5 million acres held in Trust for Nebraska's K-12 public schools. We have a mandatory fiduciary duty to maximize the income and preserve the value of this School Trust Land. This Board takes these obligations very seriously.

We manage slightly more than 1.2 million acres of pasture, which is about twice as much as the total Federal holdings in Nebraska, and our 1994 grazing rates will vary from \$14.50 per AUM to \$21.00 per AUM across the state. Our rent to value ratio exceeds 5% in all pasture areas. We offer all leases competitively at public auction with no preferential treatment given to the prior lessee. We are 99.9% leased and the range condition of our pasture is comparable to privately owned rangeland in the same vicinity. There is no logical reason why Federal grazing lands cannot, or should not, be leased and managed in a similar fashion.

Nebraska is entitled to 25% of the grazing revenue from its Federal Lands. It is perfectly obvious that Nebraska's share of the Federal grazing revenue generated within its

borders should be substantially more than the entire rate the Federal Government is now charging. Furthermore, the unconscionably low Federal grazing rates also impair the ability of most western states to obtain fair market rent for their State Trust Lands.

We appreciate your strong leadership in making suggestions to manage the Federal Lands in a more business like manner and specifically your efforts to start bringing the Federal Grazing Fees more in line with private sector rates.

If we can be of assistance to you in this endeavor, please do not hesitate to contact us at your convenience. Thank you.

STATE OF COLORADO,
BOARD OF LAND COMMISSIONERS,
Denver, CO, November 6, 1993.

Hon. BRUCE BABBITT,
Secretary of the Interior, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This letter of support is written as a personal perspective from my position as a State Board of Land Commissioner and Past President of the Western States Land Commissioners Association. I have been the Commissioner-Engineer in Colorado since 1985 and have observed the use of both federal and state lands by ranching and agricultural users during these past number of years.

I am in favor of an increase in the current federal AUM rate and support enhanced stewardship measures on public and state trust lands alike. The amount of increase and criteria for quality stewardship should be left to the federal government as managers of the public land. While President of the WSLCA, we invited distinguished speakers to address the association on federal grazing issues because of the co-mingled BLM, USFS, and state trust lands. Among those who made presentations was Representative Synar of the U.S. Congress.

Under your leadership as Governor of Arizona, your Land Board was most innovative concerning trust issues for the common schools. With your currently assembled team in Interior, I expect no less and indeed am pleased with your review of all issues in your charge.

We, the Land Board in Colorado this year, reviewed our grazing and agricultural policies on trust lands. Our conclusions led us to increase over three years, our grazing rates to fair market value based on a five year private lease rate average in Colorado. Our AUM rate had been set at 50% of that average allowing for management. This year (Oct. 1, 1993) we will take 65% of the average, in Oct. 1, 1994, we will take 75% of the average and in Oct. 1, 1995, will take 100% less some per cent for outstanding stewardship practices. Such criteria must be established working with our lessees and others.

Because federal lands in Colorado are co-mingled with state trust lands, what you do in Washington impacts our ability to comply with our constitutional mandate to maximize income for the common schools. Our efforts are assisted by your efforts currently before the law makers. I encourage you to keep up the efforts in this important challenge.

My position does not reflect the official position of Colorado members of Congress, nor the Governor. Rather it is consistent with my constitutional responsibilities.

Thank you for letting me comment on this important issue to the country.

Sincerely,
JOHN S. WILKES III,
Commissioner.

COMMISSIONER, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Austin, TX, November 5, 1993.

Hon. BRUCE BABBITT,
Secretary of the Interior, Washington, DC.

DEAR SECRETARY BABBITT: As we discussed in our meeting on Monday, I support the amendment to the Department of the Interior appropriations bill which includes fee increases for federal rangeland leases.

I want to express my support for this amendment in the strongest terms: common sense demands that fair market value be obtained for any and all uses of lands held in the public domain for the benefit of all citizens. Most of the states charge more for rangeland leases than the federal government does, and all public lands, including those belonging to the states, are devalued because of these practices.

As President of the Western States Land Commissioners Association, I have followed developments in Congress on rangeland reforms with great interest. Your leadership on this issue will benefit both state and federal lands in the public domain, and I support you.

I and my colleagues in public land management will watch with great interest as Congress acts on these issues.

Sincerely,
GARRY MAURO.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE,
Oklahoma City, OK, November 5, 1993.

JIM BACA,
Bureau of Land Management, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. BACA: I want to take this opportunity to encourage and support your efforts to implement changes in the grazing fee structure and land management practices on federal lands. As you know, Oklahoma has significant land holdings in Cimarron County, which is adjacent to New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas BLM lands.

We believe the current BLM fee structure may have a detrimental effect on the ability of the Oklahoma Land Office to achieve full market rates for grazing lands in Cimarron County. Though we receive 4-5 times more rental per AUM than the BLM, your grazing rates may nevertheless cause a lowering of demand for our grazing leases. For example, Texas County, adjacent east to Cimarron County brings in 8 to 10% more rental per AUM, which implies that Cimarron County's rental income is impacted detrimentally because of its contiguous positioning to BLM lands in New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas. This rental impact factor is even more pronounced in states such as Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico and Colorado, which have large holdings of BLM and school lands.

Your efforts to encourage stewardship are to be commended. It is our belief the key to insuring a good income stream from the lands is to make sure they are in very good condition. We have experienced better management on our land since we increased the rental rates in 1982. Obviously, this is a paradox to many people's thinking, but we have found a manager who does not take care of the land cannot afford the higher rates.

I wish you luck in your efforts. Should you have any questions, please call.

Sincerely,
CAROL J. FORD,
Secretary.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I also think it is important to acknowledge and to reiterate what this amendment was all about. It was compromise. It was compromise from Secretary Babbitt's position, which I felt was a fair position. It

was land reform, but in a modern version. All ranchers should understand, in the months and years to come, when these changes take place, remember, it would have been less had they supported this amendment. Whatever is going to take place is going to be more than has been set forth in this amendment.

There were no radical changes. No matter how much you talk about it, all we were doing was taking the Forest Service operatives that have been going on for decades. For anyone to suggest that this is like the former Soviet Union, I have to respectfully submit is not logical. The changes made were to give land managers the ability to do some things about those people who do a poor job of operating on Federal rangelands. Not a lot of people operate badly, but those who do should be taken to task. Under the present guidelines of the Bureau of Land Management, they do not have the rules they have in the Forest Service. The Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management both should have these powers.

I do say to those who oppose this, I know they have strong feelings and I also recognize they did their best to prevail. I hope in the long run it will all come out better for the West. We all recognize there is a new West. We recognize things are never going to be the way they used to be, no matter how nostalgic we become. I am hopeful, as I said, Mr. President, that we can find a true compromise, one that includes ranchers, wise use of public resources and the taxpayer. I hope the chairman, BENNETT JOHNSTON, and the ranking member, Senator WALLOP, will move forward and hold hearings and have whatever input they feel is necessary and add to the spate of materials that have been developed over the years; that is, the studies made by universities, congressional hearings that have been held, General Accounting Office reports that have been made, some 380 in number. They can add to these or take from these the things they feel will be helpful, and I would hope report a bill because I personally hope that the grazing fee should be in law, not by administrative whim, whether it be Secretary Babbitt or Secretary Lujan. I think we should have matters in law so this does not become a continual battle with each President coming before us.

Mr. President, the chairman of the committee has asked that we take just a little bit of time before we end this subject so that this can be sent back to the House. I know that there are others in the Chamber who wish to speak. I am wondering how long the Senator from Pennsylvania desires to take.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. I had notified the managers of the bill that I had come over for a few minutes in morning busi-

ness. I am waiting to speak then. So I await that time.

Mr. DOMENICI. Why not ask for 10 minutes equally divided?

Mr. REID. I frankly think we have talked enough about this. Why not suggest the absence of a quorum and wait for the chairman to return. It should be just in a matter of a moment.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, will the Senator wait on the suggestion of the absence of a quorum to permit me to speak in the intervening 5 minutes as if morning business?

Mr. REID. Yes. If my friend, when the chairman of the Appropriations Committee arrives, would not mind giving up the floor while we do about 3 minutes of business and return to the Senator.

Mr. SPECTER. I would be delighted to do that for the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DOMENICI. I would agree; so would the Senator be delighted to do it for me also?

Mr. SPECTER. I would.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Senator.

LINE-ITEM VETO

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition in morning business to urge the President of the United States to exercise the line-item veto at this time because I believe there is constitutional authority to do so without a constitutional amendment or without any other statutory authorization.

The line-item veto is the authority which would permit the President as Chief Executive of the United States to strike out individual items in the appropriations process without vetoing the entire bill. It has been the subject of extensive debate in the Congress of the United States and throughout the country because our appropriations bills are filled with many items of questionable value for the country, under the so-called category of pork politics.

It has generally been accepted that a constitutional amendment or some additional statutory authorization would be necessary for the President to exercise the line-item veto. After considerable research, it is my conclusion that constitutional authority exists at the present for the President to exercise the line-item veto. I base this on the history of article I, section 7, clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution which was taken from the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 under which the Governor of Massachusetts had the authority to exercise the line-item veto.

Massachusetts confronted the situation where the legislature was engaging in excessive spending, and the Massachusetts Constitution had language,

which was later adopted for the U.S. Constitution, to authorize the Governor of Massachusetts to exercise the line-item veto. After the U.S. Constitution adopted the provisions of the line-item veto, the provisions were adopted in the new constitutions of several States, specifically Pennsylvania, Georgia, Kentucky, and Vermont.

James Bowdoin, Governor of Massachusetts, argued during the Massachusetts ratifying convention that the veto power was to be read in light of the Massachusetts experience in which the line-item veto was exercised by the Governor.

In the Federalist No. 69, Alexander Hamilton wrote that the constitutional veto power "tallies exactly with the revisionary authority of the council of revision" in New York, which had the power to revise appropriations bills, not merely turn down the entire legislative enactment.

So there is clear-cut authority when article I, section 7, clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution was adopted that it was based upon the precedent for Massachusetts and the other States as already noted which had recognized a line-item veto.

Mr. President, it is worth noting that President Jefferson exercised the line-item veto in 1801 when he refused to spend some \$50,000 on gunboats as appropriated by Congress. While in that situation the facts behind the appropriation had materially changed, it was clear that this was an exercise of the line-item veto.

Later, President Andrew Jackson declined over congressional objection to enforce provisions of a congressional enactment in 1830, and President John Tyler in 1842 refused to execute portions of a bill, in effect constituting a line-item veto.

These precedents and this historical basis I cite, Mr. President, for the proposition that the President of the United States currently does have the authority to exercise the line-item veto.

There is no doubt about the problem of the deficit. There is no need to discuss that issue. The provisions of constitutional authority, I submit, are solid. At the very least, the exercise of the line-item veto would result in a constitutional test, and in my legal judgment, based on these legal precedents, would be upheld.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, all sides are represented on the floor at this

time with respect to the bone of contention that has kept the Interior Appropriations bill from being finally acted upon. I think all sides are in agreement with respect to the unanimous consent request which I shall take. I shall read it all but not put it until everybody hears it.

I shall ask unanimous consent that the cloture vote on H.R. 2520 currently scheduled for 2:15 p.m. today be vitiated and that it be in order to request the yeas and nays on the conference report on H.R. 2520. I will then further ask unanimous consent that the vote on the conference report occur at 2:15 p.m. today; that upon disposition of the conference report, the Senate concur en bloc with the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate with the exception of amendments numbered 123 and 124, and that it be in order that the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 123 and 124 and that the motions to reconsider en bloc be laid on the table en bloc, and that the preceding will all occur without intervening action or debate.

That will be the request that I shall make shortly.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI].

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, might I ask the distinguished chairman just one question and then clearly I am disposed to have no objection.

As I understand it, as to 123, which is the subject matter of this grazing and range management language, when the exception is taken for that amendment and all others are going to be passed, do I take it then that the bill is completed, that there is nothing for the House to do?

Mr. BYRD. That is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, if the Senator propounds this request, and I hope he does, I will have no objection. And I understand Senator NICKLES, who cannot be here, has no objection either.

Mr. WALLOP addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP], is recognized.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, I may say that the staff of the Energy Committee has reviewed the language of this, also, and finds precisely what is described by the Senator from West Virginia.

I told him earlier that it is a pleasure for the Senator from Wyoming to be on the other side of the issue with the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. But I would have to say to the Senate that there is no more courtly, no more courteous, no more fairer opponent than the Senator from West Virginia. Indeed, the Senate is, after all, an arena, not a State. It is a place to do the combat. And the Senator from West Virginia has both ideas and the ability to do combat.

I want to express my admiration and respect for him. I thank him for his help in resolving this issue.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Wyoming for his overly generous remarks. I am very grateful.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI].

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, once again I want to say to my friend, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, this has been a particularly difficult situation. I have told the chairman on numerous occasions I never intended to kill this bill—and I did not. My instincts and premonition about this body and Senators that are here, and will come back, all those things told me we would pass this Interior bill.

Frankly, there are other ways it could have been solved. But I am very pleased that it is solved this way.

I might say to my friend from West Virginia, one additional piece of information. We have every reason to believe that Senator BENNETT JOHNSTON, accompanied by the ranking member, Senator WALLOP, will have in-depth hearings on all of the subjects that were in this authorizing language.

In fact, we have requested them formally of him today. I do not think there is any doubt that this debate has proven that we must do that in fairness to the U.S. Senate, but more importantly, to the people on both sides, those who want more reform, so-called, more changes, and those who are very worried about their future.

So, hopefully, if we do that right, we will not be here—I am not saying we never will on this issue in an appropriations bill. But our genuine hope is that we will find a way to do this by authorizing in the event the Secretary proceeds beyond what we think is the way to do it.

I thank the Senator once again.

Mr. BYRD. I thank my friend from New Mexico.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID. Mr. President, my record on this debate this morning is replete with statements by this Senator, about the Senator from West Virginia—how much I appreciate his wisdom and guidance in working this bill to this point where we now have a resolution of the matter.

I am not entirely happy with it. But I want the record to reflect how grateful I am to the President pro tempore of the Senate for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank all Senators, and I thank them for their dedication to the position which they have taken throughout the debate.

To use former Senator Baker's expression, "I did not have a dog in this fight," except the bill.

So I asked Senator REID to take whatever action that he could to work out and would find necessary, and whatever that was, I would stay with him. And if his ship went down, I would go down with it.

I have complete confidence in Senator REID. That confidence is not something that did not spring up like a prophet's gourd overnight. It has been borne over many years of association with him.

I have not had my confidence in him shattered or impaired or in any way shaken. He is a vigorous fighter for his position or cause, whatever it is, at a given time. He is a determined, very knowledgeable, and extremely able Senator. He is loyal to his beliefs, loyal to his friends, he is fair, trustworthy, and he keeps his word. And whatever he says his position is, that is where it will be found.

So I want to extend my deepest expressions of appreciation to him for the good work that he has done on this bill. He often conducts hearings on my behalf in the subcommittee. However, this matter is finally concluded, I want him to take heart in the knowledge that he did his best and wants to do no more.

For those who took the opposite view, I thank them for their courtesies and for their dedication to their position, their cause. They were determined, and they presented a formidable and unbreakable line of defense with respect to the filibuster. I hope it will not happen again on my bill at some future time.

But I have respect for everybody involved in this. I respect them all. And I also have a great deal of respect for the Secretary, the Secretary of Interior.

I am just glad, Mr. President, that all minds seem to be in agreement now with respect to the request that I am about to make.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the cloture vote on H.R. 2520 currently scheduled for 2:15 p.m. today be vitiated; that it be in order to request the yeas and nays on the conference report on H.R. 2520.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the vote

on the conference report occur at 2:15 p.m. today; that upon the disposition of the conference report, the Senate concur en bloc with the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate with the exception of amendments numbered 123 and 124; and that it be in order that the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 123 and 124; that the motions to reconsider be laid on the table en bloc; and that the preceding all occur without intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a Senate precedent.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE PRECEDENT

SUBJECT HEADING(S)

Amendments between Houses, Recede.
Amendments between Houses, Table.

HEADNOTE(S)

When the Senate is considering a House amendment to a Senate amendment to a House bill, it is in order for the Senate to either recede from its amendment or table its amendment.

STATEMENT OF FACT

On June 25, 1984, the Senate agreed to the conference report on H.J. Res. 492, making urgent supplemental appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, for fiscal year 1984, and had disposed of all amendments in disagreement except Senate amendment No. 14 (relating to aid to rebel forces in Nicaragua), to which was pending an amendment of the House (prohibiting such aid). Note the following:

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Kasten of Wisconsin). The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14 to the aforesaid resolution and concur therein with an amendment as follows:

* * * * *

Mr. HATFIELD (of Oregon). Mr. President, this is the amendment dealing with the subject of Nicaragua, aid to Nicaragua. I now move that the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 14. * * * Mr. President, this is a motion to have the Senate recede from its original amendment, and that original amendment added \$21 million for the CIA for covert assistance to Nicaraguan rebels, when we first considered the House-passed measure last March. Although the House subsequently concurred in our amendment with a further amendment, this motion will have the effect of deleting the entire issue from this measure, so there will be no funds, and neither will there be any language, with respect to Nicaragua.

Mr. President, I make this motion in order, in effect, to strike from this bill all matters dealing with Nicaragua—money, language, otherwise.

After several hours of debate on the motion to recede, Mr. Hatfield successfully moved to table the Senate amendment. Note the question of the majority leader (Mr. Baker of Tennessee) and the response of the Chair (Mrs. Kassebaum of Kansas):

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, am I correct now that the vote just taken, which disposes of the last remaining amendment in disagreement, is the final action required by the Senate on the measure?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is correct.

(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: (98-2) pp. S8158, 8172-73.)

PARLIAMENTARIAN'S NOTE(S)

Note the following proceedings in the House the next day:

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 492) making an urgent supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, for the Department of Agriculture, with the remaining amendment, and that the House recede from its amendment to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14 and agree to the action of the Senate.

This is necessary in order for the bill to go to the President, and as I say again, everyone that I have talked to agrees that it is necessary.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

(See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (98-2) p. H6834.)

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1607) to control and prevent crime.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

(1) Gramm amendment No. 1130, to strike provisions repealing minimum mandatory sentencing, and to provide for increased mandatory minimum sentences for criminals using firearms.

(2) Dole amendment No. 1140, to make grants to States for enforcement programs to reduce the participation of juveniles in drug related crimes, and establish penalties for persons involved in criminal street gang activities.

(3) Lieberman amendment No. 1141, to make carjacking a Federal offense without regard to whether the offense is committed with the use of a firearm and to authorize imposition of the death penalty if death results from commission of the offense.

(4) Lieberman amendment No. 1143, to provide for the declaration of violent crime and drug emergency areas, and to provide emergency Federal assistance to protect property, public health, and safety.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for their cooperation in the last several days in attempting to help the managers in how we proceed and to what amendments we proceed.

By way of recapping what we have attempted to do, we have attempted to deal with those amendments that relate to putting more crime prevention assets on the streets—that is, more police, dealing with the question of incarceration, boot camps, prisons. Yester-

day, the Senator from Utah and I introduced a package that, understandably in the way this Byzantine process works, has essentially gone unnoticed, which is to drastically beef up the law enforcement in dealing with rural crime in America significantly by allowing them access to DEA agents, Federal agents to help provide significant sums of money to help an area where crime is escalating at a higher rate than in the cities—in rural America.

Maybe it is only Senators from not a city small in the geographic sense but small in population, with basically rural constituencies, small towns, like the Senator from Utah and I, who focus on this. But it is a big deal. The point is that we have attempted, with the help of many people on the floor, Democrats and Republicans alike, to deal with the only thing—not the only thing, but the thing that matters most in this crime bill; what matters most in this crime bill is getting help to local law enforcement where 96 percent of all of the crime occurs, and where 96 percent of all of the jurisdiction lies on all of the 5.7 million felonies committed, crimes are committed on a yearly basis here in the United States.

We have then moved basically to deal with penalties, Federal penalties, either by beefing up Federal penalties for violations of Federal law, which is totally within our purview and jurisdiction, to Democrats and Republicans coming to the floor and attempting to federalize State crimes. That has been done with some success. I suspect the Senator from Utah and I will disagree on the utility of that.

I think, quite frankly, I agree with the majority leader as it relates to the penalties we have imposed here. That and 85 cents will get you a cup of coffee on Amtrak when you ride down with me on the train in the morning. I think they are essentially worthless. There is a mood here that if someone came to the floor and said we should barb wire the ankles of anyone who jaywalks, I suspect it would pass, considering the mood we are in today. But I hope the press and others pay attention at least to one Senator's point of view that they do not mean anything. They do not mean anything of any consequence.

The thing that matters in this bill is that we have done two very important things. We have agreed to spend over \$21 billion on law enforcement and prevention of crimes over a 5-year period. It matters because that is how we aid the States. We have in here significant pieces that have gone unnoticed, understandably, because there is no debate about them in the Biden underlying crime bill—significant pieces of legislation that in fact deal with prevention and diversion of first-time offenders from the criminal justice system, significant amounts of money for drug treatment, not because we are

being noble about it, but because we know that if we do not treat drug addicts and get them off their habit, they commit 200 crimes a year. It makes sense for us to put them in prison and treat them there, instead of letting tens of thousands of them every year out of State prisons, untreated and still on drugs, and walking out the door and before they get to the bus stop, committing another crime.

So we do a lot in here that is going to have a phenomenal impact on the ability of local law enforcement to do their jobs to protect the communities and take back our streets.

In addition to that, today, with the help of the Senator from New Mexico and the help of the Senator from West Virginia, we are going to do what I suggested 5 years ago in the first Biden crime bill. We are going to add significant amounts of money for Federal law enforcement, for FBI agents, which we did yesterday, for prosecutors, for helping the Federal court system. That package is going to be about a billion dollars. It is a big-ticket item. But the interesting part of all this is that this is the first debate—and I have been the primary author of every crime bill since 1975 because of my job on this committee, not because I know any more than the rest of these folks or have any more insight, it is because it lands on my plate. Budget matters lay on the plate of the Senator from New Mexico. Appropriations matters are on the plate of the Senator from West Virginia. This lands on my plate.

I want to tell you that this is the first time I can recall passing a crime bill—or about to pass a crime bill—where we are not arguing about whether or not we are going to pay for this. The real news about this debate is, you have Democrats and Republicans almost unanimously having gotten together and said, you know what, we are going to pay for this with real money. We are trading, in effect, in this bill bureaucrats for cops. CBO came along and said, hey, look, there is a real savings of about \$22 billion on cutting 250,000 folks from the Federal work force. That real savings, we said as a unit, Democrats and Republicans, we are going to take that money and dedicate it to dealing with crime in America, to help the States and Federal law enforcement. That is a big deal.

But now we are getting into what I facetiously refer to—and I should not be so facetious, but after a while doing this, maybe you might argue you are entitled to be facetious once in a while—we are now into what I call the barbed wire amendments—those amendments that are going to show everybody how tough we are. Maybe they will have some effect. But I want to advertise as the author of the underlying bill, as the author of the death penalty amendments, they are not going to have much effect. They make sense and

they are useful, but we should not overpromise the effect they are going to have.

We are actually going to take real money and give it to States to hire real cops and put them on real streets—not in their cars, but on their feet walking the beat—among other things we do in the bill. So we have left penalty amendments.

The second thing we have left on this bill are gun amendments and antigun amendments. The distinguished Senator from Ohio [Senator METZENBAUM], who has been the leader in the assault weapons fight for the last God knows how many years, and the distinguished Senator from California, who has taken a major role in that effort, as has Senator LEVIN from Michigan and the Senator from Arizona, whose bill is the only one that ever passed the Senate on assault weapons. They are all here and are ready to go shortly on an assault weapons ban.

The distinguished Presiding Officer has probably the only antigun amendment I have ever found that almost everybody is for, and for that I compliment him.

He has worked hard and long to fashion a bill that would make it illegal under most all circumstances to transfer a gun to a child. The irony is you cannot transfer a car to a child, you cannot transfer about anything to a child, but you can transfer a gun to a child. He has a major piece of legislation to deal with that.

There are other antigun amendments that are going to be offered today, I expect. And there are gun penalty amendments that will be offered today. My distinguished friend from New York is about to be recognized or will soon seek recognition. He has one that deals with penalties relating to the use of a gun, federalizing a number of State crimes.

Nonetheless, we have two types of amendments that will come up today relating to guns, those that increase the penalties for the misuse of those guns, and others that are going to be brought up today that attempt to limit access to certain types of guns under certain circumstances.

So that is the second batch of amendments we are going to try to deal with today.

There is a third group of amendments that we are going to be attempting to deal with today, and they are amendments that relate to habeas corpus. The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, who is someone who knows a great deal about habeas corpus, has some changes he wants to make. The distinguished Senator from California has views on habeas corpus as well, and she is going to have an amendment later today on habeas corpus. There are also what I refer to as miscellaneous amendments, and those amendments range everywhere, go to all parts of the

bill. I cannot generically categorize them.

There are amendments like that of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], who would like to be able to access moneys in other parts of the bill to pay for the police corps portion of the bill.

There are a number of amendments that go to all of the bill that are single rifle shots—no pun intended—at pieces of the bill attempting to improve it or, from my perspective, diminish the impact of the bill.

The reason I am bothering to say this is that a number of our colleagues wonder whether there is any order to this. I know those who manage massive bills will understand the dilemma the Senator from Utah and I are in as to our inability to say with certainty and outline how these amendments will be ordered. We do not have the authority to say you go first, you go second, you go third, and you go fourth, under our rules in the Senate. I am sure it confuses the public and the gallery on occasion that any Senator can stand up at any time and seek recognition. If he or she is the first on their feet, they can get recognition, and they can offer anything at all.

I expect before this debate is over we will be debating about everything from abortion to star wars. Some will have amendments on totally unrelated items, I expect.

But let me tell you what we are going to try to do, and then I will cease and desist. We have a number of votes ordered beginning at 2:15, three to be exact, and a fourth which we hope to get ordered; two Lieberman amendments, an amendment by the distinguished Senator, the Republican leader, Senator DOLE, and there was another amendment. It slips my mind at the moment. And there is a cloture vote on Interior.

What I would like to do this morning—and I ask for the attention of my friend from New York, Senator D'AMATO—is Senator D'AMATO has an amendment which he has been waiting to offer since we started the bill. Is he prepared to enter into a time agreement? I would like to attempt to get time agreements on all amendments if we can.

Mr. D'AMATO. I believe we agreed to a half-hour equally divided.

Mr. BIDEN. That has already been ordered?

Mr. D'AMATO. That is my understanding.

Mr. BIDEN. That is the order?

Mr. HATCH. I do not think it has.

Mr. BIDEN. I do not think it has been done.

It was agreed to between us, but we did not clear it with all sides last night.

So I ask unanimous consent that when we proceed to the amendment by the Senator from New York relative to

guns and the death penalty that there be a half-hour equally divided—no. I take that back. It has not been cleared on the Democratic side. I cannot make that request.

So why do I not just yield the floor for whoever seeks recognition and let this thing roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I do not plan to take much time here. I compliment the distinguished Senator from Delaware for his outline of really where we are right now. He is absolutely correct.

For the first time in decades, we have a bill here that is going to be paid for, that is going to make a major difference in criminal activity in this society. The major difference it will make is by getting 100,000 policemen on the streets, by having adequate prison space to be able to house those hardened, violent, vicious criminals who are just going through the revolving door and walking out on society and committing more crimes. When the average murderer is convicted for only 15 years and spends less than 6 years in prison, you know darn well something is wrong. That is just one illustration. There are many, many others.

We have a chance here of amending mandatory minimums, that literally are tough for hardened criminals but with some flexibility. The judges throughout this country have asked both the distinguished chairman and myself to consider some flexibility with regard to first-time offenders who literally were not violent and who did not push drugs in the schools.

That is a major change. That is very, very important. It is one of the fine-tuning changes. But the Senator from Delaware is right. The importance of this bill is that we are going to pay for getting 100,000 people on the streets to help our cities, towns, and hamlets. We are going to have the prison space. We are going to have a domestic violence and violence-against-women approach that really is long overdue in this society.

We are beefing up the FBI and the DEA. We are going to provide the necessary construction moneys to do the job down at Quantico which attracts law enforcement people from all over the world, but primarily from our country, to go through the best course of instruction on law enforcement available anywhere in the world and to beef up that section, that psychiatric section that really is making a difference in all of our States and throughout the Federal Government with regard to serial murders, other vicious crimes, especially murder in particular.

There is no use kidding ourselves, some of these tough-on-crime amendments may not have tremendous effect

because we do not have that many crimes that are handled by the Federal laws. On the other hand, they will make a difference because these amendments are sending the message across this country that the Congress has finally awakened, we are tired of our streets being overrun by the people who commit crime, tired of the viciousness going on, tired of the misuse of weapons throughout society, tired of illegal weapons throughout our country, frankly, tired of gangs and everything else.

We are going to have an opportunity to vote on a gang amendment filed by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, the minority leader, and I think it is an opportunity to stand up against gangs at a time we need to do that.

There is a variety of things that some feel are not that valid or that important, but they are important. Even though from a Federal standpoint we may not accomplish that much, the message we send out is very, very important.

Where we are in danger is on some of these, what the distinguished Senator from Delaware has categorized as barbed wire amendments. Let us face it. If this approach breaks down into a gun debate and certain gun amendments are put on this bill, the bill will break down like it always has. Frankly, there are those who do not want a tough-on-crime bill and who may do everything they can behind the scenes to stop it.

We have a chance here for the first time in decades to really put through a bill that will make a difference in our society. When I think of just the rural crime provisions that the distinguished Senator from Delaware and I and others have put in here, I have to say that that is the first time we have given that kind of consideration in a major way to rural crime in the history of the country.

This bill has all the earmarks of being one of the best anticrime bills, if not the best, in the history of the country. I am hopeful that we can get through some of these tough amendments. I am hopeful we will not enact a number of them, because if we do, then I have to say that both sides come unglued and what happens to be one of the finest crime bills in history, if not the finest, from the Federal Government's standpoint, could go down into a whimpering defeat rather than accomplish what we hope we will accomplish.

If we can keep this bill clean, if we can keep some of these amendments off and begin to argue against them—and I hope our colleagues will listen to these arguments—if we can keep it clean, then we have a chance of passing this wonderful bill, which right now is a wonderful bill, through both Houses of Congress with the President's blessing and giving the administration a tre-

mendous victory but giving both sides, Democrats and Republicans, a terrific bipartisan victory that will benefit every American citizen.

So I hope that we will listen on this matter and try to keep this bill as clean as we can and worry a little bit more about the money issues, the help-to-the-States issues that we have, and if we will, we will get a bill that all of us will be proud of and every one of us will be glad we went through.

I have to admit some on the extreme in our society may not want anything to go through, but those of us who are responsible want this bill to go through.

I prefer if we could shut it down right now and put it through, we would have a wonderful bill here that could make a real difference in our society.

I know we have amendments. I know the distinguished Senator from New York is ready to go and others here on the floor. So I yield the floor at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO].

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I call for the regular order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order is the Gramm amendment No. 1130, as amended.

AMENDMENT NO. 1147 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1130, AS MODIFIED

(Purpose: To impose mandatory prison terms for use, possession, or carrying of a firearm or destructive device during a State crime of violence or State drug trafficking crime, and the death penalty for murders involving firearms)

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of myself, Senators DOMENICI, STEVENS, DOLE, MCCAIN, PRESSLER, GRAMM, and others, and, Mr. President, I send to the desk a substitute amendment for the amendment of the Senator from Texas, as amended by the amendment of the Senator from Utah, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] for himself and Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. DOLE, and Mr. GRAMM proposes an amendment numbered 1147 to amendment No. 1130.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted, insert the following:

Subtitle B—Mandatory Minimum Sentence Guidelines

SEC. 2911. FLEXIBILITY IN APPLICATION OF MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCE PROVISIONS IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.

(a) AMENDMENT OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—Section 3553 of title 18, United States

Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(F) MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCE PROVISIONS.—

"(1) SENTENCING UNDER THIS SECTION.—In the case of an offense described in paragraph (2), the court shall, notwithstanding the requirement of a mandatory minimum sentence in that section, impose a sentence in accordance with this section and the sentencing guidelines and any pertinent policy statement issued by the United States Sentencing Commission.

"(2) OFFENSES.—An offense is described in this paragraph if—

"(A) the defendant is subject to a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment under section 401 or 402 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841 and 844) or section 1010 of the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21 U.S.C. 960);

"(B) the defendant does not have—

"(i) more than 0 criminal history point under the sentencing guidelines; or

"(ii) any prior conviction, foreign or domestic, for a crime of violence against the person or drug trafficking offense that resulted in a sentence of imprisonment (or an adjudication as a juvenile delinquent for an act that, if committed by an adult, would constitute a crime of violence against the person or drug trafficking offense);

"(C) the offense did not result in death or serious bodily injury (as defined in section 1365) to any person—

"(i) as a result of the act of any person during the course of the offense; or

"(ii) as a result of the use by any person of a controlled substance that was involved in the offense;

"(D) the defendant did not carry or otherwise have possession of a firearm (as defined in section 921) or other dangerous weapon during the course of the offense and did not direct another person who possessed a firearm to do so and the defendant had no knowledge of any other conspirator involved possessing a firearm;

"(E) the defendant was not an organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor of others (as defined or determined under the sentencing guidelines) in the offense; and

"(F) the defendant was nonviolent in that the defendant did not use, attempt to use, or make a credible threat to use physical force against the person of another during the course of the offense."

"(G) The defendant did not own the drugs, finance any part of the offense, or sell the drugs.

(b) HARMONIZATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The United States Sentencing Commission—

(A) may make such amendments as it deems necessary and appropriate to harmonize the sentencing guidelines and policy statements with section 3553(f) of title 18, United States Code, as added by subsection (a), and promulgate policy statements to assist the courts in interpreting that provision; and

(B) shall amend the sentencing guidelines, if necessary, to assign to an offense under section 401 or 402 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841 and 844) or section 1010 of the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21 U.S.C. 960) to which a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment applies a guideline level that will result in the imposition of a term of imprisonment at least equal to the mandatory term of imprisonment that is currently applicable unless a downward adjustment is authorized under section 3553(f) of title 18, United States Code, as added by subsection (a).

(2) If the Commission determines that an expedited procedure is necessary in order for amendments made pursuant to paragraph (1) to become effective on the effective date specified in subsection (c), the Commission may promulgate such amendments as emergency amendments under the procedures set forth in section 21(a) of the Sentencing Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-182; 101 Stat. 1271), as though the authority under that section had not expired.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) and any amendments to the sentencing guidelines made by the United States Sentencing Commission pursuant to subsection (b) shall apply with respect to sentences imposed for offenses committed on or after the date that is 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any defendant who has been sentenced pursuant to 3553 (f) who is subsequently convicted to a violation of the Controlled Substances Act or any crime of violence for which imposition of a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment is required, he or she shall be sentenced to an additional 5 years imprisonment.

SEC. . MANDATORY PRISON TERMS FOR USE, POSSESSION, OR CARRYING OF A FIREARM OR DESTRUCTIVE DEVICE DURING A STATE CRIME OF VIOLENCE OR STATE DRUG TRAFFICKING CRIME.

Section 924(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(4)(A) A person who, during and in relation to a crime of violence or drug trafficking crime (including a crime of violence or drug trafficking crime that provides for an enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon or device) for which the person may be prosecuted in a court of any State—

"(i) in the case of a first conviction of such a crime, in addition to the sentence imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime—

"(I) knowingly possesses a firearm shall be imprisoned not less than 10 years;

"(II) discharges a firearm with intent to injure another person shall be imprisoned not less than 20 years; or

"(III) knowingly possesses a firearm that is a machinegun or destructive device or is equipped with a firearm silencer or firearm muffler shall be imprisoned not less than 30 years;

"(ii) in the case of a second conviction of such a crime, in addition to the sentence imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime—

"(I) shall be imprisoned not less than 20 years if the person was in possession of a firearm during and in relation to the violence or drug trafficking crime;

"(II) shall be imprisoned not less than 30 years if the person discharged a firearm during and in relation to the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime; or

"(III) if the person discharges a firearm that is a machinegun or a destructive device or is equipped with a firearm silencer or firearm muffler, shall be imprisoned for life; and

"(iii) in the case of a third or subsequent conviction of such a crime, shall be imprisoned for life.

"(B)(i) Notwithstanding any other law, a court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person convicted of a violation of this subsection, nor shall a term of imprisonment imposed under this subsection run concurrently with any other term of imprisonment including that imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime in which the firearm was used.

"(ii) No person sentenced under this subsection shall be released for any reason whatsoever during a term of imprisonment imposed under this paragraph.

"(C) For the purposes of paragraph (A), a person shall be considered to be in possession of a firearm if—

"(i) in the case of a crime of violence, the person touches a firearm at the scene of the crime at any time during the commission of the crime; and

"(ii) in the case of a drug trafficking crime, the person has a firearm readily available at the scene of the crime.

"(D) Except in the case of a person who engaged in or participated in criminal conduct that gave rise to the occasion for the person's use of a firearm, this paragraph has no application to a person who may be found to have committed a criminal act while acting in defense of person or property during the course of a crime being committed by another person (including the arrest or attempted arrest of the offender during or immediately after the commission of the crime).

"(E) In this paragraph—

"crime of violence" means an offense that is punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year and—

"(I) has as an element the use, attempted use, or threatened use of physical force against the person or property of another; or

"(II) by its nature involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used during the course of the offense.

"drug trafficking crime" means a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year involving the manufacture, distribution, possession, cultivation, sale, or transfer of a controlled substance, controlled substance analogue immediate precursor, or listed chemical (as those terms are defined in section 102 of the Controlled Substance Act (21 U.S.C. 802)), or an attempt or conspiracy to commit such a crime.

"(F) It is the intent of Congress that—

"(i) this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the effort of State and local prosecutors in prosecuting crimes of violence and drug trafficking crimes that could be prosecuted under State law; and

"(ii) the Attorney General shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

"(G) This paragraph does not create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any manner, civil or criminal, nor does it place any limitations on otherwise lawful prerogatives of the Attorney General.

"(H) There is a Federal jurisdiction over an offense under this paragraph if a firearm involved in the offense has moved at any time in interstate or foreign commerce."

SEC. . MURDER INVOLVING FIREARM.

"(A) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section 540(a), is amended by adding at the end the following section:

"§ 1122. Murder involving firearm

"(a) OFFENSE.—A person who has been found guilty of causing, through the use of a firearm, as defined in section 921 of this title, the death of another person, intentionally, knowingly, or through recklessness manifesting extreme indifference to human life, or through the intentional infliction of serious bodily injury, shall be punished by death or imprisoned for any term of years or for life. Whenever the government seeks a sentence of death under this section, the procedures set forth in title 18, chapter 228, shall apply.

"(b) JURISDICTION.—There is Federal jurisdiction over an offense under this section if—

"(1) the conduct of the offender occurred in the course of an offense against the United States; or

"(2) a firearm involved in the offense has moved at any time in interstate or foreign commerce."

"(C) It is the intent of Congress that—

"(1) this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the efforts of State and local prosecutors in prosecuting murders involving firearms that have moved in interstate or foreign commerce that could be prosecuted under State law; and

"(2) the Attorney General shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

"(d) This paragraph does not create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any manner, civil or criminal, nor does it place any limitations on otherwise lawful prerogatives of the Attorney General.

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.—The chapter analysis for chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section 504(b), is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

"Sec. 1122. Murder involving firearm."

SEC. . MANDATORY MINIMUM PRISON SENTENCES FOR THOSE WHO SELL ILLEGAL DRUGS TO MINORS OR WHO USE MINORS IN DRUG TRAFFICKING ACTIVITIES.

(a) DISTRIBUTION TO PERSONS UNDER AGE 18.—Section 418 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 859) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a) (first offense) by inserting after the second sentence "Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided by section 401(b), a term or imprisonment under this subsection in a case involving distribution to a person under 18 years of age by a person 21 or more years of age shall be not less than 10 years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence."; and

(2) in subsection (b) (second offense) by inserting after the second sentence "Except to the extent a greater sentence is otherwise authorized by section 401(b), a term of imprisonment under this subsection in a case involving distribution to a person under 18 years of age by a person 21 or more years of age shall be a mandatory term of life imprisonment. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence."

(b) EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE.—Section 420 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 861) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b) by adding at the end of the following: "Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided, a term of imprisonment of a person 21 or more years of age convicted under this subsection shall be not less than 10 years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence."; and

(2) in subsection (c) (penalty for second offenses) by inserting after the second sentence the following: "Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided, a term of imprisonment of a person 21 or more years of age convicted under this subsection shall be a mandatory term of life imprisonment. Notwithstanding any other

provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence."

SEC. . LIFE IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT RELEASE FOR DRUG FELONS AND VIOLENT CRIMINALS CONVICTED A THIRD TIME.

Section 401(b)(1)(A) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841(b)(1)(A)) is amended by striking "If any person commits a violation of this subparagraph or of section 418, 419, or 420 after two or more prior convictions for a felony drug offense have become final, such person shall be sentenced to a mandatory term of life imprisonment without release and fined in accordance with the preceding sentence" and inserting "If any person commits a violation of this subparagraph or of section 418, 419, or 420 (21 U.S.C. 859, 860, and 861) or a crime of violence after 2 or more prior convictions for a felony drug offense or crime of violence or for any combination thereof have become final, such person shall be sentenced to not less than a mandatory term of life imprisonment without release and fined in accordance with the preceding sentence. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'crime of violence' means an offense that is a felony punishable by a maximum term of imprisonment of 10 years or more and has as an element the use, attempted use, or threatened use of physical force against the person or property of another, or by its nature involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used in the course of committing the offense."

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I see my good friend, Senator STEVENS, who is here and would like to speak to the amendment.

I yield 5 minutes to Senator STEVENS.

Mr. STEVENS. I thank my good friend. I have another appointment and I am grateful to him for letting me speak first on his amendment.

Mr. President, I do support the D'Amato amendment for the simple reason that I believe the only way to curb gun crime is to make everyone know there are very strict penalties for the illegal use of guns. It is that simple.

A 1988 Department of Justice study of 36 States showed that average violent offenders' sentences were about 8 years, but the actual time spent in jail behind bars averaged less than 3 years, about 37 percent of the sentences imposed. Overall, 51 percent of the violent offenders in the survey were back on the streets in 2 years and 76 were out in 4 years.

And the study showed what felons do after they gain freedom. These are the violent, violent felons. The study found 63 percent were rearrested within 3 years and a third of those were for very violent offenses.

Now, the only proven way to make sure to keep these people from committing violent crimes with guns is to let them know that they will be kept in jail until they get the message. Once a person commits a violent crime with a gun, no other deterrent works. Rehabilitation does not work; gun control does not work.

The choice for society to be safe is to let everyone know that using a gun in the commission of a violent crime will lead to a very, very long sentence.

The D'Amato amendment guarantees long prison sentences with tough mandatory minimum sentences for those who carry a firearm in a violent or drug crime. The sentences are—and let me enumerate them:

Ten years for firearm possession during the commission of a crime; 20 years for firing a gun during the commission of a crime; and 30 years for using a machine gun or a silencer.

Now those have been absolutely prohibited for years but they are back on our streets.

The D'Amato amendment provides a death penalty if someone is killed when a gun is used in the commission of a violent crime.

I urge the adoption of this amendment. It is time we had such a law.

Mr. D'AMATO addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the senator from New York.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague from New Mexico has a committee hearing. He is an original cosponsor, along with Senator STEVENS. He would like to speak to this, so I would yield to him whatever time he might deem appropriate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. President, first, congratulations to Senator D'AMATO for his persistence. This bill was a good law last year, a good law 3 years ago, and it is a better law today.

But somehow the crime bill did not make it through both Houses, although he has been trying to get those who use guns in the commission of crimes, get their penalties dramatically increased and increase the jurisdiction of the Federal courts when these guns have been used in interstate commerce.

Some people think we ought to control guns. I do, too. But I think the best control is to make crime with a gun not pay. And how do you do that?

You do it by adopting the D'Amato-Domenici amendment. It will spread through the hoods and street gangsters of America quicker than anything else if they find out that their buddies who have a gun in the commission of a crime get a 10-year mandatory sentence for the first time that happens, and it gets progressively worse after that.

Clearly, when you use a silencer or a machine gun, you get the death penalty.

I believe the various mandated prison sentences here, when we finally get this passed, when we finally get it into the Federal courts, which we are going to do when we adopt this amendment—hopefully, it will go through both

Houses—those who today run roughshod with guns, who are thumbing their noses at everyone who is saying we want to control guns, they are over there laughing while they use them, they will soon stop using them because they will be in prison. And the message to the others will be rampant and it will be immediately perceived as something that ought to stop.

So I am pleased to be on this. I hope the Senate adopts it. I hope the Senator is prepared to spend as much time as he needs to make sure we pass it.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. D'AMATO addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New York.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays. I see both floor managers here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I believe the D'Amato-Domenici legislation is long overdue. We passed it in the Senate. It died in the House. It was not enacted. It died because I believe there are people who are more interested in putting out press clips about regulating handguns.

I refer to an article that appeared in this week's, November 15, Newsweek, by George Will, in which Mr. Will says: "Ninety-three percent of the guns obtained by violent criminals are not obtained by legal means."

Now whether the Brady bill passes or not, do you think the 30 or 40 million guns that are out there on the streets now, that there is going to be any impact on those guns?

The fact of the matter is that you can have all of the licensing provisions in the world—and I am not going to argue or debate them. Whether or not they are going to be effective in curbing the violence and the crime, the drug crimes, the robberies, the assaults on innocent, decent people, I think is very, very speculative, to be charitable in one's assessment.

But let us look at the record. New York is probably one of the cities that is experiencing, like most of our urban centers, a rash of activities. Twenty percent of the deaths that take place by the use of handguns take place in New York City. Robbery, first degree, with a gun, the last figures we have are for 1990, possession of a weapon offense. In New York State, if you use a gun and you rob someone, you can expect to spend in prison, regardless of what they give you, the average of 244 days.

Mr. President, that is less than a year. We make a mockery and a sham out of the law.

So you can have a situation where someone comes in, uses a gun, robs someone, and the chances of that person being, by the way, convicted if

they are arrested, are only about 40 percent. And if you convict him, what does he get? He gets less than a year, and he or she is back out on the streets, a predator once again. They have total disdain, total disdain for the law.

Mr. President, I quote a friend and someone who has been involved in the business of law enforcement and is a chief judge of the first department of the court system in New York, in New York City. Justice Francis T. Murphy, in a speech that he made to Fordham Law School in 1987, said: "Government has no more essential duty than the protection of the lives of its people. Fail in this and it fails in everything."

Mr. President, we have failed. We have failed, because, instead of going at the cause—and that is the people who use guns—we do not and say: If you use the gun inappropriately, if you use it in a robbery, you will go to jail for at least 10 years.

Now, I would like to know who has trouble with that theory. If you think that the use of a gun, which has become so pervasive, is something that should be stopped and deterred, then you have got to say, if you use it, by gosh, you will pay dearly.

Let the criminals, let the thugs—let them have fear.

Why the Federal Government in this battle? I will tell my colleagues why. Because our court systems in our urban centers are jammed because we plea bargain the most hideous crimes down to nothing. They do not have adequate court personnel, prosecutors, and prison space. So a combination of events has led to a deterioration of our justice system where justice is lost.

Who becomes the victim? The victims, as Justice Murphy said, are our citizens, the ordinary men and women. They ask, how is it that they can no longer take a walk in the park; no longer can they visit a house of worship? How is it, no longer can they use public transportation? How is it that the moral passion for justice has been drained out of a society and in its place is an overwhelming sense of helplessness?

Here we are, passing these wonderful platitudes about how this crime bill is going to make a difference. It is not going to make a difference, I suggest, unless we really use the resources of this Government and unless the United States says we will engage the criminal; unless we begin to understand—whether it is the little street punk who puts a gun into somebody's face and holds them up or someone who walks into a mom-and-pop shop here in Washington, DC, and after robbing them kills them, shoots them, and creates the overwhelming pervasive fear that grips society—unless we begin to say this is the battle that we must win today to give freedom to our people, this, all I have heard so far, is not

going to do anything. We have not addressed that.

If you say that guns and the use of them by the predators who have taken over our streets should be stopped, then, by gosh, let us say we are going to engage them with the resources we have, and that is the Federal resources. For us to get letters from the judicial conference, from the Supreme Court Chief Justice saying the Federal courts are too important a place to try these cases, that these cases better should be handled in the local courts, I suggest demonstrates a total lack of sensitivity as to what is taking place to the people of our Nation throughout this country. They are being victimized. They see their loved ones imperiled. We see slaughter in the streets. To be quite candid, our State courts and our State prison systems in many cases are incapable of doing more.

If we do not come to the aid of our citizens, who will? What is a more important battle than providing for the domestic tranquility of our people? I would like to know.

As a practical matter, the first person who gets convicted of robbery in the first-degree with a weapon, by the time that happens, that is a person who has been arrested two, three, four, five times before, has been paroled, has been released, has had the previous arrest plea bargained down. They now have a total disdain and disrespect for the law. We understand, and most studies will tell you, that 3 to 4 percent of the criminal population creates 70 percent of the crime, the violent crime. So if we begin to use the resources of the Federal Government, if we, as I would envision, begin to get Federal prosecutors who say, "We see what is taking place," whether it be in the City of New York or the other great metropolitan areas, "and we are going to do our bit and take control of what heretofore we have viewed with disdain; the robbery cases, the violent cases where firearms have been used—" By the way, 90 percent of the firearms, and therefore the crimes that are being committed, would be covered under this legislation because 9 out of 10 guns cross State lines. Pursuant to the commerce clause, we could then take jurisdiction. Then I think we have a chance.

I think if we are passionate in our defense of our citizenry, and if we apply the law in the manner that will demonstrate to those who hear and see what is taking place that if you use a gun, you will go away for a long time, you will go to prison for 10 years; if you shoot the gun, 20 years; and if you kill someone, the death penalty—and if you get involved with machine guns, you know what? 30 years. If you use a silencer, that is a professional hit man—30 years. And, if you come out 10 years from now and you go back to your business, you go back for 20 years.

The death penalty, is it a deterrent? I am not going to get into that debate.

I believe it is. It is certainly going to take that person, when the execution takes place—you are not going to worry about him going back out and killing more people, first. That may be over simplistic, but it is a fact.

Second, there are some crimes that are so heinous, where there is such a lack of regard for people in the killing of others, that it is an appropriate punishment. It is society's way of saying you will pay with your life. I understand people may have differences as it relates to that. But there should be no doubt that as it relates to people who use guns in the commission of a crime, that we should say clearly, "Use that gun and you will go to prison for a minimum of 10 years."

The Federal Government, instead of giving just rhetoric and lip service to this battle, will engage it, engage it with its resources, with its commitment, and it will attempt to give back some kind of life to the ordinary men and women who see their rights being trampled upon. They see the Constitution of the United States being made a sham as a result of the fact that we have lost the moral commitment, the passion to stand up and take on the violent predators who have beaten us to our knees. We have become a passionless, pitiless society. I think there is no bigger battle that we can undertake, no more important battle, than to give our people domestic tranquility.

I will leave my colleagues with this. I have spent some time in our large cities. If you want to find out what is happening, you speak, sometimes, to the cabdriver when you come into a new town. You find out what they think. I do that.

From time to time, I meet someone who is a recent emigre to the United States. Although they came here for economic opportunity, more often than not these people tell me of their fear. They tell me of the fear they go through that they may be 1 of the 50 victims of crime—I think we have had as many as 55 cabdrivers or delivery drivers who have been killed in any one city. They are trying to earn a living for their families. They bemoan the fact that this great Nation has seen the loss of domestic tranquility, that criminals today have made it impossible for so many of our people to conduct their lives without the fear that they or their families may become victims.

Mr. President, for these reasons and many others that my colleagues will speak to, I hope we agree to this amendment. It is long overdue. We agreed to it before.

We have allowed high jinks because some of our colleagues in the other body have not seen fit to really engage this battle. It is great to talk about the Brady bill and licensing provisions. Again, that would ignore the fact that

more than 90 percent of the guns used to commit crimes are obtained illegally and all these well-intentioned provisions will fail to address that problem, will fail to take the predator off the streets. I say it is about time we really undertook that battle.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM].

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I thank our dear colleague from New York for his amendment. As the author of the underlying amendment, I am in favor of his addition and revision. I think we have put together here, now, if the D'Amato amendment to my underlying amendment is adopted, the nucleus of the toughest crime bill ever passed in American history.

I thought I would come over today, since much of this debate was done late last evening, and since yesterday because of the flu I was still pretty much unable to talk. I think today I have somewhat recovered from that. I thought it would be important to come over and talk about this amendment as a whole, now, with the D'Amato amendment in it, and to express my support for what the distinguished Senator from New York is trying to do.

The underlying amendment is an effort to set into law mandatory minimum sentencing for violent criminals. We have adopted in a previous amendment that I coauthored with Senator BYRD and with the chairman and ranking member of the Judiciary Committee a provision which cuts existing spending by \$21.8 billion and then takes that \$21.8 billion and uses it to put police officers on the street and to build 10 regional security prisons to enter into a partnership with the States to incarcerate violent repeat offenders.

In order to participate—and I believe every State will participate because public opinion is on the side of this new bill—the State has to do two things: One, it has to have a truth-in-sentencing provision so that if somebody is sent to prison for a long time, they end up spending a long time in prison. As all of our colleagues know, as the American people are painfully aware, today we basically have crime without punishment in America. We have people who go out and brutally murder our fellow citizens and if we are fortunate enough to apprehend them, it seems so often what we find is that these are the same people who had been apprehended before, had been convicted before, had been sent to prison before, but they had not been kept in prison before.

I could rattle off a long list of people, from the hoodlums who killed Michael Jordan's father to numerous other crimes that I am sure people hate to have brought back to their memories, but it seems that every day when we open the newspaper there is another

additional violent crime committed by somebody who should have been in prison, somebody who, had they served out their sentence, clearly could not have committed the violent crime because they would have been behind bars.

So what we have done to this point in this bill is cut existing Government programs to provide the money to construct 10 regional maximum security prisons to house violent criminals for both the State and the Federal system. In order to participate, the States are going to have to adopt a truth-in-sentencing provision which means in my State when somebody gets 10 years in prison, they are not going to serve 20 months; they are going to end up serving out their terms.

The second thing the States have to do to qualify is to match the Federal penalties in these areas of violent crime.

Now, the underlying amendment is an amendment that I offered that has our three fundamental mandatory minimum provisions in it: 10 years in prison without parole for possessing a firearm during the commission of a violent crime or drug felony, no matter what sentence you get for the violent crime or drug felony; 20 years for discharging the firearm; life imprisonment if you kill somebody, and we have provisions in the bill that in aggravated cases you can be put to death.

The second provision of the underlying amendment is the three-time loser provision which says that when someone has been convicted the third time for a major drug felony or a violent crime, it is time for us to recognize that we are dealing with a predator criminal and that the way to protect society from them is to keep them in prison. So the underlying amendment provides life imprisonment without parole for a third felony conviction for a violent crime or a major drug felony.

Finally, the underlying amendment contains a provision that gets really tough on people who sell drugs to minors or people who use minors in the commission of drug crimes: 10 years in prison without parole for selling drugs to a child; no matter who your daddy is or how society has done you wrong, you sell drugs to a child and you are apprehended and convicted, you are going to prison and you are going to serve in the Federal penitentiary every day of 10 years. And if you get out of prison and you are stupid enough to do it again, you will never do it again because you are going to get life imprisonment.

Now, the distinguished Senator from Utah raised a concern about first-time offenders and offered an amendment to the underlying amendment which we ended up negotiating on to try to deal with the following problem.

Last year, 9,220 people in America got minimum mandatory sentencing

under the Federal drug statutes. When you take out the people who did not carry a gun, when you take out the people who had not previously committed a crime, when you take out the people who did not have extensive juvenile records for serious crimes, when you take out illegal aliens, when you take out people who were not leaders in the drug conspiracy, when you take out those cases where people were not hurt, by my figuring you come up, for the people we actually have data for, with about 180 people who got mandatory minimum sentencing who did not fall into any of those categories. These are people who the critics of mandatory sentences argue just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time doing the wrong thing.

I am not sympathetic to that argument. My view is if somebody is selling drugs, no time is the right time, no place is the right place. But because we have written a great bill and because I want it to become the law of the land, we worked out a compromise to deal with those particular first-time offenders. But part of the compromise is that if they are apprehended and convicted again, they get not just the mandatory minimum sentence of 10 years but they get 15 years.

Now, the final amendment which I believe completes the mandatory sentencing section of the bill has been offered by our dear colleague from New York. What he has done is deal with the problem of repeat offenders in gun violations. He has dealt with using machineguns and using destructive devices such as explosives. He has also dealt with the problem where people bring guns across State lines and then commit murder.

Under the D'Amato amendment, what will happen is that those cases can then be prosecuted, and in cases where you had a brutal murder, where you have circumstances that justify it, under the D'Amato amendment, even in a State that does not have the death penalty at the State level, if somebody brings the gun across a State line making it a Federal crime, they can be put to death.

I believe this is a very tough package. Now, there are some people who would say, "What are you mandating all these sentences for?"

I guess I would respond to them by saying, first of all, we have dealt with what some thought was a legitimate concern about the first-time offender who was not a leader in the drug conspiracy, who was not carrying a gun, where no one was hurt. I think that is a very small number of people. I believe that is 180 people, probably less than that, out of 9,220 last year. We have dealt with that problem but with a provision that says if this did not just happen to be an accident and the judge deals with them lightly and they come back and do it again, then we are going to throw the book at them.

I believe that we need mandatory minimum sentencing because our Nation is being brutalized by violent criminals. I think until those of us who are blessed by not being victims of crime can be as outraged as the people who are victims of crime, we are not going to deal with this problem. And because we have put together a bipartisan bill, because we have actually provided funding, we, I believe, are on the verge of doing something about this problem. I am hopeful that we are going to adopt the pending amendments to really put teeth in our mandatory minimum sentencing provisions; that we are going to adopt the funding mechanism that we have agreed to, and that we are then going to have the President and the House to agree to stay with our funding methods. I know as we go through the conference there will be a necessity to try to work out various agreements. But I think we are on the verge of passing a really historic crime bill.

I want to say to our chairman that I appreciate his leadership. The chairman and I have been on opposite sides of many issues. But I think the bottom line is that we share a common objective. I think the chairman's leadership has been very important in helping bring this bill together.

So far as I am concerned, with the adoption of this amendment we have given some flexibility where it was deserved. We have eliminated it where it was not. And I am now ready to help push us through to successfully passing this bill. I intend to fight very hard for it in conference. I am sure there are some in the House who plan to try to kill this bill, try to get rid of our funding mechanism so that we can promise to do things but not actually do them. But I do not believe the American people would tolerate that.

Finally, I believe that we are on the verge of doing something very important. I am sure there are a lot of people that have despaired at ever dealing with violent crimes in America. I am sure there are a lot of people who feel that somehow we in Congress who are somewhat sheltered, though none of us are truly sheltered, have sort of lost touch with the reality of the pain that the American people have felt imposed by violent criminals.

But I believe this bill is different. I believe it is going to have a very large effect on America's No. 1 problem. And I am very proud to be part of it. I look forward to the bill being passed.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. AKAKA). The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN].

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking my friend for his kind references. I do appreciate it.

I have a question for my friend from New York. As we say in this body, he is my friend.

If you look on page 11 of the amendment, subsection F., it says it is the intent of Congress.

I preface my precise question with why I am asking the question. There are a number of people, even those who support the death penalty, who are wondering whether or not it is the intent of the Senator from New York to in effect override State laws where they do not have a death penalty. For example, in Wisconsin, there is no death penalty, I believe in New York State, there is no death penalty. The legislature, the Governor, or a combination of both, whatever the rules are, there is no death penalty in several States in the Nation.

So on page 11, subsection F., it says it is the intent of the Congress—that is subparagraph (i)—this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the efforts of and local prosecutors in prosecuting crimes of violence and drug trafficking crimes that could be prosecuted under State law, and the Attorney General—I assume that is the Attorney General of the United States—shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

My question is this: Does that mean that if the State prosecutor, the district attorney in New York City, chooses to prosecute under State law a person who otherwise would fall under this law as well; that is, a drug kingpin, a drug trafficker, and/or someone carrying a handgun in the commission of a felony, will that be automatic? Will the State prosecutor in the case of the Manhattan DA, be able to take jurisdiction whether or not the U.S. attorney—I am apologizing, I do not know who the U.S. attorney is in the southern district—in New York State says, no, I want to prosecute that person under Federal law.

Mr. D'AMATO. Clearly, the intent is to permit the utilization of these additional resources that would come by use of Federal courts, Federal prosecutors, Federal resources, prisons, but not to supplant, and therefore it would be the local district attorney who would make that determination.

Clearly, we say in the following subsection that the Senator has alluded to, the Attorney General of the United States will give due deference to the interests.

So that in almost all of these cases you would have to have that cooperation that today exists.

I might point out to the distinguished chairman, as he well knows, in just a whole number these cases, kidnapping, gambling, arson, robbery, extortion, drug cases, you have that same shared jurisdiction, and that we have come a long way as it relates to the relationship.

So I thank the Senator for bringing that question up because I do not want

our colleagues to think that this is a total usurpation, that the State laws would be usurped, the State prosecutor would be pushed aside. Indeed, we have heard from a number of our local prosecutors who welcome the additional support that might be implemented.

So this by no way would wipe them out. It would be that supplementary effort.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, the first time the distinguished Senator from New York proposed a similar amendment it did not have this. I think after some discussion the Senator and I had, he was kind enough to insert language to the effect that I have read.

As I said, I do not oppose the death penalty. What I personally oppose is—this sounds strange. It is strange for me to be making this argument. I expected some of my Southern colleagues, not the border State Senators like me, making this argument. But what I do think we should honor is a State judgment for State crimes that the State concludes whether or not the death penalty should pertain.

So what I want to make sure, because the death penalty does pertain in parts of the amendment of the Senator from New York, that is, if the individual were tried and convicted in a Federal court, that person would under Federal law, if this becomes law, be eligible for the death penalty, eligible to be put to death; whereas, if that same trial, that same person, that same offense, were tried in State court in Wisconsin, or State court in New York, that individual would not be eligible to be put to death.

So I take my friend back to subsection F.(ii) where it says the Attorney General shall give due deference.

I want the record to be clear on what that means. That means if the State prosecutor says I do not want you, the Federal prosecutor, to try this case, I am going to try this case, that the State prosecutor will prevail.

Because the Senator from New York is correct. There are a number of State prosecutors who will welcome this.

Mr. D'AMATO. Some will oppose it.

Mr. BIDEN. There are a number who will say I very much would like the Federal Government to try this person because I know the Federal penalty is stiffer than the State penalty, and I think this is such a bad person, I would like to see him tried in Federal court. And I would like to see him get the death penalty, and my State does not have a death penalty, or even if my State does have a death penalty, I feel more comfortable being tried in Federal court.

I understand that part. What I do not understand is that the State prosecutor says, no, I do not want this defendant tried in Federal court, and the U.S. attorney, that is, the Attorney General, the Attorney General speaks for all of the U.S. attorneys, the Federal

prosecutors throughout America. And the U.S. attorney says, no, I want to try Charlie Smith on this offense, and the State prosecutor says, no, I want to try Charlie Smith, does the "shall" language mean that as a matter of law the local prosecutor prevails?

Mr. D'AMATO. That is correct. Let me say that in New York State, each of the different attorneys are constitutional officers. So they would have the determination as to whether or not they want to pursue that matter. If they do, we should not then interfere, or the judgment will be made in the case of New York by those prosecutors. As you know, we do not have the death penalty. That would be a decision then that the prosecutor would make. But it would give him the ability, and I think as the chairman began, that there are many times when the conspiracy laws, for example as it relates to drug kingpins, you are tougher and the prosecutors are much more successful in using that.

We have had a number of very fine prosecutorial cases that both the State and Federal people have come together in joint operations. In most of those cases, the State prosecutors have stepped aside because it is easier to obtain a conviction under the Federal laws. I would anticipate the same kind of cooperative effort.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I do not take issue with anything the Senator said on the factual basis. He is absolutely correct. I have found because there are a number of initiatives that I have undertaken over the last 10 years where we have concurrent jurisdiction, particularly in drug matters. I find local officials are anxious, willing, and desirous to let the Federal Government try those, and convict and sentence those defendants.

But for example, in the crime bill, the Biden crime bill, there is a provision already, a death penalty provision, that I have written into that bill that includes the death penalty for the use of a gun during a crime of violence, or a drug crime.

So we do federally already in this bill what the Senator is attempting to extend to matters that are totally within State jurisdiction.

So I want to make it clear. I am not opposed to the notion that someone using a gun in the commission of a felony or a crime of violence should in fact be eligible for the death penalty if death results, nor am I one who believes that if there is a drug crime and in the use of a gun death results, that someone should, under Federal law, be subject to the prospect of the death penalty. What is happening here, to make it clear—and I see my friend from Wisconsin seeking recognition, and I will shortly yield—what is happening here, different from the Biden crime bill—the Biden crime bill speaks to Federal crimes, as defined in the bill

and in the United States Code, title 18. What this speaks to is State crimes that, but for this amendment, could not be tried in a Federal court. The Federal court is reaching out and—not in this case taking—asserting concurrent jurisdiction with the States.

The Senator has answered my question thoroughly. If the Federal Government reaches out into the State where a State crime—not a Federal law—a State law is violated, where someone uses a gun in the commission of a felony under State law, the long arm of the Federal Government can reach out and claim concurrent jurisdiction, but only get that jurisdiction, as I understand my friend based on his characterization of the section relating to jurisdiction, only if the State authority prosecutor says: Federal Government, you take this one, I do not want to try this.

So in States like Wisconsin, if a State prosecutor, abiding by Wisconsin law, says, no, we do not have a death penalty here, we do not want it here in Wisconsin, so we are not going to let you take a Wisconsin citizen who has been accused of this crime and try them in Federal Court, thereby making them eligible for the death penalty; we are going to try them in State court and make them eligible for the State death penalty. What I wanted clarified—and I have had it clarified by my friend from New York—is where there is concurrent jurisdiction, the Federal jurisdiction is not intended to substitute for the local jurisdiction; it is attempting to be a supplement to. If the State does not want to try it, the Feds can, or if the State prefers the Feds to try it, the Feds can. But if the State does not want the Federal Government to try it, they must try it. Is that an accurate representation?

Mr. D'AMATO. That is an accurate representation. If the Senator will yield for an observation.

Mr. President, what we have today is a situation that approaches anarchy in our criminal justice system in our large metropolitan areas and a combination of two things. Number one is, generally, you will find at the local holding facility, where the criminal is arrested and allegations are made or an allegation is made against someone who committed a crime, they in many cases are paroled out on the streets because there is no room. In the case of an armed robbery, where a person has a rap sheet that has 8, 10, 12, 14 convictions and there is \$5,000 bail, something like 10 percent of that money in cash, \$500, gets that person out on the street.

Now they have a huge backlog in the local court systems. It is huge in these metropolitan areas. That person's case may not come up for a year, 2 years, 3 years. What do you think that person is doing? He is out there marauding and robbing more places because he has to pay a lawyer now. So now he is

sticking up more of these mom and pop places. That is why we say 3 or 4 percent of the criminals are committing all these crimes. Riker's Island is jammed in New York. They do not have anyplace to hold them. So here we have a fellow with all kinds of convictions, charged with another robbery, who is back out on the street.

If you give the local prosecutor and the local Federal official, the U.S. attorney, the ability to work together, so that the Federal resources—and by the way, I believe that the Attorney General would do well to instruct our U.S. attorneys to make a conscious effort. We had a situation in New York where there was a conscious effort, where once a week it was "Federal day" as it related to drug crimes. Nobody knew what day it would be. But on a particular day, anybody arrested for the sale of drugs went before the Federal courts.

Well, I have to tell you that the drug dealers were always anxious to find out which was Federal day. On that day, as soon as they heard it was Federal day, they stopped. They did not want to get caught. It meant real time, and they were not going to be put out on the street to continue to play. It meant they were not going to get 60 to 90 days and a plea bargain. We should have Federal days wherever we can, wherever the resources are being taxed beyond their ability to meet and deal with dangerous predators.

Second, take a look at New York and look at the other large urban centers. They are not going to be much different. Robbery, first degree, the guy that comes in with a gun, a man with prior felonies, when he is convicted, he serves less than a year and he is back out on the street. What we are saying here is: Let us stand up for the average citizen whose life has become a hell, a torment, who feels abandoned by Government, who sees the quality of life around him or her deteriorating, who is afraid to go to work, who is afraid in their offices to open the door. They operate behind little peep holes and buzzers. What kind of life is that, where somebody has to ride the subway or mass transportation at night in fear that they are going to be victimized? What kind of life is it for the woman who is waiting for her loved one who works in the off hours where there is a real threat to his or her life? Or the 50 fellows last year, or thereabouts, killed in New York while trying to make a living driving taxi cabs who were, in cases, assassinated? To shoot somebody for \$50 or \$100, assassinate somebody, life does not mean anything. We need to say to the predators, "If you use a gun, then we are going to put you away." And if the States abdicate their responsibilities and do not have resources, that is why these judges are putting people back out on the street.

I think it is the local assistant district attorneys, not the DA's, the peo-

ple in the trenches. One of my best friend's daughter is an assistant district attorney in New York. She is leaving because of burnout. Judges, after conviction for robbery, sentence the criminal to suspended sentence, parole, no bail. She tells me of a case where they had someone with prior convictions and the judge set no bail. One week later the same fellow was involved in a homicide. They would not hold him. Because she requested \$5,000 bail, the judge paroled him on the street.

Why? I will tell you—and if you would ask the judges, they would deny it—because they are being told by the chief administrative judges in these cases, do not hold but the most violent of the violent. Allow them to go out because we do not have room in the city jails.

What is taking place here in Washington, DC? Why we do not take absolute control of the criminal justice system in DC is beyond me. They cannot build a prison. That is incredible. So we have halfway houses that people run away from and go out and commit crimes. It is a huge percentage. We understand it is 30 and 40 percent, and they go out and maraud. Why is that? It is because we do not have the resources locally in many cases.

This Senator says that it is our responsibility to provide domestic tranquility. The people in the ivory tower over here, our Supreme Court Justices say: Wait a minute. You know there are important civil cases.

Tell me what civil case is more important than attempting to provide the domestic tranquility of our people, before we are beaten to our knees? At least this will give an opportunity and, by the way, if the local district attorneys do not want to use it and if the local Federal prosecutors want to hide behind their heavy caseloads, they can abdicate their authority. At least this Senator will feel we have made some attempt to involve fully this Nation in the war against our people—and there is war being waged against our people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, let me tell you that I sympathize with what the Senator says. That is why I wrote this bill in the first place. There is a war going on and people in the country have awakened to it. This body has awakened to it.

For example, nobody is intending to, but the idea of filibustering this bill this year is beyond my comprehension. Woe be the woman or man for any reason who will stand up to try to filibuster this bill. I think they would be in dire political circumstances and should be.

So I understand what the Senator is saying, believe me.

But one of the things I am worried about in this amendment and similar

amendments is right now—and I hope everyone is listening to this—right now, everyone, Republicans and Democrats, have said on the floor of the U.S. Senate the last 4 days: I want everybody to understand the Federal system works. It took us 10 years to fix it.

The reason why people do get tried in 2 years in the Federal system and do not have to wait 2 years is that I, along with a few others, wrote a bill called the Speedy Trial Act, which became law in the seventies. My liberal friends and conservative friends were a little offended. We did it. We wrote it and passed it.

The reason Federal prisoners are not out doing this is that I, along with Senator KENNEDY and Senator McClellan, who passed away, and several others, wrote the Sentencing Commission legislation. You have to go to jail and serve your time.

The reason they are not out on the streets and are in the Federal prisons is we have appropriated money to build the Federal prisons. There is no overcrowding in the Federal prisons because we stepped up to the ball and we built the prisons, unlike your State legislators who are not building prisons that you say you want—"you" meaning the American people.

The reason we do not have the backlog in the trials is we have Democrats—this Democrat, even under 12 years of Republican rule at the White House, getting to appoint judges, increased the number of judges by almost one-third so we would not have a backlog.

The point is the States have not done this. The Federal system works well now. It did not work well when I got here. I do not mean I fixed it; I do not mean to imply that. But it did not work well in 1968; it is working well now.

What I am afraid of with all these attempts to fix the State systems because the States will not step up to the ball and State taxpayers will not step up to the ball, what I am worried about is we are going to break the Federal system now.

Let me tell you why. There are 600,000 handgun crimes committed each year. All of sudden in one fell swoop when we adopt this amendment—and it may be adopted, that is why I am not going to take a lot more time talking about it. I want to make sure everybody knows from the Record what we are doing. There are 600,000 handgun crimes committed every year. We are federalizing them all now.

The Senator from New York is absolutely right. These prosecutors will be delighted to have this agreed to. They will be delighted for the Federal Government to be the ones to try these cases. So we will have an increased potential at least of 600,000 additional criminal cases at the Federal level.

And we have 80,000 Federal prison cells. They are not overcrowded now.

They are not overcrowded now, but if we try, like the Senator from New York wants us to do at the Federal level, a significant portion of these 600,000 cases with mandatory sentences attached to it, they will be overcrowded.

Second, these 600,000 handgun crimes that will be eligible for Federal jurisdiction now the way I attempted to take care of it in the bill in the beginning, and with the great help of the Senator from Texas and the Senator from West Virginia. We put \$6 billion in this bill for States to be able to either build prisons or have access to Federal prisons. That is the way we should go at it.

We should say OK, States, you try them. Even though your taxpayers will not step up to the ball, even though you do not have the courage to ask for the money, even though you have the political out of saying, "it is not our problem," we are going to provide you the money. It is taxpayers' money, but we will take the heat for you. That is what this is all about.

Every Federal legislator is going to go home and the taxpayers will ask: "What? You are spending another \$21 billion of our money and you are raising our taxes?" And the Governors are going to walk around saying, "I balanced my budget this year."

They are all wonderful, those Governors, God love them, Democrat and Republican. I love them all, the tall, the short, and the small. But they will all make the same speech: "We balanced our budget."

The reason they are able to balance their budget is we are taking Federal taxpayers' money and Federal taxpayers heat to give them money they should have the guts to go ask for.

So we are doing it to the tune of \$21 billion here. That is OK. It abdicates the responsibility. I agree with the Senator, we should meet it. But what I worry about is the way we are deciding to meet it. I am willing to meet it by taking the heat for spending money and giving it to the Governors and the State legislators who do not have the courage to ask for it. I am willing to do that.

One hundred thousand cops. Who could imagine Thomas Jefferson here on the floor listening to this debate saying that the Federal Government was going to pay money to hire policemen in Philadelphia, New York, Wilmington, Dallas, and Houston. He would say, wait a minute, the Constitution we wrote, I thought it had something to do with federalism.

The reason we are here is the States are not doing the job. The question is how do we help the States do the job the best?

I respectfully suggest the basic premise of the Biden bill is the way to do it, augment significantly in a bipartisan effort. That is, we will give them

money to build prisons so they can try these people and not have to let them out of jail, because they now have a State prison to put the person in. Granted we will provide the bulk of the money, but so what. We need to do something about it.

Second, we will even allow them to use some of that money to hire prosecutors and use some of that money to go out and hire police. We are prepared to do that. But now what we are doing is we are doing it the other way. We are saying that in addition to giving you the money, we are going to claim the jurisdiction. And the Senator from New York is correct, there will be a hemorrhage of abdication of State responsibility to Federal prosecutors. It will be a veritable hemorrhage.

Mr. D'AMATO. Will the Senator yield for an observation?

Mr. BIDEN. I would be happy to.

Mr. D'AMATO. I think this goes a little more than that, if you attempt to follow what I thought was the logic and uniqueness of this bill. I hear the cry for Federal legislation as it relates to requirements being mandated for the purchase of a gun. I also hear the cry from sportsmen and others that say, look we are not the people in the purchase of these guns, in 99 percent of the cases they do not result in the kind of crime, the robberies, et cetera, that we see.

But if, indeed, there was logic in attempting to say we should have—whatever that registration bill—whether it was a 5-day period, 10-day period, then it would seem to me the Federal Government or those of my colleagues about to say the Federal Government has a stake in this for all the reasons you and I could enumerate, obviously, we should then say we also have a stake in regulating the use of those guns that come across State lines.

And so if, indeed, that logic—and we have to follow logical progression—if we say the Federal Government should have the right to license a gun, we do not even talk about the gun being used interstate. I say, well, if there is interstate use of that gun that comes across State lines—and 90 percent of guns do—therefore the Federal Government should have jurisdiction as it relates to the criminal activity of the people who use those guns that cross State lines.

Mr. BIDEN. I think the Senator from New York makes a valid point. Let me try to respond to it.

I am making two separate arguments, and I will now make the second argument, so I am clear what I am talking about.

The first argument is the practical effect of what is happening here. The practical effect is, in attempting to fix the State systems because of their abdication of responsibility, we are about to break the Federal system that took us 15 years to get fixed. That is No. 1. That is my first point.

Now the second point: The Senator says—and he is absolutely accurate; you can tell we both graduated from the same law school; he is absolutely accurate—logic should dictate. Now the logic of this is as follows: The logic is the reason why we, as it relates to the commission of a crime, should keep it in State jurisdiction—is because the State can impact on the outcome of crime on their streets by their willingness to exercise their authority. That is the premise of federalism: that where the States can do something on their own as well as the Federal Government can do it, you should let the States do it.

Now the reason we federalized, or some are going to attempt to federalize the sale of firearms, is because no local official—no matter how diligent, no matter what law they pass, no matter how thorough they are—can affect the ownership of guns within their States alone.

If I can make an analogy. It is a little bit like clean air. The reason we do not leave clean air alone to the people who live in a State is because the people of Delaware can pass the toughest clean air bill in the Nation. We happen to sit, 3 miles from my home, on the border of Pennsylvania. And Marcus Hook, PA, is on the southern border of Pennsylvania. Marcus Hook, I think, without exception, has more refineries per square mile than even places like Houston. And I am not being facetious. It is true. So if the State of Pennsylvania were to say, "We do not have any emissions control on any of those refineries," I still choke to death in Delaware. Living a mile across the State line, I die of cancer if the State of Pennsylvania does not regulate the refining industry in the State of Pennsylvania.

So we came along and said, "Look, this is a Federal problem. Because air"—to steal a phrase from our economist friends—"is sort of fungible." The air that gets polluted in Pennsylvania does not stay in Pennsylvania; does not go up 300,000 miles into the air just in a funnel. It flows into Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, and Canada.

And so we said, "Wait a minute. It does not make sense to do it that way. We have to have a Federal rule on clean air."

Now what about guns? We could say, in the State of Delaware, nobody in the State of Delaware can buy a gun at all. And there is no such rule, but the State of Delaware could pass that—nobody can manufacture a gun in Delaware. No one can do anything with guns in Delaware. You have to put them all in a big pile and melt them down. And we could pass that law and they could enforce that law.

But, guess what? If the State of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, or Maryland has a law that you can

buy all the guns you want under any rules you want, all I have to do is get in my car and go from my home, three-quarters of a mile across the State line, and buy all the guns I want, rendering useless the Delaware State gun control laws.

So that is why the logic of federalism says that the Federal Government should be involved in those things which States alone cannot control. States alone can, at least theoretically, control who they prosecute, because it is going to be a State official that arrests this person. This person is not going to get into Federal court because there is an FBI agent on the case. The FBI agent would not be allowed to be on the case, wandering the streets of New York or Pennsylvania or Delaware, unless it is a Federal crime they are investigating, unless they happened upon the commission of a crime, in which case they can arrest.

So, by definition, just to get the logic straight here, by definition, the reason it does not make sense to federalize State prosecutions—and, by definition, to federalize it, you have to have someone arrested. To be able to prosecute them, they have to be arrested by the State agency. The State agency has total control over if they wish to exercise the prosecution of that person. Whereas, the State agency, no matter how good it does it, does not have control over whether a citizen in Delaware or New York City can purchase a gun. They can avoid a waiting period; they can be a convicted felon.

Let me be precise, and I will stop. Right now, the State of Delaware has a law saying, in order to dissuade convicted felons from owning guns, the law says they cannot own guns. However, we do know that 1 in 6 of them walks into a gun store as a convicted felon and legally buys a gun. So the State of Delaware says, "You can't do that in Delaware."

So the Delaware felon who cannot own a gun does not go to a Delaware store. He walks across the line—and my State is so small, you can get to another State real quick. You can get to five other States real quick. He walks across the State line and walks into the State store that sells guns in the State of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland—New York "ain't" that far—and Virginia. He walks in and says, "You know, I can't buy a gun in Delaware because I am a felon, but you have no way to check on me here in Virginia, so I want to buy a gun here."

So he can walk into the Virginia store and he can buy the gun. But what does he do with the gun? It is not likely, when he crosses the State line, he says, "You know, I can't do this in Delaware; I wouldn't be able to buy it here, so I'm going to leave my gun right here at the pay toll on the turnpike. I'm not going to take it into Delaware."

Of course he takes it into Delaware. What does it do? It renders useless the Delaware State law, a State which has 700,000 people, renders useless the law when the surrounding States have 10 million—that is what the Delaware Valley is, about 10 million people—if they do not have similar laws.

That is why I say to my friend and fellow graduate of Syracuse University Law School, the logic is that you do not federalize those things that the States can handle if they stepped up to the ball. You do federalize those things that the State cannot handle, no matter how well they order their resources.

I yield the floor.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the ranking member from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. I would be happy to yield to the Senator to respond, but then I would like to make a couple of comments about this amendment.

By the way, I would like to be listed as cosponsor. I thought I was a cosponsor.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thought you were, also. Through inadvertence or transposition from one to the other, your name may have been left off.

Mr. President, I ask unanimously consent that Senator HATCH be added as an original cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HATCH. I will be happy to yield for that purpose and then I would like to make a few comments about this amendment.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Utah for yielding. I thank my colleague, Senator BIDEN, the manager of the bill, my fellow alumni from Syracuse Law School, by the way—and our two sons are attending Syracuse. I hope they are in class at this very moment studying the law.

But when we look at New York, and I think New York—it is a big microcosm, but it is a microcosm of the urban problems that we face to a similar extent, whether it be in Chicago, Philadelphia—the States of Illinois and Pennsylvania, California, Texas. You will find the prison systems are bursting. And it does not do us or our citizens any good to say it should be a local responsibility.

By the way, the local officials say, "Listen, we did not manufacture the guns. These guns came from other places and these people are getting their hands on them and they are using them." So the fact is, as a result of the breakdown in these large urban centers—and there is a breakdown in the criminal justice system—our citizens are being victimized. We have lost domestic tranquility.

It is of little comfort to John Q. Citizen, regardless of what State, for their

representatives in Washington to be saying, because we have had this battle, this is not just new—we have had the battle saying this is a State responsibility, that they should assume them when they cannot or will not. Whatever the reason, whether budgetary or fiscal considerations, whether the citizens of their State may vote down bond issues because they do not see them accomplishing anything.

But the fact is, we have millions of people who are not living a real life, who, as a result of the predators who have taken over the streets, they see themselves being the victims. That is why this Senator's amendment is aimed at attempting to get our resources into the real battle—going after the guy who uses the gun that holds up the deli owner and puts it in his face, because that is real, that is happening throughout America.

I do not care about the contract cases and civil cases that the Federal courts handle. They are secondary, as far as I am concerned. We have lost our way. We have lost our way. If it means we have to increase the resources of the Federal court system and the Federal prison system to deal with this battle, then we could not spend money for a better purpose—to get the violent predators off the streets with assuredness. When the word spreads that indeed they are serious about this war—because we have not waged a war. We have tried. I thank the Senator. We are indebted to Senator BIDEN and his leadership for indeed giving to our local Federal prosecutors and to the system the kind of resources necessary that have kept it from falling into that situation where we find hoodlums and dangerous predators being released on the streets simply because we do not have the resources. That is what is happening.

Again, it is that drug store and the mom-and-pop shop and the people who operate them. It is that person who works at a hospital who works a late shift and wants to come home on public transportation but is afraid to do it. It is the working families of America we are fighting for who I think have felt abandoned.

What we see is a "no life." Today they exist in an atmosphere where they are absolutely convinced that no one cares. I would say by our inaction we have given legitimacy to their feelings over the years. Whatever reason the bills get hung up; whatever reasons we fail to enact comprehensive legislation to take the thugs off the streets. I would like to see this go further, to be candid with you. I would like to see us at some point in time, and it may come—if this does not do the job I will then seek to get a total commitment from the Federal people, to actually—where we have a criminal justice system that has broken down—to take even greater authority, and give them that. But this is a first step.

I believe if a local government is not going to protect its citizens, then we on the Federal level have the absolute obligation to see to it we use our resources.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BREAU). The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I support this amendment. I agree with the distinguished Senator from New York. This amendment does not supplant State jurisdiction. In fact the actual language of the amendment says,

(i) this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the efforts of State and local prosecutors in prosecuting crimes of violence and drug trafficking crimes that could be prosecuted under State law;

(ii) the Attorney General shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

So what the distinguished Senator from New York is doing is not making a federalization of this whole area. He is just saying the Federal Government can lend its support. It should not supplant the States, but it can supplement the law. That is pretty important.

This bill contains tough, mandatory minimum penalties which are contained in the Gramm amendment, I might say the Gramm-Hatch amendment, with an enhanced jurisdiction for Federal prosecutors. That is all it does.

Senator GRAMM proposes we enhance mandatory minimum penalties for firearms-related crimes. For those of us who believe that there is an error in the way we have been debating this over the years, we are trying to prosecute—some are trying to prosecute through their gun control legislation, decent, law-abiding, honest sports people. When in fact what Senator D'AMATO and Senator GRAMM and I are trying to do is get tough on criminals, get tough on the criminal use of guns, get tough on the use of illegal weapons.

We want to get tough on crime, not get tough on honest, decent, law-abiding citizens who happen to want to own their own guns.

What Senator GRAMM and I, and now Senator D'AMATO, are trying to do, is we are trying to enhance mandatory minimum penalties for firearms-related crimes. We are tired of approaching this in a ridiculous way.

The Brady bill is not going to work. Everybody knows it. Everybody knows it will do little or nothing to resolve the problems.

The only thing that is going to make a difference is when we start getting tough on these criminals who use weapons. Senator D'AMATO gives the Federal Government supplemental jurisdiction to prosecute these crimes when the firearm travels in interstate commerce. That is not federalization of the whole area but it does give some additional help to the States that is needed at this particular time. And he

supplements the amendment that Senator GRAMM and I have already proposed.

In addition, this particular full amendment contains the flexibility necessary for first-time offenders who are not violent, have not carried firearms, and they are not pushing drugs in the schools—which the courts have asked us to do, and rightly so. And that is an amendment that I and Senator DOLE put in here.

As I have stated earlier, claims that criminal cases are taking up a disproportionate amount of Federal filings and that the D'Amato amendment makes matters worse are not supported by the facts. According to the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, the criminal caseload per judge is nearly 50 percent below that of 1972. The number of criminal cases reached a 40-year peak in 1972, and despite all of the cries from the defense bar, the number of criminal cases filed in 1992 was actually 14 percent below the 1972 figure.

There were less criminal cases in Federal courts in 1992 than there were in 1972, 20 years before, even though the number of authorized judges is now 62 percent higher than in 1972.

What the distinguished Senator from New York is saying is, it is time to get tough on criminals. It is time to get tough on crime. What Senator GRAMM and I are adding to that and agreeing with him on is it is time to get tough on criminals, time to get tough on crime. The best way to do it is to get tough on violent criminals who use weapons. We are tired of decent, law-abiding sports people who own guns always being hit here on the floor. They think a 5-day waiting period is going to make a difference when, in fact, this will make a lot more difference. It makes a lot more sense. It really comes down on the people we should come down upon.

If we are going to make headway in this area, it is going to be here, not through devices like the Brady bill or other gun control methods that take away the time-honored second amendment right under the Constitution for people to keep and bear arms.

If I recall correctly, and I may not, a very similar amendment was voted upon here a year ago, and as I recall, everybody on this floor voted for it at that time. Everybody who is currently on the floor, except Senator FEINGOLD, and I think Senator LIEBERMAN voted with us. I believe the chairman voted with us. There were some technical difference, but the basic amendment we voted for.

Mr. D'AMATO. If the Senator will yield for an observation that relates to that?

Mr. HATCH. Sure.

Mr. D'AMATO. The Senator is absolutely correct. That vote was 88 to 11, the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. That is my recollection. I do not see any reason for the debate

here. The fact is, this is an amendment that can make a real dent in criminal activity in this society and lend a way to the Federal Government to supplement the States who are awash in criminal activity. At a time when we have more judges than we had in 1972 and fewer cases than we had in 1972, 20 years ago, which was the height of criminal filings at that particular time.

So I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from New York. I think his amendment will make a difference. It will make people think twice before they use weapons. They are going to have lots of time to think about it while they are in prison, with the new prison cells we are going to be building under this particular bill.

So this is a good amendment. It makes sense. It goes to the core problem of violence with weapons instead of a phony approach with 5-day waiting periods. All they are going to do is they are going to tell everybody who does not have a gun now that they better get out there and get their gun before they enact that 5-day waiting period, and you are going to have millions of people buying guns who do not even know how to handle them. That is what is going to happen.

So, Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from New York and I hope his amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I thank the Chair. I rise to oppose this amendment sponsored by the Senator from New York, and I strongly disagree with the statement of the Republican floor leader that there is no reason to debate it. There has been an effort here to minimize what this amendment does. What it would do, in my view, is make every gun murder or gun-related murder in this country potentially subject to the death penalty. While I share the concerns of all the speakers about the rise of gun-related homicides, I do not think this proposal is the answer.

There has been a good discussion led by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee and the floor manager about the fact, of course, this amendment does not literally mandate the death penalty. Supposedly there would be some due deference given to the State district attorneys.

I am not convinced that is a reality. I think the reality of it would be that most of these cases would go to Federal court and that there would be quite a bit of imposition on the State prosecutors to kick them over to Federal court where the death penalty could be imposed. But let us assume that discussion was right and that it will be up to the individual district attorneys. I have to tell you, that is not the same thing as leaving it up to the States.

As far as I am concerned, the district attorney of one of our 72 counties in Wisconsin has not been elected the legislature and the Governor. When a State has duly considered the death penalty and decided it is wrong and they do not want it, I do not think the Federal Government should intrude and give the power to one elected official in one county the ability to overturn the will of the State on that issue.

So let us not minimize this. This is what you are doing to those States which have made the judgment, which I consider to be the right judgment, that the death penalty is wrong. And that is my State, the State of Wisconsin. I think it is wrong for the Federal Government to impose the death penalty on States which have chosen in good conscience not to have a death penalty.

In our own State, the tradition goes back 140 years. It is a proud tradition. In 1853, led by the efforts of a State senator named Marvin Bovee, a farmer who turned legislator, the State of Wisconsin abolished the death penalty, and this was just 7 years after the antideath penalty delegates to the State constitutional convention had tried to do this and failed. But they saw one execution in Kenosha County, WI, in the early 1850's and they said in Wisconsin enough is enough.

But for 140 years I believe there has hardly even been a vote on the subject. Frankly, the members of the Republican Party in Wisconsin were very excited this year when the Republicans for the first time in 20 years took over the State senate. One of the first things they confidently slapped on the desk was the death penalty for Wisconsin. Some of the members of that party were going to repeal the ban on the death penalty and bring Wisconsin in line with the other States. They got a rude shock. When this was put before the Wisconsin State senate just a few weeks ago, two-thirds of that body said no to the death penalty, including I believe many, if not a majority, of the Republican members of the State senate.

My colleagues, those are the people who have been entrusted in Wisconsin to decide whether or not we should expand the death penalty for State crimes. It is not an individual district attorney, and it is not just Wisconsin. My information is that 14 States do not have the death penalty, and that includes the State of the author of this amendment. The elected Governor of that State—I am very proud of him for this—has consistently vetoed the death penalty, and that is not an easy thing to do when you are the Governor of the State of New York. But that is what the elected representatives and Governor of that State have decided. I do not think it is the place of the Federal Government to undermine that.

How can this position of the Senate be consistent with the speeches that

were given yesterday, and particularly the speech of the senior Senator from Utah, who said that it was wrong to impose on the States the requirement that they not execute kids under 18 years old? Those were his words. We should not impose this on the States. In my view, any State that takes great pride in executing kids under 18 ought to examine their values.

But surely you cannot be consistent with that statement and then turn around and undermine the considered judgment of the State of Wisconsin and 13 other States that we do not want individual district attorneys to be able to kick death penalty cases up to the Federal Government and in effect cause Wisconsin citizens to be executed in a manner that the State of Wisconsin has decided is not appropriate.

This, Mr. President, is inconsistent with our separate traditional notions of Federal and State spheres, where the Federal jurisdiction is to be a limited one. Our Founders contemplated a limited Federal jurisdiction, and although we have expanded that jurisdiction over the years, and most notably in the area of drug trafficking, the proposal of the Senator from New York in my view is an unprecedented, sweeping intrusion into an area which has historically and rightfully been the State's prerogative.

We also should have a little reality check about the costs that this proposal could pose for the Federal system. When the Senator from New York advanced this proposal in the last Congress, the administrative office of the U.S. courts estimated that if all the eligible cases covered were prosecuted in Federal court and the death penalty sought, the yearly cost to the judiciary would be \$2.5 billion—not million, billion. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that if only 5 percent of all potential death penalty cases were prosecuted, the cost would be up to \$150 million per year. So there are serious costs involved. Do we really want the FBI to be investigating every gun murder in this country? Do we really want our Federal courts, the dockets of which are already too crowded, hearing all these cases?

The answer, Mr. President, I submit is no. States have the right and the obligation to protect their citizens. I do not think the Federal Government should usurp that right in the area where a State has judged that the death penalty is inappropriate.

So I urge some restraint. We should not federalize all gun crimes, and we should not tell States which have said "no" to the death penalty that in effect they have to say "yes." Frankly, Mr. President, I resent the idea that this body would try to overturn the will of the people of the State of Wisconsin expressed consistently for 140 years and expressed just recently by the vote of its State Senate on this

matter. That is truly Federal intrusion. That is truly against the will of the people of our State. I strongly urge that Senator D'AMATO's amendment be defeated.

Mr. GRAMM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, we are debating today very important issues, and they are issues where we can each attempt, it seems to me, to draw some kind of subtle line between the role of the Federal Government and State government. But I think the bottom line is that the people of America are outraged by violent crime. I think the American people want action. They want us to grab violent criminals by the throat and not let them go to get a better grip.

Something is wrong in America when people are afraid to go out of their homes at night. My mother would not think about walking around her own block after dark. We all go home and lock our doors.

In Washington, DC, people are concerned about coming to the door at night if somebody rings the doorbell or knocks on the door. The Nation's Capital is the murder capital of the country. The District of Columbia seems unable to enforce the law, unwilling to build prisons, unwilling to have minimum mandatory sentencing, and unwilling to put brutal murderers to death.

So what we are trying to do here today is react under our constitutional mandate to provide for domestic tranquility. We have before us a three-part amendment that does that with stiff mandatory minimum sentencing; and that gives the States the right, if they decide that they are willing to step aside, to let the Federal Government prosecute the death penalty.

The distinguished chairman of the committee raises a very real issue; that is, what about all of these gun violations? What are we going to do about it? How is it going to affect the system? It is a totally legitimate issue to raise.

So I would like to give my reasoning as to why my amendment has 10 years in prison for carrying a firearm, 20 years for discharging it, life imprisonment for killing somebody, and the death penalty in aggravated cases.

The fact that there are 600,000 gun crimes in America is an indication to me that the penalties for carrying guns in the commission of a violent crime or drug felony are not sufficiently high.

I do not know how many of these 600,000 gun crimes are committed by the same people. All of our colleagues are familiar with all of the studies done, especially the one in Philadelphia, PA, which concludes, after tracking a group of people over a lengthy time that basically about 7 percent of the criminals commit almost two-

thirds of the violent crime. And the only way to stop these people that are committing hundreds of crimes a year is to arrest them, convict them, put them in jail, and keep them there.

So I do not know how many of these gun crimes are committed by the same people over and over. But I do know this: unless we act, this violence is going to go on. Unless we act, we are not going to be able to make America again the country we want it to be. I believe this is a wholesale failure of American Government on this issue.

I am proud of the fact that we have cut Government spending in other areas to provide this funding. I am often on this floor arguing for cuts in Government spending. But part of our problem is we are spending so much money in areas where Government, in my opinion as one Member, has no legitimate role, that we do not have enough money to spend in areas where we have a clear mandate.

I believe, in the minds of the American people in 1993, that clear mandate was to deal with violent crime. We have written into our prison construction provision a mandate that the States participate; they cannot pull back on their effort. They have to build the prisons to conform to the truth-in-sentencing provisions that we have in our bill, where if somebody is sent to prison for a long time they have to serve there for a long time.

But the bottom line is the Nation demands action, and our goal on these gun crimes is not really to put people in prison, though, if they are going to commit the crimes, we want them to go to prison. If they are going to brutally murder, we want them put to death. But that is not our objective. Our objective, the objective of my amendment and the amendment of the distinguished Senator from New York, is to deter crime.

How many of these hoodlums walking around with a gun intend to actually shoot somebody? Maybe if they knew they would get 10 years in prison without parole for having the gun, they would decide not to carry it. Maybe if they made the mistake of carrying it, if they knew they were going to get 20 years if they discharged it and they were going to serve, honest to goodness, every single day of 20 years, maybe they would decide, "I made a terrible mistake and I don't want to make it worse by trying to shoot somebody." Maybe they would decide to put down the gun.

Finally, maybe if they realize that they might be put to death, no matter what State they are in, that they will not be killing our police officers and they will not be walking into stores shooting clerks who have come to this country looking for opportunity and the American dream.

So my goal is not to send a single person to prison. My goal is not to put

people to death. My goal is to get people not to commit these crimes.

There are some people who are going to do it. There are some people who are just plain mean, and we might as well accept it. Those people we are going to apprehend, put them in jail, and keep them there. And some of them are going to end up paying with their lives for what they have done. But there are a lot of people out there, I believe, who, if we have stiff sentences and if we mean it, will not commit the crimes.

The final point, and I will be through on this issue. One of the things that worries me most about our criminal justice system—I know the Senator from New York has to be worried about it because it exists in Dallas, Houston, New York, and, unfortunately, even in small towns. Some hoodlum with a lot of money, fancy clothes, driving a great big car is arrested for a crime. He lives across the street from a mother, probably a single mother, with two little children. She spends all of her time trying to say to the kids, look, the way you get ahead in America is, you go to school, make good grades, work hard, do what is right. That is the way you get a big car, that is the way you get a nice house.

But what happens is every day those children see that crime appears to pay. So the police come out, arrest this hoodlum, drag him off. Twenty-four hours later he is right back on the street. He ends up going to court, they convict him, send him off to prison. They read in the paper they got rid of Joe Hoodlum, they send him off to prison. And then 12 months later, or sooner, he is back.

What I want is when these people brutalize our country and we send them to jail, I do not want those kids to ever see them again until those kids have become adults. Maybe then mothers will have a chance in our poor neighborhoods to have some hope of getting their children to escape from the poverty cycle.

So I want these provisions for a whole lot of reasons, but basically the reason is to deter crime, and for the people that are just determined they are going to commit it, to be sure they do not commit many of them before we put them in jail and keep them there. Maybe, maybe, with this provision we will be looking at a trend in years to come, and we will see these gun violations, these violent crimes with guns going down.

Obviously, if we do not, then we are going to be coming back, looking at this again, and deciding what we are going to be doing about it. But I believe that there is an inverse relationship between crime and punishment.

With that, I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I would like to propound a unanimous-consent agreement relative to what we vote on this. I am prepared after a 12-minute

summary to yield the floor. I do not know if anyone else is seeking recognition on this side.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BIDEN. I would like to propound the following unanimous consent request.

I ask unanimous consent that upon the completion of the debate on this amendment prior to going to our respective conferences that the vote on the D'Amato amendment take place without any intervening action or debate upon the completion of the vote on the Lieberman amendment which is scheduled to take place, as the third in the succession of votes to begin at 2:15.

Mr. GRAMM. Could we then do the Gramm amendment and finish the whole thing?

Mr. BIDEN. First, that is my request. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIDEN. Secondly, it is my intention, upon the completion of that vote, to move to agree to by voice vote or rollcall, the Gramm amendment, the underlying amendment to which the D'Amato amendment is attached.

It is true that the Senator from Delaware did, last time out, after the Senator from New York was kind enough to make some changes in this amendment, vote for the amendment. That is why the Senator from Delaware included in the Biden bill, the underlying crime bill here, a death penalty where there is Federal jurisdiction for the exact same crime the Senator is calling for the death penalty on.

Unlike the Senator from Wisconsin, I do not have the same philosophic point of view relative to the death penalty. That is not my concern about this amendment. My concern can be summed up by a letter that I received from a not-so-conservative Supreme Court Justice, in which he said:

I am writing in my capacity as Presiding Officer of the Judicial Conference of the United States to convey the opposition of the Judicial Conference to proposed legislation that would provide for federal jurisdiction over offenses traditionally reserved for state prosecution. I enclose a statement expressing the objection and the reasons therefor in more detail. I appreciate your serious consideration of these views.

The Judicial Conference of the United States opposes legislation adopted by the Senate which would expand federal criminal law jurisdiction to encompass homicides and other violent state felonies if firearms are involved. Such expansion of federal jurisdiction would be inconsistent with long-accepted concepts of federalism, and would ignore the boundaries between appropriate state and federal action.

The addition to federal jurisdiction of virtually any crime committed with a firearm that has crossed a state line will swamp the federal courts with routine cases that states are better equipped to handle, and will weaken the ability of the federal courts effectively to deal with criminal cases that present uniquely federal issues.

Not only will bona fide federal criminal prosecutions suffer if the Senate's expansive

firearms provisions are adopted, but federal courts, overburdened by criminal cases, will be unable to carry out their vital responsibilities to provide timely forums for civil cases.

Second, I would like to introduce into the RECORD a letter from Judge Barry, speaking for the Committee on Criminal Law of the Judicial Conference of the United States.

I will read three paragraphs:

Permit me to make one point crystal clear: the federal judiciary is not seeking to avoid a role in the effort to reduce crime and, in particular, crime involving firearms; indeed, we strongly endorse this effort. But there is already very strong and heavily utilized federal firearms law. A defendant who uses a firearm in connection with a federal offense is sentenced under current law to a stiff term of imprisonment, which is in addition to the sentence for the underlying federal offense.

We oppose, however, any proposal which would make every state offense committed with a firearm a potential federal offense. Wholly aside from the massive influx of prosecutions which would ensue, such a proposal would be inconsistent with long accepted and traditionally honored principles of federalism and would adversely impact on the ability of the federal courts to function as intended.

More specifically, the federal courts are designed to handle complex criminal cases—

That is, Mafia cases, organized crime cases, major complicated cases—

with nationwide impact that states lack the resources and/or jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute. While the anticipated provision would presumably relieve the states of a small proportion of their criminal caseload, the potential addition to the federal caseload of thousands of cases that the states routinely and efficiently prosecute would severely reduce if not cripple the federal courts' ability to handle those types of cases that we are best able—and geared—to handle. Winning the war on crime requires an efficient use of resources and requires a recognition of the specialized role of the federal courts; indeed, the diversion of federal resources to these prosecutions might well lead to less effective law enforcement across the board.

I ask unanimous consent that the entirety of Judge Barry's letter be printed in the RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 5, 1993.

HON. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I write as chair of the Judicial Conference Committee on Criminal Law to comment on a provision that I understand may be offered by Senator D'Amato as an amendment to the crime bill currently under consideration by the Senate (S. 1607). This amendment would provide, under federal law, for a death penalty for homicides involving firearms that have moved in interstate commerce and mandatory minimum sentences for the use of firearms in connection with state crimes of violence or drug trafficking crimes. The Judicial Conference of the United States opposes such a provision.

Permit me to make one point crystal clear: the federal judiciary is not seeking to avoid a role in the effort to reduce crime and, in particular, crime involving firearms; indeed, we strongly endorse this effort. But there is already very strong and heavily utilized federal firearms law. A defendant who uses a firearm in connection with a federal offense is sentenced under current law to a stiff term of imprisonment, which is in addition to the sentence for the underlying federal offense.

We oppose, however, any proposal which would make every state offense committed with a firearm a potential federal offense. Wholly aside from the massive influx of prosecutions which would ensue, such a proposal would be inconsistent with long accepted and traditionally honored principles of federalism and would adversely impact on the ability of the federal courts to function as intended.

More specifically, the federal courts are designed to handle complex criminal cases with nationwide impact that states lack the resources and/or jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute. While the anticipated provision would presumably relieve the states of a small proportion of their criminal caseload, the potential addition to the federal caseload of thousands of cases that the states routinely and efficiently prosecute would severely reduce if not cripple the federal courts' ability to handle those types of cases that we are best able—and geared—to handle. Winning the war on crime requires an efficient use of resources and requires a recognition of the specialized role of the federal courts; indeed, the diversion of federal resources to these prosecutions might well lead to less effective law enforcement across the board.

In addition, this proposal would call for mandatory minimum sentences which the judiciary has consistently, vehemently, and virtually unanimously opposed. That opposition is based upon the recognition that the Sentencing Reform Act imposes on the United States Sentencing Commission the obligation to establish sentencing guidelines to create a comprehensive and rational federal sentencing system. Statutory provisions requiring mandatory minimum sentences not only subvert that scheme, but render it impossible for courts to ameliorate the harsh effects of mandatory minimum sentences even in cases in which not to do so would work a manifest injustice.

In sum, we agree with the principles enunciated by you at the last Third Circuit Judicial Conference that our limited federal judicial resources should be dedicated to cases in which the states are unable or unwilling to protect an important federal interest; in which the gravity of an important federal interest and the pervasiveness of the states' inaction together outweigh the burden on the federal system; or in which the conduct is occurring in many jurisdictions, overwhelming the ability of any one state to respond. Moreover, we strongly object to any characterization that the federal judiciary is not concerned about protecting the lives and the property of the citizens of this country or that it seeks to be above the fray, as Senator D'Amato suggests. The proper debate should center, as you propose, on where the federal courts can make the most meaningful contribution. Under virtually any standard for drawing such a line, the anticipated D'Amato provision fails the test.

The Judicial Conference is on record as opposing the anticipated provision. We reiterate that opposition now.

Sincerely,

MARYANNE TRUMP BARRY.

Mr. BIDEN. I conclude by again saying that I compliment my friend from New York. I said to my staff person, who is an expert in criminal law, sitting next to me here, that if I were the Senator from New York—I am not being facetious—I suspect I would do exactly the same thing out of absolute total frustration of what is not happening in his State and what is not happening, particularly in this city. I believe that is where I would be driven. But my responsibility as chairman of this committee, and hopefully as someone who knows a little bit about the subject, is to try to keep our eye on the ball here, and to keep our eye on the ball, it seems to me that we can do one of two things to help the States. We can give the States the tools to do the job, because they are fully capable if they have the tools. And in this bill we have; we have given them a great deal of money for prisons, \$6 billion, and 100,000 police officers that the Federal Government is going to pay the lion's share of. In addition, we have given them several billion additional dollars for other police enforcement and prevention initiatives. That is one way to do it.

The second way to do it is to take over the jurisdiction of routine crimes committed at a Federal level—routine, although devastating to the person against whom the crime is committed. I think the preferred route is the first route.

I am worried. What is making me change my mind on the legislation today is two things, two facts I did not have last night. First is an estimate of the potential cost to the Federal Government of this, and, second, we finally have a Federal system that is working. I would rather not break it. I would rather try to fix the State system by giving them the resources and ability to do it. I acknowledge that this is a close call and, again, I compliment my friend, and I understand. As I said, if I were the Senator from New York, living in Long Island rather than living in suburban Wilmington, I suspect, I would be doing exactly the same thing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 12:30 p.m. having passed, the Senate is supposed to recess.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the recess be postponed for 10 or 12 minutes until I have finished with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. BIDEN. Will the Senator yield for 30 seconds for an additional request?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. BIDEN. I ask unanimous consent that upon the disposition of the D'Amato amendment, the Senate,

without any intervening action or debate, vote on the underlying Gramm amendment No. 1130, as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BRYAN. If the Senator will yield, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of his remarks, I might be permitted an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, if I might make a request, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Nevada I be permitted 5 minutes to respond and to have the time extended?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. D'AMATO. If I might be permitted 3 minutes just to respond—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey has been recognized.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I think the Senator wants to respond to the remarks made by the Senator from Delaware. I have no objection to deferring my time for 3 minutes and allowing him to go ahead on the issue.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thank my colleague from New Jersey.

Mr. President, I am going to repeat this again. There is no more sense of duty than the protection of the lives of our citizens. The Government has no other obligation that is greater than that. When they fail in that, they fail in everything.

When we look at the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, it should come to us clearly. It says:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty * * *

My gosh, what kind of liberty do our people have? Let us get into the real world of what it is like to live in the city of Washington, the city of New York, most of our urban centers.

Now we can go along with the judiciary, the chief judge, who says our courts are going to be overburdened. Make sure we give them the resources necessary to deal with the problem.

It is going to cost \$2.5 billion to prosecute these cases. I will tell you something. You could not spend the money in a better place if you are going to make our communities safe. Ask the people, take it to the people.

For us to be passing the buck back and forth, "Oh, it is the failure of the local government," what does the local government say? They say: "We do not control the production and the distribution of drugs which powers so much of the crime. It is the Federal's responsibility."

What do we say to that?

No, Mr. President. The time for buck passing has stopped. It is time to take

clearly a commonsense approach that we are going to help law enforcement because we are going to be working for our citizens, and that is our responsibility.

If you use a gun in the commission of a crime, we send you to jail. If the local people do not have the resources to do it, by gosh, it should be our responsibility and our duty to step in and do it. If you kill someone, yes, you will face the possibility of the death penalty. More importantly, hopefully, we demonstrate a commitment to bring civility to our country, we begin to reduce the dreaded statistics that show a rampage and 20 percent more felonies every year in the use of handguns. Up and up it goes.

Mr. President, I believe this legislation can make a difference. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senator GORTON be added as an original cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thank my colleague from New Jersey, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE-TRADE AGREEMENT

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, this evening on CNN there will be a debate about the North American Free-Trade Agreement between Vice President AL GORE and Ross Perot.

I think this highlights the importance of this issue to the American people, that there would be such a high visibility debate between a proponent and an opponent of the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

I have spoken on this floor as recently as yesterday as to why I think that the North American Free-Trade Agreement is in the national interest. Yesterday I spent about 10 to 12 minutes talking about why it will create jobs in the United States, and why it will create net new jobs, and why it will make us more competitive in international markets. I think we cannot forget that point.

Tomorrow, I will talk about what happens if the NAFTA is defeated and what the consequences are that flow for the United States if the NAFTA is defeated.

Today I would like to talk about why I think this is an historic moment.

Mr. President, on November 17, the House of Representatives will take a vote on the North American Free-Trade Agreement. If they pass the agreement, it will come to the Senate. If it is ratified here, it will go into effect January 1. If it is rejected in the House of Representatives on November 17, it is all over.

Mr. President, there are few moments that occur in a Congressman's

tenure of service or a Senator's tenure of service that will affect generations to come. It is my view that the North American Free-Trade Agreement is such a moment. It will shape the kind of country we are for generations to come. It will determine whether we are willing to step forward and lead the postcold war world by the power of our example. The United States being an inclusive society and economy.

Mr. President, there are other moments when I have said to any number of Congress people that I have been talking to over the last several weeks, that this is an historic moment. On one hand some feel, if we do not get this NAFTA we will get another NAFTA and say "No, it is not this NAFTA."

If there is not an agreement to support this NAFTA, there will be no other NAFTA. It is now or never. It is up or down. The Mexican Government will not renegotiate another NAFTA. They cannot possibly, given their history and what they have done to bring themselves to the point to extend the hand north to the United States and say let us be a partner for the benefit of both of our countries.

If it is rejected by the Congress of the United States, it will be an indignity that the Mexican people will feel. It will not be an easy thing to overcome. To think you will have another NAFTA negotiated is, in my view, the height of folly.

Mr. President, there have been other moments in our history as a country when a decision had to be made. If a decision was made one way, we became quite a different country; if a decision was made another way, we became again quite a different country.

Let me give you just three examples:

Thomas Jefferson was elected President of the United States in 1800. He was elected by a diverse coalition, a new party that became the Democratic Party ultimately. He had strong support from westerners, those who lived in the Tennessee and the Mississippi territory. Traders and frontiersmen formed a big part of his coalition and he was elected. Those traders were sending those goods down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, where—at that time New Orleans was owned by the French—the French began to put tariffs, duties, on the goods that the American trappers were sending down the river. It began to create quite a storm.

There were elements of the Jefferson coalition that urged the United States to intervene militarily, for the new United States to invade and take control of New Orleans.

In 1803, the President thought of another course. He dispensed James Monroe and Livingston, who was the Ambassador of the United States to Paris, to the French Government with the instructions to buy New Orleans; buy it. They went in to see Talleyrand, who

was the foreign minister, and unbeknownst to them Talleyrand had a conversation with Napoleon who earlier had decided because of a guerrilla war in Haiti taking 30,000 to 40,000 French lives that the French empire would not long be in the New World; they would invade Europe. When the United States representative went in to Talleyrand and said, "We would like to buy new Orleans," the French representative said, "What will you give us for all of Louisiana?" This was an historic moment.

Thomas Jefferson had to decide, "Do I go against my reading of what the Constitution allows me to do and purchase all of Louisiana, or do I shrink back; do I shrink back and not advance?" He made the decision to advance, and America became quite a different place. It became, in Jefferson's words, "the empire of liberty"; it became a continental nation.

It was a historic moment, where the decision transformed the kind of country we are.

Fast forward about 60 years. Secretary of State Seward decided he was going to buy all of this ice up in the north called Alaska, owned by Russia. People called it Seward's Folly. People asked, "What do you want with all that ice? It is nothing but frozen land, worthless."

Seward had a vision of what America needed and what it could become. He convinced Lincoln and then Johnson to buy Alaska. The United States bought Alaska for a few million dollars and transformed our prospects.

It was an historic moment. Had we decided the other way, we would have had quite a different country.

Another historic moment after World War II, occurred coming out of the depths of the depression, world trade had crumbled. Those who won World War II decided we were going to have to raise living standards based on world trade.

They drafted the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the World Bank, the IMF, and produced the greatest prosperity the world has ever known. That prosperity flowed directly from those decisions. That was a third historic moment.

Had the United States turned inward, shrunk from the challenge, not only would our living standards be different, but our self-perception as a people would be different and our leadership in the world would have been nonexistent.

These were three moments in American history, historic moments.

Mr. President, I would argue that we are once again at one of those moments.

The vote in the House of Representatives next week will determine the future of this country in more ways than one. Not only will it mean more jobs for us, not only will it mean more com-

petition and more ability to compete in world markets, but, it will help to curb illegal immigration. With a country where half the population is under the age of 19, if we reject the North American Free-Trade Agreement and jobs are not created in Mexico, there is only one way that those young Mexicans are going to head, and that is north. And when they come north, they will be displacing minimum wage workers in this country, because they will work for less than the minimum wage and social tensions will rise.

Last week, we had a debate on illegal immigration and social services. It was filled with a kind of anger at the illegal immigrants. That will only increase. There will be further polarization. There will be more meanness. There will be less opportunity. And in Mexico, there will be less democracy and less of a chance for people to build a better life for themselves.

Mr. President, this is a historic moment, not a free vote, not an appropriations bill that will come back next year. It is a moment in time when you either step forward and say, in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson or Secretary Seward, or all the leaders in our Government in the post-cold war era, yes, we are going to advance, we are going to take the leap, we are going to take the small risk to be bigger, because to be bigger is to be American. We are not a people that shrinks back. We are a people who advances.

And I am not implying that the United States is buying Mexico, not in any way whatsoever. There the example is dissimilar. There is, however, the similarity of this being a historic moment.

It is my hope, Mr. President, that the House of Representatives will respond to this moment in the best traditions of our American character and pass the North American Free-Trade Agreement.

I yield the floor.

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

AMENDMENT NO. 1140

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the distinguished Republican leader to make violent crimes committed by street gangs punishable under Federal law. The movement of drugs and gangs across State lines and their power to terrorize local communities provide the Congress with the authority and, in my view, the duty to declare Federal jurisdiction and appropriate penalties.

Mr. President, youth gangs have become more violent, particularly those engaged in street-level drug activity.

Our local law enforcement officials, who are on the front line, need additional resources and penalties to help fight this rising tide of violent and drug-related activity.

Criminal gangs are groups that exhibit at least five of the following characteristics:

Formal membership with the required initiation or rules for members; a recognized leader; common clothing, language, tattoos; turf where the group is known; and a group name.

The Department of Justice reported 4,881 gangs, 249,324 gang members, 1,051 gang-related homicides, and 46,359 gang incidents in 1991.

Youth gangs are increasingly using guns and drugs. According to the Justice Department, juvenile arrest rates for heroin/cocaine escalated dramatically, more than 700 percent between 1980 and 1990. Juvenile use of guns in homicides increased from 64 percent to 78 percent between 1987 and 1991.

And, tragically, Mr. President, my home State of Nevada has not escaped this spiraling violent trend of youths using guns and intimidation to protect their drug trade and their turf.

In Las Vegas, there are 118 different gangs with 5,916 confirmed members. In Reno, a city of 140,000 people, there are 23 different gangs with 865 confirmed members. It is clear that gang violence has crossed over the Sierra Nevada from California and has now permeated the daily life of Nevada's two largest cities.

In Las Vegas, in 1991, there were 130 drive-by shootings and 17 gang-related homicides. In the following year, 1992, that number had nearly doubled to 258 drive-by shootings and 18 gang-related homicides.

In Reno, since March of this year, there have been 75 gang-related crimes—2 homicides, 4 attempted homicides, and 12 felony batteries.

This kind of lawlessness, Mr. President, makes a mockery of Government's first and primary responsibility, and that is to provide a safe place for its citizens to live.

The Congress can pass all of the social programs in the world, but if we are unable to secure our streets, to make our playgrounds safe again, and our schools places in which youngsters can live and learn, all of these social programs will come to naught.

This amendment makes it a Federal crime to participate in, or to conspire to participate in, a criminal street gang. It makes it a Federal crime to recruit others to join the gang. The amendment provides for increased penalties for participating in a criminal street gang, for a crime against a victim under the age of 18, or conspiring to commit murder as part of the gang.

The amendment further authorizes \$100 million to hire additional assistant U.S. attorneys to prosecute gang activity and establishes a \$100 million grant

program under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act to States and nonprofit organizations to help get gang members on the right path.

This amendment permits the Federal Government to assist States and localities with their efforts to attack violent crime and the spread of illegal drugs.

Incidents such as these must stop—on June 18, 1993, a gang member in Reno fired several shots in the vehicle of an Hispanic family near Virginia Lake Park, killing a 3-year-old boy and wounding a 5-year-old girl. Another incident resulted in the stabbing death of a 19-year-old. The fight was gang related and involved members of two opposing Northeast gangs in the city of Reno.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support the amendment offered by the Republican leader and I urge its passage as part of the crime bill.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 12 minutes, as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to commend the chairman of the Judiciary Committee for including the rural drug enforcement component in the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993, and to urge my colleagues and the administration to heed the warnings and concerns of Upper Midwest State and local law enforcement officials regarding the spread of the dangerous new drug, methcathinone by making northern Wisconsin a high priority for rural drug enforcement Federal assistance.

These provisions are important, and highlight why such rural drug law enforcement assistance is so critical. I am here to describe to my colleagues the problems associated with the drug methcathinone, better known as "cat," which the chairman alluded to in his opening remarks describing this bill. This drug is currently plaguing State and local law enforcement officers in over 22 counties which encompass the Northeastern portion of the State of Wisconsin.

"Cat" is the street name for the highly addictive new drug which resembles crack not only in appearance, but in potency as well. In fact, some law enforcement officials have even described it as more dangerous than cocaine or any of its derivatives such as crack, because of the combination its extreme addictive nature and the ease with which it can be produced at low costs.

And probably the most disturbing aspect concerning this drug

is that it is not grown in or only native to another country in Central or South America, such as cocaine—but is produced with ingredients commonly available at almost any local drug and hardware store here in the United States.

This drug was first found in the United States during a drug raid in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1991. Clandestine labs have since spread South to my State of Wisconsin where it has wreaked havoc on northern Wisconsin law enforcement agencies by exacerbating the problems associated with an already growing rural drug trade. This highly addictive drug has been known to produce a high for up to 14 hours and its user will at times go for several days without eating or sleeping.

The main ingredient is ephedrine, a mild stimulant sold over the counter as an asthma relief medicine and commonly sold in tablet form and used by some truckers and others to keep awake while driving over long distances. This key component, combined with other readily available ingredients such as epsom salts, drain cleaners, and battery acid, can be easily made in crude labs as mobile, as the back of a van, truck, or the trunk of a car, or even a bucket, making it both relatively inexpensive to manufacture and difficult for law enforcement to detect and apprehend its producers.

It has been determined that it costs as little as \$400 to \$500 to produce a kilo of "cat," resulting in a street value of up to \$15,000, making it possible for an individual to achieve an all-day high for as little as \$25, as well as return a substantial profit to the drug's producer and dealer.

It is this ease in the manufacturing of the drug, coupled with its low cost, that law enforcement officials fear the most.

I have been working with a group of sheriffs and other local law enforcement officials from 22 counties in northern Wisconsin who have created a task force in order to obtain Federal assistance to help in their efforts at stemming the flow of this drug.

I was pleased to inform them that the current anticrime bill would provide some assistance to their efforts in the long run and it was encouraging to see that the distinguished manager of this bill has recognized the inherent difficulties involved in rural State and local drug law enforcement efforts by including title XIV in this anticrime bill. Rural State and local law enforcement officers are saddled with the enormous burden of having to cover large and sometimes vast areas of land with only a handful of officers, limited resources, and little or no technical support, making drug enforcement an onerous operation at best. Title XIV not only authorizes \$50,000,000 for rural law enforcement agencies and their

drug enforcement operations, but also establishes rural drug enforcement task forces in each Federal judicial district encompassing significant rural lands. These task forces would be chaired by the respective district's U.S. attorney and would be comprised of representatives from both State, local law, and Federal law enforcement agencies, providing for greater cooperation and intelligence gathering capability.

I was also encouraged and eager to support the Senator from Utah's amendment which strengthened these provisions by requiring the Attorney General to create these rural drug task forces 90 days rather than 1 year after enactment of this bill.

Title XIV would also provide the potential for additional manpower for rural drug enforcement efforts by authorizing the Attorney General to cross-designate and assign Federal law enforcement officers from other agencies such as the U.S. Park Police and the U.S. Forest Service for use in rural drug enforcement efforts.

And finally, title XIV provides the necessary rural drug enforcement training by requiring the Director of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center to develop a specialized course of instruction for the training of local rural law enforcement officers on how to investigate drug trafficking and related crimes.

I am also encouraged to see that the senior Senator from Washington's Chemical Control Amendments Act was included in the bill in title XV of the bill Subtitle B—the Precursor Chemicals Act, will help control the diversion of chemicals used in the illicit production of drugs such as "cat," and will provide greater flexibility in the regulatory controls placed on the legitimate sale and manufacturing of those chemicals.

This section will help close the loopholes in existing law which make it difficult to combat illicit drugs that are made from legal chemicals used for legitimate purposes such as ephedrine.

This section would also impose liability on convicted laboratory owners, and operators for the environmental damages that sometimes result from manufacturing of some types of controlled substances.

This can be critical when dealing with the aftermath of a clandestine "cat" laboratory, which have to be treated as miniature toxic waste sites according to local law enforcement officials due to the inclusion of ingredients such as battery acid and drain cleaners in the manufacturing process.

These provisions when enacted will provide much needed training, resources, and law enforcement tools in the Nation's efforts at curbing the growing drug trade in rural America.

It is important that Congress pass these particular provisions if we are to

deal with the rise of new drugs such as "cat" in a meaningful way. However, I am afraid that if we wait until this bill is passed, signed into law, and the necessary funds appropriated for the rural drug enforcement provisions, it will be too late to stem the flow of "cat" to the rest of the Nation.

In fact, "cat" has already surfaced outside of the midwest in the State of Washington and the city of Los Angeles. But if we provide assistance now we may be able to beat this drug.

As the distinguished majority leader pointed out on the floor last Friday, street crime is for the most part the responsibility of State and local law enforcement agencies. However, this is a situation in which Federal assistance is necessary and can provide important tools which can hopefully prevent another drug epidemic.

This drug is spreading like wildfire and unless we act to curb it now, its recipe will spread and it will be only a matter of time before a "cat" production and sales syndicate/operation is established. I urge my colleagues and the administration to not allow another drug to overrun our Nation's streets.

The administration has been criticized for all but halting our Nation's drug interdiction efforts, here is a situation in which a drug is not coming across our Nation's borders but is made from within. I have already sent a request to the former Administrator of the DEA to ask that northern Wisconsin be made a priority area for a task force to be located, and I plan on submitting another request to the administration and the Attorney General asking for priority status and the reassignment of agents in the interim.

To highlight the urgency in this matter, the head of the Wisconsin DEA has even suggested that he would be willing to close an office in south central Wisconsin located in Madison and reassign the agents to the northern portion of the State since the drug trade has reached disturbing proportions, and the northern county sheriffs have even offered office space and support staff to any DEA, agents that could be stationed in the area.

Although I do not agree with certain aspects of the entire anticrime bill, mainly the needless expansion of the death penalty, I support the rural drug enforcement component and hope that it will be passed and signed into law as soon as possible so that Federal assistance will be made possible and provided to help State and local law enforcement officer's efforts at containing, and hopefully halting the production, sale, and use of this destructive drug.

I look forward to working with the President, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the DEA and my colleagues in this effort, and would like to extend mine and the people of Wisconsin's

gratitude in advance for any assistance in these efforts. Hopefully, if we act now, together we can at least prevent the manufacture and use of this drug from reaching national proportions and becoming an epidemic. The tragic stories we have heard all too many times in this body are already too much for our law enforcement officers, and our entire Nation to deal with.

I yield the floor.

RECESS UNTIL 2:15 P.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate shall stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, at 1:04 p.m., the Senate recessed until 2:14 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. WELLSTONE].

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1994—CONFERENCE REPORT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the conference report to accompany H.R. 2520, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Conference report to accompany H.R. 2520, an act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994.

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Interior appropriations conference report includes the requirement that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service put together and maintain a data base on wildlife numbers in those areas where wolf reintroduction might occur in the future. We have learned from experience with wolves in Alaska that wolf predation can deplete our valuable big game herds and nongame wildlife populations and that wolf control is a very valid wildlife management tool.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will be required to set up a data base on wildlife populations so that any future wolf reintroduction can be monitored in terms of negative effects on wildlife populations. This monitoring will allow State and Federal wildlife managers to make scientific decisions about the need for wolf control, or decisions regarding sport hunting seasons for wolves, as a means of maintaining wildlife populations at proper levels without reducing sport hunting opportunities.

The Fish and Wildlife Service should use available data collected by the State game and fish agencies for wildlife populations in possible wolf reintroduction areas, and in adjacent

areas. Data collected by other Federal agencies should be included as well. We should have a data base that goes back at least 10 years and then continues into the future. This data should be collected on a yearly basis and should include hunter harvest levels.

This activity would in no way usurp State law. In fact, I consulted with State game and fish personnel before drafting the amendment which I offered on the Senate floor. This should be a cooperative effort between the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the State agencies and other Federal agencies.

The National Park Service compiled data for ungulate populations in Yellowstone Park for the period covering 1980-88. However, that type of data collection should be continued and should be made part of the data base. Nongame species should be counted as well. I envision the creation of a computer data base on wildlife population numbers that can be used to compare prewolf data and postreintroduction data should wolves ever be introduced in Wyoming and Idaho.

I trust the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will make funds available to the State game and fish agencies in order to assist in this data collection and will assist other Federal agencies in gathering data as well. It is just good common sense and sound wildlife management policy to develop such a data base and I am pleased my amendment was included as part of conference report. I would like to thank Senator BYRD and Senator NICKLES for their splendid assistance in this matter.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order that I submit for the RECORD, and ask that there be printed in the RECORD prior to the vote on this Interior bill various editorials.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Albuquerque Journal, Nov. 1, 1993]

RIDING A STRANGE HORSE

It's an awkward impasse between Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt and opponents of his proposed grazing fee reforms. Opponents of the reforms lack the votes to legislatively block them—but Babbitt and the administration lack the votes to force the issue.

Forty-four U.S. senators, including New Mexico's Pete V. Domenici and Jeff Bingaman, are using an arcane Senate parliamentary procedure to stall approval of Interior's spending authorization in an attempt to force a compromise. Unless 60 senators agree to consider the spending bill, no action can be taken on it. Other Senate business can continue. Congress was forced to pass a bill to provide the Interior Department with funding until Nov. 10.

Efforts to break the "filibuster" (not a true filibuster since the Senate no longer uses the tactic of talking a bill to death) have failed three times. Domenici has asked that management changes be delayed for a

year so that they can be studied more. He said he could support a fee increase.

Babbitt wants to raise grazing fees on public land 130 percent over three years and make substantive changes in the way government manages its range lands. He has threatened to make the changes administratively if the deadlock in Congress continues. A compromise plan passed the House but has been blocked by Domenici and 43 other senators.

A compromise—an 85 percent fee increase and less stringent regulations—was offered by Sen. Henry Reid, D-Nev. Reid's compromise is the better of the two choices.

Babbitt's adamant against further compromise may serve the administration's campaign promises, but it could prove unnecessarily harmful to ranchers in states such as New Mexico and in the long term, lead to much higher costs for management of federal public lands in the West.

Given the current mood of the administration and a majority of Congress, higher grazing fees and changed regulations are certain to come. Better that they be worked out by Congress than jammed down ranchers' throats by the secretary of Interior. Further compromise as advocated by Domenici and his fellow senators is in order.

[From the Albuquerque Journal, Oct. 24, 1993]

RIDE 'EM, COWBOY

U.S. Sen. Pete Domenici has been accused of grandstanding for cowboys in his fight against a plan to reform federal grazing laws. But the New Mexico Republican's accuser, Sen. Harry Reid, D-Nev., has it wrong. Domenici isn't grandstanding; he's taking a stand.

Domenici, New Mexico Democratic Sen. Jeff Bingaman and several other Western senators are standing up for New Mexico ranchers. The ranchers need defenders in high places, because the Clinton administration and many members of Congress are trying to push through a grazing fee increase that could hurt—and perhaps mortally wound—a lot of New Mexico ranchers.

Supporters of efforts to increase grazing fees rightly point out that ranchers hurt themselves over the years by adamantly opposing the most minuscule increases. Then, when a presidential administration sympathetic to higher fees came into office, the dam was ready to break. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt proposed increasing fees from the current \$1.86 per animal unit to \$4.28. Reid came up with a smaller increase—to \$3.45—and inserted it into the Interior Department budget.

So, shouldn't Reid win support for his attempt at a compromise? If it were a true compromise, yes. But the increase backed by Reid, while less than Babbitt's, is substantial.

Contrary to the image many people may have of ranchers overseeing vast, Ponderosa-size operations, most ranchers in New Mexico have much smaller spreads. In our state, Domenici said, a medium-sized ranch would pay an extra \$6,006 a year under the proposed hike contained in the Interior Department's funding bill.

"Can you imagine if every New Mexican was told their taxes would go up by \$6,006—and there was nothing they could do about it?" Domenici said. "People would be outraged. That's one reason I'm determined to fight this."

Domenici, other Western Republican senators, Bingaman and a handful of other Democrats delayed a vote on the Reid meas-

ure last week. It will likely be a temporary victory. Sentiment in Congress appears to be with the Reid position.

Many Americans who live in cities might say, "So what?" Reid himself—although from a Western state—restated an unfortunate stereotype too many people have about ranching. He accused Domenici of grandstanding for "a West that no longer exists."

Well, maybe Reid should visit the many, many small ranches in New Mexico—the spreads owned by families for generations. Those ranchers could let Reid know they are real and they are the bedrock of much of rural New Mexico. However, they could also tell him that if his perception of reality isn't correct now, it will be if a big grazing fee goes through, without any provision for small operations.

And people who think ranching should be totally eliminated shouldn't assume that all those ranchers will be driven off the land if big grazing fees are enacted. Only the small ranchers will fold; the huge operations—many of them owned by out-of-state corporations—will survive.

City dwellers who don't particularly care about rural New Mexico should consider this: What will happen if the strongest threads in the fabric of some communities—the small ranching families—are ripped out by hefty fee increases? What else will unravel if those families are forced to leave and seek work elsewhere? Doesn't the economic health of New Mexico also depend on the strength of rural communities?

If members of Congress dismiss such concerns as representing "a West that no longer exists," then large swaths of rural New Mexico will suffer, Domenici and Bingaman are in a tough fight that they may well lose. But, even if they lose, they will be viewed by many New Mexicans not as grandstanders, but as people who took a stand to preserve rural communities.

[From the Canon City (CO) Record, Nov. 8, 1993]

RANCHERS WANT AN APOLOGY FROM INTERIOR CHIEF BABBITT (By John Lemons)

CANON CITY.—More than 40 local ranchers demonstrated in front of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Friday morning in response to what they say is a "War on the West" by Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt.

"Grazing is not the issue," said Aaron Atwood, president of the Freemont Cattlemen's Association. "The issue is water rights."

The speakers present at the demonstration Friday morning said they were concerned about the Rangeland Reform '94 Resolution, which is attached to an appropriations bill for the BLM. The bill is scheduled to be voted on Tuesday.

"We are mad as hell," Atwood said. "We have been painted and labeled as bad land managers."

Atwood also alleged that Babbitt had lied to ranchers at a Grand Junction town meeting when he promised more public meetings. So far, there have been no hearings held or dates announced.

Babbitt also is keeping the public misinformed by trying to hide BLM records that show the rangeland is in better condition now than at any time in this century, Atwood said.

Sen. Hank Brown also spoke out against the reform resolution at the demonstration. He spoke from Washington D.C. on the telephone, and his voice was amplified on a public address system in the BLM parking lot.

"The issue is one of the most important we have ever seen," Brown said. "We caught them red handed trying to steal Colorado water."

The reference was to the reform resolution that will take some private water rights from those who use private springs and wells to supply watering tanks for wildlife and cattle on public lands, Atwood said.

Another concern for ranchers and farmers is the elimination of the rangeland advisory board, which is made up of members of the community who advise BLM officials, he said. Local people would have no input to rangeland management if the local boards are eliminated.

The reform resolution would even limit access to public lands, said officials.

"The federal government is telling us to get off the land," said Steve Arveschoug, a representative for Congressman Scott McInnis.

The proposal by the demonstrators was that Babbitt stop his "War on the West" and withdraw the reform resolution, said Rod Carpenter of Texas Creek. A new process would begin to create a new consensus through the Western governors, ranchers, environmental interests and community leaders to develop a long-term, sustainable resolution on federal lands management issues.

"We think Babbitt should make a public apology to all western ranchers for his lying and misleading tactics," Atwood said.

If an apology is not made, the ranchers and others will participate in a White House phone-in campaign on Nov. 9 to demand that President Bill Clinton fire Babbitt, he said.

REGARDING RANGELAND REFORM COMPROMISE AND PUBLIC LAND POLICY

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, when this proposal was first announced by the administration, shortly after Congress began its August recess, I looked long and hard for something good to say about this so-called rangeland reform initiative. I finally concluded that the best I could say was that there will be time for extensive public comment. Unfortunately, not even that small consolation proved to be true.

Western Senators were placed in a most difficult position. It was necessary for us to fiercely protect our States rights and interests by fighting this proposal on the floor of the Senate.

I understand the Senator from Nevada and carefully observed his dogged and unstinting commitment to his principles. Those of us who oppose rangeland reform can appreciate that. We, too, had to take a similar stand for our principles.

During the past month, we have spoken often of the potentially devastating impacts the administration's reform package would have on the Western States. I am most pleased that we can now go forward with the passage of this conference report.

I believe that the Senate is demonstrating by today's action that the main point of contention in this conference report was not the grazing fee increase. We knew it would—and should—be raised. Only the amount was in question.

This reform proposal went much farther: It rewrote the public land laws in

broad and radical means. The so-called reform affected property rights, water law, the permitting process, the appeals process, and a number of other longstanding traditional land management practices.

This so-called reform changed management practices that have not only been successfully proven over time; but it changed practices and management policy that has served to dramatically improve the condition of our public rangelands.

The Senator from Nevada is correct in one respect: The West is changing. It is becoming more urbanized. We westerners recognize that.

However, Mr. President, change simply for the sake of change is not always a good idea. The Western ethic—the lifestyle of the West—does not have to be changed simply to force different, and even bizarre, management practices on our public lands. We in the West are always eager to act sensibly to improve those lands—these lands are the true basis for the lifestyle that we cherish so dearly. That is why this debate has been so passionate.

I am pleased the proponents of this proposal have now withdrawn it. I trust that the authorization committees of jurisdiction will now pursue their legislative obligation to conduct thorough and exhaustive hearings.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I rise to offer my strong support for the conference report, including funding for the National Endowment for the Arts. I would like to take a moment to talk about one of the important projects supported by the Endowment to illustrate how these tax dollars are spent.

The Des Moines Opera Co., receives funding from the NEA to operate OPERA Iowa—one of the most acclaimed art programs for Iowa schools. OPERA Iowa is a popular educational touring company that visits schools throughout the State each spring. This traveling company performs in large and small communities in every corner of our State. Because of OPERA Iowa, many students who could not travel to Des Moines or other cities have had the opportunity to experience live opera performances. Judging from the letters I have received from Iowa school children who have attended the performances, this is an experience they do not forget.

OPERA Iowa is one example of ensuring that the arts remain accessible and available to all individuals. This is especially important for those that might be denied access because of geographical location or family finances. OPERA Iowa is possible only because of the financial support of the NEA and I am pleased to support funding for such a fine organization.

REGARDING GRAZING FEES

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today's agreement is a major victory and I commend my colleagues for working so

diligently on this issue. The myths that we have read in the press and heard on this very floor have made it difficult to keep the facts straight.

For a moment, I too, would like to separate myth from fact. I heard from the proponents of increasing grazing fees and all of the supposed benefits that would come with such action. These proponents paint the picture of a ravaged West, saying the western rancher is raping the land. Yet, we all know the land is better off than what the pioneer accounts show.

Keep in mind, the land we are talking about is owned by the Government because no one else wanted it. It was not suitable for grazing and certainly was not suitable for ownership. The forage value of an acre of rangeland in my home State of Kansas is certainly greater than that of an acre of rangeland in Nevada. Consequently, as livestock numbers increased in this country, so did the need for grazing lands and eventually, the Government leased this land to the public. Critics point out the difference between the current fee of \$1.86 per AUM on public land and \$8-\$12 per AUM on private land. I would suggest to the critics they should also point out that when leasing from the Government, certain conditions have to be met by the tenant; conditions that are not required of private landowners.

Mr. President, ranchers pay more for private land because they get more. The fee is all encompassing. It includes fencing, water improvement, roads, and in many cases complete care for the livestock. To pay for private land also means that the tenant gets exclusive rights to the property.

Compared to public lands, the difference is significant. Ranchers leasing public lands must build the roads and watersheds, and they are required to build and maintain the fences at their own expense. Furthermore, their land is open to the public. I recently came across an analogy that illustrates the difference. "The difference between private and Federal land is much like the difference between dining in a restaurant and fixing your own dinner. Except that, on Federal land, you are expected to share your dinner with anybody who shows up at your table."

Clearly the Congress has spoken. I would encourage the administration to listen closely to what we have said through today's action.

GRAZING FEES

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to address the resolution of this grazing issue. As we witness the end of this extended and sometimes contentious debate, I have mixed feelings.

For sometime, I have stated that grazing fees should be increased. But I have also stated that any increase must be fair and must be determined through an open process based on public participation. I cannot support a fee

which is brokered behind closed doors and then is shoved down the throats of those who depend on our public lands for their living.

I am pleased that the Reid compromise has been removed from the Interior appropriations conference report. This action is appropriate because, at long last, it will allow the very important Interior appropriations bill to be adopted by the Senate. While the filibuster was decried in some press and by some of my own constituents, it was a necessary effort to guarantee fair treatment for another group of constituents. It is unfortunate that preserving that fair treatment for one group resulted in the delay of critical projects. Today, we have taken an important step toward the completion of those projects.

Further, I support this move to allow the range reform operation to return to the rulemaking process initiated by the Secretary of the Interior. Public participation is of critical importance as policy is formulated. This action will ensure that the public has their say in any policy revision which is so important in Montana and throughout the American West.

I am very disappointed that we failed to resolve the issue of fees for grazing on Federal lands. I agree with my colleague from Nevada, Senator REID, in his statement that this fee should be established by Congress. The Senate has lost an opportunity to accomplish that goal and end years of heated debate. Instead, the opportunity has slipped away. While some might believe the fee will be resolved in the reform Secretary Babbitt has proposed, I have reservations. I believe the fee and management reforms may ultimately be separated. And I know that we have not heard the last of the infamous grazing fee debate. I fear it will return, another day, to once again haunt our Halloween deliberations.

While the rematch of Holyfield and Bowe was a sporting spectacular, a replay of this filibuster would be grave disappointment. Instead, we must work to accomplish grazing reform using the appropriate processes.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I am pleased that the filibuster is over and that the Senate was able to pass the Interior appropriations bill. By withdrawing his proposal, Senator REID has given us the opportunity to deal with the issue of rangeland reform in the appropriate arena: The authorizing committees of jurisdiction.

In the interest of fairness to those New Mexicans whose livelihood depends on grazing public lands, I remain convinced that many of the provisions of Secretary Babbitt's proposal need to be carefully examined by Congress, and that the authorizing committees should play a role in that. I believe that is the only way to adopt reform that is thorough and lasting.

New Mexicans and other westerners deserve the opportunity to express their concerns to the administration and the Congress on how their lives would be impacted by rangeland reform. The time for reform is now. Let us proceed to do it the right way.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I want to thank the members of this body's Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, as well as those of the House, for their acceptance of the Glacier Bay historic rights amendment. In particular, I want to thank Senator BYRD and Senator JOHNSTON for their support.

This amendment is important to Alaska because Glacier Bay visitation by cruise ships is the underpinning of tourism in our State. Each year, one out of every four tourists who visit Alaska does so via cruise ships and Glacier Bay is the premier attraction. The growth of tourism in Alaska depends, in large part, upon the ability of cruise ships to call on Glacier Bay.

Today, with the passage of the Interior appropriations bill, we are assured that Holland America Line-Westours, the cruise line that first enabled cruise ship passengers to see the wonders of Glacier Bay over 30 years ago, will be guaranteed the rights to which it is entitled under section 1307 of the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act. This amendment will redress the failure of the Interior Department to properly apply section 1307 as to Holland America Line-Westours. Accordingly, with the passage of this amendment, Holland America Line-Westours will be able to forever continue providing cruise ship visitor services in Glacier Bay. Again, I thank the chairman for his understanding and support of this amendment.

RANGELAND REFORM

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I would like to take this occasion to express my approval of the Senate's decision to remove the Babbitt-Reid rangeland reform language from the Interior appropriations bill. In striking this provision, I believe the Senate has properly rejected the legislation by stealth approach which seems to be attractive to some inside the beltway, but which ignores the legitimate concerns of the people and communities whose livelihoods depend on the use of public lands.

This debate was never about grazing fees. If the grazing fee increase were all that was included in the Interior bill, the Senate would have passed it weeks ago by a large majority. I would have voted in favor of the bill.

Neither was this debate about partisan politics. There are several Democrats who have led the charge against the Babbitt-Reid proposal, and there are several Republicans who have embraced the proposed reforms. To call this a case of partisan gridlock is to engage in petty demagogery.

What this debate has been about, Mr. President, is the 19 pages of sweeping

land use and private water rights legislation that was added to the bill at the tail end of the appropriations process as a result of a back room deal between Secretary Babbitt and a small group of Members. This language could undermine long-standing water rights of thousands of Washingtonians, could adversely affect permits and leases for nongrazing uses on Federal lands, and could invite a flood of lawsuits from all sides of the issue.

While I respect the views of Secretary Babbitt and my colleagues who are advocating this proposal, I cannot consent to this way of changing the law.

Let's take a minute to review the history of this debate. After Secretary Babbitt proposed his rangeland reform initiative in August, the Senate Appropriations Committee opted to place a simple, 1-year moratorium on changes in range policy to give the authorizing committees and the American public an opportunity to evaluate the Secretary's proposal. The appropriations bill passed by the House was silent on the issue.

In the Interior appropriations conference, we could have simply chosen between the House and Senate provisions. If the moratorium was unacceptable to the House conferees, they could have refused to agree to the Senate position and we would have eventually passed a bill that was silent on the grazing fee issue. At the very least, the authorizing committees would have been afforded the opportunity to address the issue, and people throughout the West would have been given the chance to comment on the Secretary's plan.

But this wasn't good enough. Instead, Secretary Babbitt and a very few Members of the House and Senate took it upon themselves to negotiate a compromise that would codify the Secretary's rangeland reforms. They did so behind closed doors and without consulting other Members or any part of the general public. I must say, Mr. President, that it was difficult for this Senator to tell the difference between the compromise and Secretary Babbitt's original proposal.

After the Babbitt-Reid language became public, I think its proponents expected a little grumbling but a quick surrender. But opposition was firm, and has solidified as more Senators have become aware of its potential impact. This is one backroom deal that has withered under the light of public scrutiny.

Mr. President, we have authorizing committees for a reason. It is their job to hold hearings, establish legislative history, resolve drafting problems, and address the concerns of those who will be affected by a particular piece of legislation. The authorizing committees were given no opportunity to perform these functions with regard to Sec-

retary Babbitt's rangeland reform proposal.

I am the first to admit that Congress does not always take quick action on such difficult issues, and that the rangeland policy bills that have been introduced are moving slowly. But the breadth of the Secretary's proposal does not warrant a hasty approach. We are talking about changing the fundamental relationship between the Federal Government and the people who have made productive use of its lands for generations. A back door approach to this matter is unacceptable.

I understand that the Energy and Natural Resources Committee intends to hold hearings on rangeland issues. I wholeheartedly support the committee's efforts, and look forward to hearing from western Governors, Federal permit and license holders, and the concerned public. I trust that the committee will give the issue the attention it deserves.

In the meantime, Secretary Babbitt is free to impose higher grazing fees by administrative action. I hope the Secretary will not use this opportunity to punish those who have questioned his proposed reforms. I will understand if he seeks to raise grazing fees to a level that better reflects his view of the value of public grazing lands, but hope with all my heart that he will not impose fees so high that they will drive people off Federal lands. I think the Secretary is a better person than that. I think he also knows that he will be held accountable for any such actions, whether it be by Congress or by the people of the West at the next election.

Finally, I would like to address those who criticized me and other opponents of the Babbitt-Reid proposal for jeopardizing the many valuable programs that are funded elsewhere in the Interior bill. Mr. President, such criticism is absurd. No one has worked harder than I to gain approval for the many Washington State projects that are included in this year's bill. If these projects were ever seriously threatened, I would have been compelled to consider some sort of compromise rangeland language. That was never the case. Those who thought that this Congress would abandon Interior Department funding in order to support 19 pages of untested, poorly understood authorizing language either have a warped view of Congressional priorities, or are engaging in the same type of scare tactics of which they accuse opponents of the Babbitt-Reid proposal.

The Senate today will pass an Interior appropriations bill that is fully intact, with the exception of the rangeland reform provisions. This should come as a surprise to nobody. I am pleased to vote in favor of the bill.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, during the filibuster debate on the Reid amendment to the Interior appropriations bill, my office was inundated

with hundreds of letters from citizens of Wyoming and throughout the West. I wish we could give public voice to all the numerous letters I have received over the past few weeks, but limited resources will not permit.

However, as we are about to vote on the final conference report on the Interior appropriations bill, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a sampling of letters from the people of my State that reflect the widespread concern about this issue as well as its complexity.

Of course, my heartfelt appreciation goes out to all who took precious time out of their busy days to share their experiences and perspectives on this matter.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WYOMING BANKERS ASSOCIATION,
Casper, WY, October 25, 1993.

Senator MALCOLM WALLOP,
Senator PETE DOMENICI,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATORS WALLOP AND DOMENICI: The Wyoming Bankers Association has been following the proposed changes in federal grazing fees closely and we are very concerned about the impact that increased fees will have on our livestock producers, our banks, and our communities. In Wyoming, a federal grazing permit is not just a supplement to a ranching operation but it is an integral part of the ranch. In many instances, a substantial increase in the cost of these permits or a reduction in the animal units will eliminate the ranching operation altogether.

As lenders, we are concerned about the quality of our loan portfolios. The increased fees would not only reduce the rancher's profit potential but also reduces the value of his deeded land which is often part of our collateral.

As community bankers, we know that decreased agricultural income and a decrease in the number of animal units in any area has an immediate and significant negative effect on the entire community. The proposal to increase grazing fees has already had an effect on the way we view agricultural loan applications. I have spoken to many bankers throughout the state who are approaching agricultural loans with far more caution than they had before this proposal was presented.

My bank in Sheridan has been very active in both operating and real estate loans to livestock producers. In the past we have always placed a dollar value on the number of federal grazing permits that a producer owned. This dollar value became part of that producer's total assets, part of his net worth, and in many instances, part of the collateral assigned to the bank. We no longer give any value to grazing permits and when looking at a loan application, if the ranch cannot stand on its own without the benefit of federal grazing permits, we will most likely deny the loan request.

This is a drastic change in the way we have done business but we do not feel that we can put the bank or the producers at risk knowing how questionable the value of federal grazing permits has become.

We wholeheartedly support your efforts to combat this change in the way we use federal lands and if there is anything that the Wy-

oming Bankers Association or I can do to help in the effort, please contact us immediately.

Sincerely yours,

ED GARDING,

President, Wyoming Bankers Association;
President, First Interstate Bank.

OCTOBER 19, 1993.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: This last gasp letter is written on behalf of ourselves and especially our relatives and neighbors who have a longer heritage of sheep and cattle ranching on the west side of the Big Horn mountains. Several participated in the Bozeman, MT hearing held by Secretary Babbitt and responded in writing as he requested, and again in response to "Rangeland Reform '94."

None of us are against a fair increase in grazing fees and all want to continue to improve rangeland conditions. We sincerely believed in July that the current Administration would sort out fact from rhetoric, as Secretary Babbitt repeatedly stated. The facts would speak for themselves, and we assumed he would work with the western states, governors, local communities and others through the hearing process.

It is now obvious we were wrong. The Administration has become increasingly arrogant and clearly intends to increase fees by 125% and implement new regulations designed to force many small business ranchers into liquidation. Mr. Babbitt concealed his true agenda while in the West. He obviously planned all along to drastically reduce livestock grazing on public lands as part of the political commitments to the new big business environmental groups. Many of us were naive to believe the Interior Department appointees would do what is right for our country, and that jobs would be considered somewhat important.

Unless you and your fellow senators are successful in achieving a common sense compromise that establishes a fair fee system and responsible regulation changes through the EIS process, you can be assured that up to 1/4 of western federal land livestock producers will be out of business in 3 years. Up to 50,000 jobs will be lost only to be exported. Imports of boxed beef will increase by over 300 million pounds per year with an equivalent annual increase in the deficit. Social impact and welfare payment increases of another \$400 million per year are the last thing our country needs at this time. All for what—a \$30 million maximum increase in annual fees and questionable environmental improvement. If this keeps up, our economy will collapse.

JIM AND VIRGINIA FOREMAN.

WYOMING GAME AND FISH COMMISSION,
Greybull, WY, October 20, 1993.

Senator MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: As a member of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, I write to you regarding the proposed grazing fee increase.

Speaking from a wildlife habitat perspective, I believe that efforts to remove grazing from public lands will only be injurious to wildlife populations in our Western states. Unrealistic price increases and management schemes will ultimately harm our wildlife populations.

The balance between public lands and private lands wildlife habitat is a fragile one. Private lands do indeed provide the critical winter habitat for most of our game populations. This will not change, even if there is no domestic livestock on the BLM or USFS.

Instead, private lands will be used much more intensively, more possessively, and the tolerance for wild game species will be greatly diminished. An extreme increase in the grazing fee will create a scenario where landowners will simply want wildlife removed from their private lands.

This situation is readily understood by knowledgeable people in both the livestock and wildlife-related professions. It will not be to the advantage of wildlife in Western states, to manage public lands from Washington, DC, or to price Western ranchers off the public lands.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

MARY FLITNER.

SUN RANCH,
Rawlins, WY, October 20, 1993.

Open Letter to Secretary Babbitt and Jim Baca:

As ranchers, our backs are to the wall and our lives are passing before our eyes. Our destiny seems to rest on Malcolm Wallop and his ability to avoid cloture and filibuster the appropriations bill that contains the death sentence for the western livestock industry as we know it.

A segment of people in this country want an end to livestock grazing on Federal lands. That is a given. Right now those people have the upper hand.

The stated goal of the Clinton administration in proposing "rangeland reform '94" is to alleviate the "poor" condition of the western range. Let's take them at their word and assume they really want to improve rangeland conditions.

Each ranch is different. Each allotment is unique. Each should be studied by range conservationists in complete cooperation with the rancher involved. The type of soil, topography, vegetation, precipitation and climate, including micro-climates, wind direction, etc. must be considered. There are many things that can be done that are productive, at least as long as it rains.

As an example, Dr. Alan Savery has had great success with his holistic resource management techniques. Intensive grazing, when thoroughly understood and done properly can produce astounding results. Let's use it on Federal land.

The rating system used by BLM, at least in this area, is very inadequate. While I understand the system is being changed, or is going to be, it has resulted in very misleading ratings in many areas.

KATHLEEN SUN.

FISHER RANCHES,
Medicine Bow, WY, October 20, 1993.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: I am writing to express our concerns about the proposed grazing act. We are a family ranch that supports four families. We ranch near the town of Medicine Bow, Wyoming. The ranch we lease is owned by Edison Development Company of Chicago. Approximately 33,000 acres of the land we ranch on is deeded land while 18,000 acres are BLM leases. All of this is arranged in a checkerboard pattern. If the grazing act is passed with a surcharge of 20% on the lease base property we face an increase of \$9,420. If we face both types of leases, and we could as we have pastured 1,200 yearlings, the 70% increase would be an additional \$16,530. This will be our second major crisis as eighteen years ago we were faced with estate taxes when the exemption was only \$60,000. You can obviously read between the lines, we no longer own the ranch. We lost it!

The proposed grazing fee hikes will not only detrimental to our livelihood but also

to the towns and business that depend on us for their livelihood. This means grocers, feed dealers, repair shops, service and sales stores, implement dealers and banks will be adversely affected. Rural America will have to migrate and find new jobs and more small towns will become ghost towns.

As ranchers we have to be good stewards of the land or we wouldn't exist today. We hope that you will take into consideration that the grazing fee act will do to the small business person and the family ranch in the West. We are proud to have contributed to America and its way of life. Please help us keep it that way.

Sincerely,

ROB FISHER.
RICHARD FISHER.
THOMAS FISHER.

RIVERTON, WY.

October 19, 1993.

DEAR U.S. SENATOR MALCOLM WALLOP: Here in Fremont County we have seen the land management decisions made in Washington, D.C. shut our mining, timber, retail, agriculture, and many other businesses down. Our county assessment [has decreased in value] from \$760 million to \$201 million. We have lost 6,000 jobs paying [an] average of \$20 per hour. Now we have 5,000 jobs [left] that pay an average of \$5.50 per hour, and land values [have] dropped [to] less than tax assessment value.

The people [who] made this country strong and free are the bad guys and the fee loading free loaders are the heroes. Well this county has had enough and we are organizing to fight the Green Belt with our own Black Sweaty Belts. The voters and taxpayers here have had enough immature decisions made without facing the consequences or realities of real life.

Thank you,

MELVIN GUSTIN.

OCTOBER 20, 1993.

Senator MALCOLM WALLOP,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MALCOLM: In reference to the Rangeland Reform Proposal. It would completely eliminate me from the use of public lands. The effect of the increased fee, nonfee costs, governmental intervention and control of both public and private property rights together with the uncertain livestock prices, it would be too costly to operate.

Our ranch is one of the oldest ranches in this area, with territorial rights and has been operating all that time successfully. With the rangeland reform which is being proposed, the margin between profit and loss would narrow and it would result in a complete loss for me in this area and one more blow to the economy of our nation.

Sincerely,

DON KORTES,
Rancher.

KEMMERER, WY,
October 22, 1993.

To all in Washington who are elected to protect us, not exploit us:

If you insist on adversely altering our present grazing and water rights on Federal Land, then you leave me and others like me no choice but to retaliate in kind by forcing public-owned wildlife off of our deeded land.

I own twenty-one hundred acres of deeded forties in the tops of the Wyoming Range, some of which have natural spring water. Up to now, I have allowed wild animals to roam, graze and drink on my lands free of charge. Also, I have allowed herds of wild animals to

graze in my cultivated hay fields. I have numerous pictures and could obtain hundreds of sworn affidavits of the presence continually of these wild animals in my fields.

If you push through this insanity (raising grazing fees, altering water rights/use) I will go down fighting. I will organize and institute a class action against the United States Government for unpaid AUM's on my private land for the last fifty years, with interest, which will amount to far more than the government will ever gain from increasing our grazing fees. I'm calling the Fish and Game today to photograph and document the presence of these public animals on our private land. In the future I will require the Federal Government to either pay me for feeding their animals and giving them my water, or the Government will have to erect and maintain fences to keep them out (ten feet tall).

In the past, I have been happy to feed and water these animals for nothing and still pay a fee to graze my few animals on public land. Obviously, you're ungrateful. So I'll play according to the rules you're stupidly instituting, and you'll learn the hard way what a good deal the Government has been getting up to now.

Very, very sincerely,

CAROL H. JONES,
Rancher, Lincoln Co., WY.

P.S.—I've fed many hundreds of public animals on my private land year round for many years and have only put 75 of my animals on Federal Land for three months each year, and have paid for that "privilege." If I'd paid nothing the public would still owe me money were we to figure a fair exchange.

BOULDER, WY,
October 20, 1993.

Senator MALCOLM WALLOP,
Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: Hello, my name is Suzy Michnevich. I am one of three working partners on our cattle ranch in Sublette County, Wyoming. We own 3,083 deeded acres. We also hold one state school section and a 583 AUM Forest Service lease most of which is on the Bridger Wilderness and 1,043 AUMs of Bureau of Land Management leases located in two tracts, one 14 miles southwest of and the other two miles northeast of our deeded land. We have approximately 1,000 cattle, 20 horses, several herds of antelope, deer, elk, and a few moose, many birds, rabbits, rodents, trout, and three families including six children for which we feel responsible.

My great-grandfather took excellent care of his and the government's land by being instrumental in the formation of the New Fork East Fork Grazing Association in 1902. Today, we are still members of this association which is committed to the conservation of our resources. So much so that in 1992 our association was nominated by the U.S. Forest Service for a stewardship award. My family is involved in agriculture for the long haul. For as long as we can afford to raise cattle, we will do so. We raise our children beside us feeding cattle, moving cattle, irrigating, fixing fences, and putting up hay.

My son spent his first two years with me in a backpack or in a truck or tractor, not in daycare. He is taught our work ethic and our morals from before sunup to after sundown. He is not raised by someone else. Now as a kindergartner, he reflects this by going to school and enjoying his classmates and taking his classwork seriously. He is one confident little boy.

My husband is a carpenter and works away from the ranch as does my sister-in-law. We

could not make ends meet were it not for their outside jobs. Both of them help on the ranch when they can.

Our deeded ranch land along with the state and federal leases has a greater carrying capacity than we now utilize so we are in the painful process of rebuilding. Each partner receives \$800 per month.

Sincerely,

SUZY MICHNEVICH,
Rancher, Sublette County, WY.

PINEDALE, WY,
October 20, 1993.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: I am writing to you concerning the Grazing Reform Act of 1993. As now proposed, the change in the fee structure and in particularly the changes in the management regulations will decimate the entire ranching industry in the western United States. These changes will put me out of business. I am a member of the Little Sandy Grazing Association. Last year, under the current system, we had to charge our members \$12.00 per month per AUM. If the new fee structure and other reforms go into effect, I estimate that we will have to charge around \$16.00 per AUM to meet the expenses of the fee increase and regulatory changes. Each succeeding year the cost would increase as the higher fee structure was implemented. This increase in cost removes what little profit remains and makes the entire system bankrupt. The 100 AUM's which I paid \$22,500.00 for will become worthless. The value of my cattle will decrease if there will be a flood of them to the market, depressing prices further. The value of my deeded property will decrease as it will not have affordable pasture to support any cattle during the summer and fall. I estimate that these changes will cost me over \$150,000.00 in lost equity the first year alone. Since when is it the purpose of Government to Bankrupt Small Family ranches. Is the government going to reimburse me for these losses? When the smoke has cleared from all this, there will only be rich Corporate ranches left that are run as tax shelters, with no vested interest in efficiency or range conservation. The more money they loose, the less taxes they will pay. Does the United States of America want to rely on a food production system that deliberately runs at a loss? I believe the Soviet Union tried this system and as we all know, their agricultural industry was a world class joke. How are the Senators from back East, who have almost no true comprehension of agriculture and what it takes to make it work, going to explain to their voters the rising prices of food that this will cause. I would like to point out that 1992 was the first year in American history that we were a net exporter of beef. I wonder if the Senators are aware of this. If not, they should give it some serious thought. If the 30,000 small family ranch permittees go under because of the changes, how will they explain this in economic terms of balance of trade, lost jobs, and higher food prices?

30,000 ranches 200 head/year=6,000,000 head/year in lost production.

6,000,000 head 1,100 pounds/head \$.75/pound=\$4,950,000,000.00.

How much increased revenue is the government going to get for this 4.95 billion dollar loss?

These corporate ranches also have no vested interest in passing on to future generations the knowledge and skill required to manage and conserve the cattle industry and the rangeland itself. Most of the skills required to be a good cattleman, are not taught in college classrooms. Once these

skills and knowledge are lost, they will be lost for a very long time.

This proposal must be stopped. I hope the Senators consider these facts as they vote on this proposal.

Sincerely,

JOHN WELLS.

LATHROP FEED & EQUIP. CO.,

Casper, WY, October 21, 1993.

Senator MALCOLM WALLOP,

U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MALCOLM: I am the owner and manager of a John Deere farm equipment dealership in Casper, Wyoming. Two thirds of my customers operate on either Forest Service or BLM land.

Should your efforts at compromise on the impending grazing bill fail, this company could be forced out of business, resulting in the loss of 26 jobs.

As you well know, Malcolm, these western ranchers were pushed as far as they could go in the 1980s and only recently began to heal up. Now, this new bill proposes to raise their fees, seize their improvements, change their grazing boards, take their water rights, and further keeps them from fencing the federal land off. This results in the largest seizing of private property in the history of the republic.

It is our hope and prayer that your efforts can change this onerous legislation, preventing this business and others like it from disappearing.

Sincerely,

GARY C. LATHROP,

President.

OCTOBER 20, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,

U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR HONORABLE SENATOR WALLOP: We are writing in protest of Rangeland Reform '94, a dictate that would subject the livestock industry to ruin. We ask: What happened to government "for the people"?

We operate a small family based cattle ranch with approximately 300 head of mother cows. It is at present a struggle for us to stay in business and we fear that the current proposals would terminate our operation. In order to provide for our personal needs—food, clothing & medical costs—both our parents and we have supplemental employment.

We would first like to establish that we do not abuse the federal rangeland that our cattle graze upon. We are not in the business to destroy our bread and butter. As permittees we have made many improvements on the range, such as water development and seeding. These improvements also benefit the game in our area.

We also maintain that the comparisons made by the government concerning the cost of private pasture versus federal grazing are not legitimate. First, how does one compare desert-type sage brush grassland, which is what our rangeland mainly consists of, to irrigated meadow land, which is what private pasture is largely comprised of? Another factor that is constantly overlooked is the amount of time it takes the rancher to oversee his cattle on federal rangeland. A great deal of time is spent moving and keeping cattle in the proper allotments. Over a month is spent in the fall gathering and backriding for cattle. We attend meetings with BLM and Forest Service officials. Time and money is spent maintaining and repairing water developments and fences. Time is money. Please add that cost to federal grazing.

We feel the government is acting hastily and without consideration of the affect this

proposal will have on the people in this business. We would like to have more of a voice and request that hearings be held in our state concerning the proposed rule making. America is not a communistic dictatorship, is it?

We seek to defend our way of life, which is not an easy life in country where the winters are -50 F and where it snows 12 months out of the year. But it is in our blood and we love it. Our children are fifth generation ranchers to whom we have taught the work ethic as was taught to us. It doesn't make sense to us that the government wishes to destroy this way of productive life, but dishes out federal aid to the violent indigents in the cities. What kind of message does this give to our children?

We appreciate and support your efforts to see that the cattle industry is not destroyed. We also support your proposed legislation for fee increases as fair to the livestock industry.

Respectfully,

STEVE AND SUSAN HOFFMAN,

Mosquito Creek Ranch, LaBarge, WY.

SUNDANCE, WY,

October 20, 1993.

Hon. MALCOLM WALLOP,

Russell Senate Office Building, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR WALLOP: My husband, Robert, and I operate a small ranch in the northeast corner of Wyoming. Although we do not have an allotment in federal lands, we do have many neighbors who do depend on their allotments to operate their ranch business.

Our county has approximately 5,300 residents, 2,800 of them from the ranching industry. Three towns and many small communities depend, in part, on this industry.

My concern with the Reid/Babbitt proposal lies with the economic impact the Rangeland Reform Proposal will have on these families. We are an important part of the tax base in these communities and the State of Wyoming, as well as a stable contributor to the national tax base.

In the many hearings and meetings discussing this proposal no one has given a concrete figure on the cost of administration to put this in place. If the issue is raising revenue and the ranching industry paying their fair share, shouldn't administrative costs be considered? And if fair share is at issue, why shouldn't all users of public lands contribute?

Ranchers attending the hearings have given evidence of sound grazing and management practices supported by studies done outside the industry. We have given hours of testimony explaining the economic impact a major fee increase would have with regard to the varying types of allotments and their permittees. In view of the final proposal, one wonders if any testimony was studied or if the bureaucracy had its mind made up before the expensive hearings were held.

I challenge the body of the Senate of these United States to ascertain the cost of implementing this proposal and taking a long hard look at the number of people and communities this proposal places at risk to survive before they vote this into law.

Sincerely yours,

PAT FROLANDER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 91, nays 9, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 359 Leg.]

YEAS—91

Akaka	Exon	McConnell
Baucus	Feingold	Metzenbaum
Bennett	Feinstein	Mikulski
Biden	Ford	Mitchell
Bingaman	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Gorton	Moynihan
Boren	Graham	Murkowski
Boxer	Gramm	Murray
Bradley	Grassley	Nickles
Breaux	Harkin	Nunn
Bryan	Hatch	Packwood
Bumpers	Hatfield	Pell
Burns	Heflin	Pryor
Byrd	Hollings	Reid
Campbell	Inouye	Riegle
Chafee	Jeffords	Robb
Coats	Johnston	Rockefeller
Cochran	Kassebaum	Sarbanes
Cohen	Kempthorne	Sasser
Conrad	Kennedy	Shelby
Coverdell	Kerrey	Simon
Craig	Kerry	Simpson
D'Amato	Lautenberg	Specter
Danforth	Leahy	Stevens
Daschle	Levin	Thurmond
DeConcini	Lieberman	Wallop
Dodd	Lott	Warner
Dole	Lugar	Wellstone
Domenici	Mack	Wofford
Dorgan	Mathews	
Durenberger	McCain	

NAYS—9

Brown	Helms	Pressler
Faircloth	Hutchison	Roth
Gregg	Kohl	Smith

So the conference report was agreed to.

VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, under a prior order, there are now three votes on amendments to the pending bill. I ask unanimous consent that each of these three votes be 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senate recedes from its amendments 123 and 124, and the Senate concurs, en bloc, in the House amendments of the remaining Senate amendments reported from the conference in disagreement.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT 1140

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is now on amendment No. 1140 offered by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE].

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] would vote "yea."

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 38, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 360 Leg.]

YEAS—60

Baucus	Feinstein	McCain
Bennett	Ford	McConnell
Bingaman	Gorton	Mikulski
Bond	Graham	Murkowski
Breaux	Gramm	Nickles
Brown	Grassley	Nunn
Bryan	Gregg	Pressler
Burns	Hatch	Ried
Byrd	Heflin	Riegle
Campbell	Helms	Robb
Coats	Hutchison	Roth
Cochran	Jeffords	Sasser
Conrad	Johnston	Shelby
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Simpson
Craig	Kempthorne	Smith
D'Amato	Kohl	Specter
Dole	Lieberman	Stevens
Domenici	Lott	Thurmond
Exon	Lugar	Wallop
Faircloth	Mack	Warner

NAYS—38

Akaka	Feingold	Mitchell
Biden	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Boren	Harkin	Moynihan
Boxer	Hatfield	Murray
Bradley	Hollings	Packwood
Bumpers	Inouye	Pell
Chafee	Kennedy	Pryor
Cohen	Kerry	Rockefeller
Daschle	Lautenberg	Sarbanes
DeConcini	Leahy	Simon
Dodd	Levin	Wellstone
Dorgan	Mathews	Wofford
Durenberger	Metzenbaum	

NOT VOTING—2

Danforth Kerrey

So the amendment (No. 1140) was agreed to.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEAHY. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1141

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment (No. 1141) of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN].

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 65, nays 34, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 361 Leg.]

YEAS—65

Baucus	Daschle	Kempthorne
Bennett	DeConcini	Lieberman
Biden	Dodd	Lott
Boren	Dole	Lugar
Boxer	Durenberger	Mack
Bradley	Exon	Mathews
Breaux	Faircloth	McCain
Brown	Feinstein	McConnell
Bryan	Ford	Mikulski
Bumpers	Gorton	Murkowski
Burns	Graham	Pressler
Byrd	Gramm	Pryor
Campbell	Grassley	Ried
Chafee	Hatch	Riegle
Cochran	Helms	Robb
Conrad	Hollings	Rockefeller
Coverdell	Hutchison	Roth
Craig	Johnston	Sarbanes
D'Amato	Kassebaum	Sasser

Shelby	Specter	Warner
Simpson	Stevens	Wofford
Smith	Thurmond	

NAYS—34

Akaka	Hatfield	Mitchell
Bingaman	Heflin	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Inouye	Moynihan
Coats	Jeffords	Murray
Cohen	Kennedy	Nickles
Danforth	Kerrey	Packwood
Domenici	Kerry	Pell
Dorgan	Kohl	Simon
Feingold	Lautenberg	Wallop
Glenn	Leahy	Wellstone
Gregg	Levin	
Harkin	Metzenbaum	

NOT VOTING—1

Nunn

So the amendment (No. 1141) was agreed to.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1147

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN). The question is on the adoption of amendment No. 1147, offered by the Senator from New York, as a substitute for amendment No. 1130, offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM].

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 58, nays 42, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 362 Leg.]

YEAS—58

Baucus	Feinstein	Murkowski
Bennett	Ford	Nickles
Breaux	Gorton	Nunn
Brown	Graham	Pressler
Bryan	Gramm	Riegle
Burns	Grassley	Robb
Byrd	Hatch	Rockefeller
Campbell	Helms	Roth
Cochran	Hutchison	Sarbanes
Conrad	Johnston	Sasser
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Shelby
Craig	Kempthorne	Simpson
D'Amato	Kerrey	Smith
Daschle	Lieberman	Specter
Dodd	Lott	Stevens
Dole	Lugar	Thurmond
Domenici	Mack	Wallop
Dorgan	McCain	Warner
Exon	McConnell	
Faircloth	Mikulski	

NAYS—42

Akaka	Feingold	Levin
Biden	Glenn	Mathews
Bingaman	Gregg	Metzenbaum
Bond	Harkin	Mitchell
Boren	Hatfield	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Heflin	Moynihan
Bradley	Hollings	Murray
Bumpers	Inouye	Packwood
Chafee	Jeffords	Pell
Coats	Kennedy	Pryor
Cohen	Kerry	Ried
Danforth	Kohl	Simon
DeConcini	Lautenberg	Wellstone
Durenberger	Leahy	Wofford

So the amendment (No. 1147) was agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DOLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. SIMPSON. Madam President, I rise in support of the Gramm amendment. I would commend my colleagues for adopting, as part of this amendment, a modification of the legislation that Senators THURMOND, KENNEDY, and I introduced on October 30, which directs the sentencing commission to reexamine our policies for first time, nonviolent offenders.

It is my understanding that my colleague, our distinguished ranking member, Senator HATCH, has embraced this concept and I understand and have heard his thoughtful concerns. So I will be casting my vote in favor of this amendment.

Madam President, I share this body's frustration with the regularity of how some very violent offenders find themselves back out on the street after serving only a portion of their sentence. That is why I supported the Byrd amendment that we have already adopted. We do need to provide funding for alternative institutions for medium- and low-security inmates at the State level so we can free up the necessary space to keep violent offenders exactly where they belong: Behind bars.

But, Madam President, in the rush to get tough on crime and criminals, we should be careful not to lose our judgment compass. We should provide younger, nonviolent first-time offenders a chance to straighten out their lives before they are faced with hard time.

That is just what the Kennedy-Thurmond-Simpson legislation would do.

Currently, these nonviolent first-time offenders are being sentenced to terms under the Federal system that, as a practical reality, far exceed the terms served by some of the most violent criminals punished under other laws and guidelines. This legislation will correct that injustice.

This legislation will accomplish two important objectives. First, it directs the U.S. Sentencing Commission to reexamine the minimum mandatory sentencing rules for nonviolent, first-time, offenders, to allow the individual to be judged and sentenced according to that person's unique circumstances.

This will restore ever greater justice to our system of justice.

But this legislation accomplishes another equally important objective. It sends a message to our judges that we do, indeed, expect them to exercise their proper common sense, knowledge and discretion and allows these judges the flexibility to impose tough, but fair, sentences, based on the facts of each individual case.

The judicial confirmation process is a highly charged and grueling thing, Madam President. Nominees are thoroughly screened and interviewed not only on their knowledge of the law, but

on their temperament and their compassion. We demand the highest standards on all factors. Yet, Madam President, once having demanded that a judge be able to judge fairly and compassionately, we enact some sometimes unfortunate minimum mandatory sentencing guidelines which prevent them from being both fair and just.

Thus, this legislation will restore a higher degree of fairness and justice in our sentencing guidelines. I am pleased to support these amendments and I thank my colleagues for their leadership and concern on this issue.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I urge adoption of the underlying Gramm amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is now on agreeing to the GRAMM amendment 1130, as amended.

The amendment (No. 1130), as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. BIDEN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed.

Mr. DOLE. Third reading.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I now urge adoption of the Lieberman amendment. We can withhold for a few minutes until the Senator speaks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

Mr. LIEBERMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

AMENDMENT NO. 1143

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, the Senate debated this amendment at length last night, and I wish to just speak very briefly on it.

I thank the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Delaware, and the ranking member, the Senator from Utah, for their thoughtful encouragement and support.

This amendment will enable the chief elected official of a State or local government to apply to the President of the United States to declare an area within their jurisdiction a violent crime or drug emergency area.

If a President so declares, the President will be authorized to send whatever help he can, personnel, resources, equipment, financial assistance, within the law. That is within existing appropriations available to the President; indeed, within appropriations that will be made possible by this very strong anticrime package that we are in the process of adopting here in the Senate this week.

Madam President, stated simply, we have seen it in my State in Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, at different times. Unfortunately there are moments when the local law enforcement

officials are outgunned and outmanned by the criminals. Just as in cases of natural disaster, when local officials—whether it is a flood, a hurricane, or the fires that have spread in California in these recent days—when local officials are overwhelmed, the problem is larger than they can handle, they turn to the President and ask for a declaration of natural disaster.

Here in a sense what we are saying is the President can declare an unnatural disaster, an unnatural disaster caused by violent crime and drugs, an emergency, and can use whatever resources are at his control on a short-term basis to help local officials restore order, and to protect law-abiding citizens.

Madam President, I again thank my colleagues for their support. I urge adoption of the amendment.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, we believe this to be a great amendment, and both sides are willing to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut. The amendment (No. 1143) was agreed to.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BIDEN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, we are now at the point on this bill where we have a bill that can really make a difference in this country. We have taken a lot of these amendments—many of them are very thoughtful and will make a difference in our efforts against crime in this country.

This is a bill that is going to spend over \$20 billion in helping the States and the Federal Government to complete their missions against criminal activity in this country. Never in the history of this country have we come so far on an anticrime bill as we have on this one. There has never been anything like it. I have never seen anything come close.

We have had bipartisan help on this bill. Both Democrats, and Republicans have worked together. We have provisions in here that would solve many, many problems in our society and help us toward a solution to make it happen.

We have had the help of the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who has provided a means whereby we have the funding to do this, which has always been a problem in authorizing a crime bill. I cannot imagine the President not being proud of what we have done up until

now. In fact, I cannot imagine anyone not being proud of what we have done up to now.

If I had my way, and I think the way of most in this body, we would go to third reading right now. We would pass this bill in its current form, and I think it would be almost impossible for anybody to reject it. I personally believe it would pass so overwhelmingly that there would not be any question about it.

If we do not do that and we start now into the problems that could arise, we may never get a crime bill.

We need to do one other thing, and that is, we need to delete the habeas corpus provision of this bill. I think both sides would like to do that because we know that that is highly controversial. We know that that could stop the passage of this bill if it is not handled exactly right.

At the appropriate time we will move to strike the habeas corpus provisions, as much as I feel deeply about it. By the way, nobody in this body feels more deeply. It was the Hatch amendment in 1991 that passed the Senate 58 to 40. It would have reformed habeas corpus and solved that problem for every State in the Union from that time on.

I feel very deeply about the habeas corpus problem, and I would like to resolve and reform it. But we cannot do that and pass a bill like this.

So, as deeply as I feel, as much as I think that needs to be done, as important as that may be, I am willing to forgo my own interests on habeas corpus—even though I think we can win again on the Senate floor—in favor of my colleagues on the other side who happen to differ with me because they believe that it would break down this bill. I am willing to forgo my own self-interest in this, my own deeply felt interest in this in order to have a bill that really could do some good against crime in this country.

I hope that my colleagues are listening because if we get into these gun amendments, we are going to have problems passing this bill. The country will be the loser, and our families will be the losers.

Frankly, I am very concerned about it. I think we need to strike habeas corpus from the bill, and I hope we can avoid the gun amendments. Everybody knows that if they pass, the House is not going to pass it, and they will not pass this bill. And if we go down that route, we could stop, it seems to me, the most important crime bill in history.

I happen to know that my colleagues on the other side may feel the same way. We cannot tell colleagues what to do or not to do. But I will tell you this. We would be a lot better off not moving ahead on the gun area and wait until the Brady bill comes up and fight it out there on all gun issues. And both

sides can put the other side on the spot all they want to on that. But why get into that battle when we have had such cooperation on this bill?

If we do that, we risk losing this bill, we risk not having a good anticrime measure at a time in our history where we have got to do something about it, where people are looking to us to do something about it.

So this is very important. It is important to those of us who fought so hard to get this bill to this point. Frankly, everybody knows that it is a game from here on in if we get into the gun amendments. I would like to avoid it. Some will say it is not. Some will say that it is not, but it really is. It is a political game, I think a cynical political game, if we get into this.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, it is true that I wanted to have a clean bill, the underlying crime bill, the Biden crime bill, to which we are adding all of these amendments. I attempted to put together such an agreement.

But in fairness to my friends who are about to introduce an antigun amendment, the horse was let out of the barn a couple of days ago, or at least a day ago.

My friends are now going to exercise great restraint. What is left to restrain? I mean, you know, there is no amendment on jaywalking, no death penalty on jaywalking. So there is some restraint. But short of that, there is not a whole lot of restraint here.

There have been a lot of gun amendments that have been added to this bill. We just voted on a bunch of them. Granted, they were gun penalties as opposed to gun limitations. It is true I would rather deal with these issues separately on the Brady bill and following the Brady bill. But I want to make it clear. My friends who are about to introduce legislation relating to limitations on access to guns, I support them. I support what they are about to do.

We had tactical disagreement on whether or not it jeopardizes or enhances, not the crime bill—that is not my concern—whether it jeopardizes or enhances the prospects of getting done what they want to do.

I lost that argument with my friends. They believe, in the collective wisdom they possess, that it is likely to exceed that possessed by the Senator from Delaware. It does exceed that by the Senator from Delaware. That is where I have been up to now, but that is lost. I lost that argument.

Let me make it clear the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, and then separately, the Senators from California, Ohio, Arizona, and others, have very important legislation. I do not believe that the concern of the Senator from Utah is well placed. For just as those who oppose the death penalty are not likely to filibuster this bill to keep it from becoming law, I doubt

whether anyone who opposes the Feinstein amendment, if it is adopted—and I hope it is adopted—if it is adopted, are going to bring down a \$21 billion bill because the NRA does not like it.

I do not think that will happen. These concerns about filibustering, if any of these are adopted, and that is not what the Senator said, but others have said it, I quite frankly take it with a grain of salt. If somebody wants to take on the responsibility of bringing down this entire bill because there is some limitation on access to some assault weapons, if it were to pass, then that is their right, but it is also their responsibility.

I will, quite frankly, enjoy watching that, if that were to happen. I want to make it clear: My disagreement with my friends who have amendments to come related to how best to get their amendments enacted into law, not whether or not it would jeopardize this crime bill, I do not think anything jeopardizes this crime bill but for—well, I will not characterize it. I think it is best to sit down. I thank the Chair.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I think it is fairly obvious what is going to happen. We are going to have a series of 8 or 9 or 10 gun amendments, and I think we are going to be asked to participate in those and not offer any amendments on this side on habeas or on our version of the Brady bill, and that is not going to happen. It is fairly clear that the agreements we thought we were prepared to enter into on two occasions on this very issue, about whether we are going to save gun amendments for the Brady bill or put them on this bill—I do not have a quarrel with the fact that it is now back to square one. But I think my colleagues on the other side should know that if we are going to have this debate, let us have it all on the crime bill, not just the debate they want on the crime bill, and have all the debate again on the Brady bill. I do not believe that will be possible on this side of the aisle.

I do not quarrel with what anybody does, but we might as well be prepared for taking up the Brady bill on this crime bill, also. Let us have it all together. We are not going to separate the two. We will have it all together. We are prepared to work to that end, too, if we can accommodate all of our colleagues with one big package.

I do not know what happens to habeas in that instance, but I think we understand what would happen. I know the Senator from Wisconsin is going to offer his amendment. One little change would almost make that unanimous. If we get 99 percent unanimously, why try for 100 percent that may take the rest of the day? I yield the floor.

Mr. KOHL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

AMENDMENT NO. 1148

(Purpose: To amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the possession of a handgun or ammunition by, or the private transfer of a handgun or ammunition to, a juvenile)

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KOHL], for himself, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. THURMOND, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. SIMON, and Mr. SIMPSON, proposes an amendment numbered 1148.

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 127, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following:

Subtitle D—Youth Handgun Safety

SEC. 631. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a pervasive, nationwide problem.

(2) Problems with crime at the local level are exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs.

(3) Firearms and ammunition, and handguns in particular, move easily in interstate commerce, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

(4) In fact, even before the sale of a handgun, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce.

(5) While criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to the concern that violent crime is not under control, and foreigners may decline to travel in the United States for the same reason.

(6) Just as the hardened drug kingpins begin their life in the illicit drug culture by exposure to drugs at a young age, violent criminals often start their criminal careers on streets where the ready availability of guns to young people results in the acceptability of their random use.

(7) Violent crime and the use of illicit drugs go hand-in-hand, and attempts to control one without controlling the other may be fruitless.

(8) Individual States and localities find it impossible to handle the problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their effort unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures.

(9) Inasmuch as illicit drug activity and related violent crime overflow State lines and national boundaries, the Congress has power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to combat these problems.

(10) The Congress finds that it is necessary and appropriate to assist the States in controlling crime by stopping the commerce in handguns with juveniles nationwide, and allowing the possession of handguns by juveniles only when handguns are possessed and used for legitimate purposes under appropriate conditions.

SEC. 632. PROHIBITION OF THE POSSESSION OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION BY, OR THE PRIVATE TRANSFER OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION TO, A JUVENILE.

(a) **DEFINITION.**—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(29) The term ‘handgun’ means—

“(A) a firearm that has a short stock and is designed to be held and fired by the use of a single hand; and

“(B) any combination of parts from which a firearm described in subparagraph (A) can be assembled.”.

(b) **OFFENSE.**—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(s)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a juvenile, or to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(3) This subsection does not apply to—

“(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile or to the possession or use of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile if the handgun and ammunition are possessed and used by the juvenile—

“(i) in the course of employment, in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch), target practice, hunting, or a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a handgun;

“(ii) under the personal supervision of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm, except—

“(i) during transportation by the juvenile of an unloaded handgun in a locked container directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (i) is to take place and transportation by the juvenile of that handgun, unloaded and in a locked container, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor; or

“(ii) with respect to ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun or ammunition with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian and at the direction of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State or local law from possessing a firearm.

“(iii) with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian; and

“(iv) in accordance with State and local law;

“(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun in the line of duty;

“(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile; or

“(D) the possession of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile taken in defense of the juvenile or other persons against an intruder into the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

“(4) A handgun or ammunition, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned to the lawful owner when such handgun or ammunition is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘juvenile’ means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

“(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

“(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

“(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown.”.

(c) **PENALTIES.**—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking “paragraph (2) or (3) of”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5)(A)(i) A juvenile who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except that a juvenile described in clause (ii) shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation.

“(ii) A juvenile is described in this clause if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun or ammunition in violation of section 922(s)(2); and

“(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense under section 922(s) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense.

“(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(s)—

“(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 13 months, or both; and

“(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun or ammunition in the commission of a crime of violence, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.”.

(d) **TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROVISIONS IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.**—

(1) **SECTION 5031.**—Section 5031 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting “or a violation by such a person of section 922(s)” before the period at the end.

(2) **SECTION 5032.**—Section 5032 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph by inserting “or (s)” after “922(p)”; and

(B) in the fourth undesignated paragraph by inserting “or section 922(s) of this title,” before “criminal prosecution on the basis”.

(e) **TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1974.**—Section 223(a)(12)(A) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5633(a)(12)(A)) is amended by striking “which do not constitute violations of valid court orders” and inserting “(other than an offense that constitutes a violation of a valid court order or a violation of section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, or a similar State law).”.

(f) **MODEL LAW.**—The Attorney General, acting through the Director of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, shall—

(1) evaluate existing and proposed juvenile handgun legislation in each State;

(2) develop model juvenile handgun legislation that is constitutional and enforceable;

(3) prepare and disseminate to State authorities the findings made as the result of the evaluation; and

(4) report to Congress by December 31, 1994, findings and recommendations concerning the need or appropriateness of further action by the Federal Government.

AMENDMENT NO. 1149 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1148

(Purpose: To amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the possession of a handgun or ammunition by, or the private transfer of a handgun or ammunition to, a juvenile)

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], for himself, Mr. KOHL, Mr. THURMOND, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. SIMON, and Mr. SIMPSON, proposes an amendment numbered 1149 to amendment No. 1148.

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

Youth Handgun Safety

SEC. 631. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a pervasive, nationwide problem.

(2) Problems with crime at the local level are exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs.

(3) Firearms and ammunition, and handguns in particular, move easily in interstate commerce, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

(4) In fact, even before the sale of a handgun, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce.

(5) While criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens may fear to travel

to or through certain parts of the country due to the concern that violent crime is not under control, and foreigners may decline to travel in the United States for the same reason.

(6) Just as the hardened drug kingpins begin their life in the illicit drug culture by exposure to drugs at a young age, violent criminals often start their criminal careers on streets where the ready availability of guns to young people results in the acceptability of their random use.

(7) Violent crime and the use of illicit drugs go hand-in-hand, and attempts to control one without controlling the other may be fruitless.

(8) Individual States and localities find it impossible to handle the problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their effort unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures.

(9) Inasmuch as illicit drug activity and related violent crime overflow State lines and national boundaries, the Congress has power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to combat these problems.

(10) The Congress finds that it is necessary and appropriate to assist the States in controlling crime by stopping the commerce in handguns with juveniles nationwide, and allowing the possession of handguns by juveniles only when handguns are possessed and used for legitimate purposes under appropriate conditions.

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(a) DEFINITION.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(29) The term ‘handgun’ means—
“(A) a firearm that has a short stock and is designed to be held and fired by the use of a single hand; and

“(B) any combination of parts from which a firearm described in subparagraph (A) can be assembled.”.

(b) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(s)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a juvenile, or to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

“(A) a handgun; or
“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

“(A) a handgun; or
“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(3) This subsection does not apply to—

“(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile or to the possession or use of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile if the handgun and ammunition are possessed and used by the juvenile—

“(i) in the course of employment, in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch), target practice, hunting, or a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a handgun;

“(ii) under the personal supervision of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm, except—

“(I) during transportation by the juvenile of an unloaded handgun in a locked container directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (i) is to take place and transportation by the juvenile of that handgun, unloaded and in a locked container, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor; or

“(II) with respect to ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun or ammunition with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian and at the direction of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State or local law from possessing a firearm.

“(iii) with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian; and

“(iv) in accordance with State and local law;

“(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun in the line of duty;

“(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile; or

“(D) the possession of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile taken in defense of the juvenile or other persons against an intruder into the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

“(4) A handgun or ammunition, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned to the lawful owner when such handgun or ammunition is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘juvenile’ means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

“(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

“(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

“(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown.”.

(c) PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking “paragraph (2) or (3) of”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5)(A)(i) A juvenile who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except that a juvenile described in clause (ii) shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation.

“(ii) A juvenile is described in this clause if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun or ammunition in violation of section 922(s)(2); and

“(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense

under section 922(s) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense.

“(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(s)—

“(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both; and

“(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun or ammunition in the commission of a crime of violence, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.”.

(d) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROVISIONS IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—

(1) SECTION 5031.—Section 5031 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting “or a violation by such a person of section 922(s)” before the period at the end.

(2) SECTION 5032.—Section 5032 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph by inserting “or (s)” after “922(p)”; and

(B) in the fourth undesignated paragraph by inserting “or section 922(s) of this title,” before “criminal prosecution on the basis”.

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1974.—Section 223(a)(12)(A) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5633(a)(12)(A)) is amended by striking “which do not constitute violations of valid court orders” and inserting “(other than an offense that constitutes a violation of a valid court order or a violation of section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, or a similar State law).”

(f) MODEL LAW.—The Attorney General, acting through the Director of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, shall—

(1) evaluate existing and proposed juvenile handgun legislation in each State;

(2) develop model juvenile handgun legislation that is constitutional and enforceable;

(3) prepare and disseminate to State authorities the findings made as the result of the evaluation; and

(4) report to Congress by December 31, 1994, findings and recommendations concerning the need or appropriateness of further action by the Federal Government.

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I rise today to offer an amendment to the Mitchell amendment based on the Youth Handgun Safety Act, which would prohibit the transfer of handguns to minors, and the possession of handguns by minors except under certain circumstances. The amendment is offered on behalf of myself, Mr. THURMOND, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. SIMON, and Mr. SIMPSON.

But before I begin, let me remind you that we already prohibit 12-year-old from drinking, and driving, and voting—but not possessing handguns. Now let me tell you, more specifically, why we need this measure.

Madam President, we are witnessing a tragedy of epidemic proportions—the explosion of handgun violence among our youth. Across our Nation, the number of children killing people—and being killed—has exploded. You need only to open a newspaper any day to find the horrifying proof: A 15-year-old Madison girl shooting her teenage boyfriend; the drive-by shooting of a 12-year-old Milwaukee boy; a 14-year-old Milwaukee boy shooting an elderly woman who was walking her dog; an Anacostia student shooting his 13-year-old classmate in the locker room of their junior high; and a 4-year-old District of Columbia girl killed in the crossfire of a brutal gang shootout. The list goes on, Mr. President, and unless we do something about it the problem will get worse.

The national statistics on youth violence are equally disturbing. Just look at these charts. In 1984, a total of 1,134 juveniles were arrested for murder. But by last year, that number had more than doubled—to 2,829. According to the Justice Department, the vast majority of these murders were committed with firearms, and most were committed with handguns.

Again, looking at the charts, you can see the juvenile weapons arrests. In 1982, 21,122 juveniles were arrested on weapons charges nationally. But by last year, that number had soared to more than 46,000. Again, guns were involved in the vast majority of these arrests, and handguns in most of them.

Wisconsin's increases in these categories were even worse: My State went from 12 juvenile murder arrests in 1982 to 94 in 1992. That is not only unacceptable, Madam President, it is intolerable. And Madam President, the situation continues to intensify even as we speak. Just this week, U.S. News & World report—in its lead article—stated that 270,000 guns are brought to schools on a daily basis.

This is not the kind of world that our children deserve. This is not the kind of world we ought to give them.

But we can change that world. Not easily. Not quickly. Not painlessly. Not with a single, simple solution. But we can change it.

We need to start with new laws to restrict the flow of handguns to our children. Madam President, right now, only 18 States have laws that prohibit the possession of handguns by minors. That is, in most States in this country, a 10-year-old can walk down the street unimpeded with a pistol. We desperately need to change that situation and the Youth Handgun Safety Act takes a step in that direction. It would make it a Federal crime to sell or give a handgun to a child under the age of 18 and also for a minor to possess a handgun, under most circumstances.

More important, it will put the Federal Government on record once and for all as saying kids should not have

handguns. It will begin to change our culture, and I believe that it will begin to save lives.

Make no mistake, Madam President: This proposal will hold juveniles accountable for their acts. A child in possession of a handgun with no record gets alternative sentencing. But a child with a prior record can be put away in a juvenile institution. And judges can throw the book at the older criminals and gang members who are arming our Nation's youth: Any adult caught giving a handgun to a child to facilitate the commission of a crime can be put away for up to 10 years.

If you ask me, Madam President, judges should throw the book at the adult felons.

However, the amendment also ensures that minors can use handguns for legitimate sporting purposes. It creates exceptions for parentally approved target shooting and hunting, and an affirmative defense for defense of self or others. And the amendment only applies to handguns—not long guns.

Many of these provisions were crafted with the assistance of the distinguished ranking member of my Juvenile Justice Subcommittee, BILL COHEN, and other with assistance of the distinguished Senator from Idaho, LARRY CRAIG. His help was invaluable.

Madam President, since I introduced our legislation in June, it has garnered broad backing. The measure has already been endorsed by President Clinton, Attorney General Reno, police organizations, and Sarah Brady. My good friends STROM THURMOND and CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN are among the many cosponsors. The Companion bill—introduced by DAN GLICKMAN—will be moving through the House Judiciary Committee shortly. Even the NRA has told my subcommittee—at one of our June hearings—that it is generally supportive of the bill's approach.

Madam President, we all know this amendment will not end youth violence by itself.

How indeed can it when so many of our kids come from broken homes? When so many are raised in front of TV sets which teach them that violence is a normal, natural, appropriate way to act? When guns and crime and violence are seen, by some, as the only way to get ahead? When some parents can not discharge their primary responsibility of supervising their kids? When government provides substandard education and communities inadequate alternatives?

So there are many causes for this problem, as Senator COHEN alluded to in his statement last week. And we need many different initiatives to solve it.

But our Juvenile Justice Subcommittee held hearings on kids and guns in Washington, Wisconsin, and Arizona. It heard from an array of witnesses: teachers, doctors, ministers, police,

victims, and teens. And, Madam President, the verdict was unanimous: Kids and handguns do not mix.

Even some gun manufacturers agree. The retired president of Browning Arms, Harmon G. Williams of Utah went further: he now supports a ban on handguns for juveniles.

Let me quote from an article in the October 14 New York Times:

For most of his life, [Williams] said, he viewed such measures as "absolutely unnecessary," but now supports outlawing handguns for minors. "All of a sudden," he said, "we're looking around at what's happening—all this terrible violence—and thinking, things have gotten out of hand. Something has got to be done."

Madam President, Mr. Williams was absolutely right. Something has got to be done. That something—or at least a start—is the enactment of the Youth Handgun Safety Act.

Unless we act now, the future we are creating is one that too many of our kids will not live to see. And it will also be a future we will not want to live in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I rise today as a cosponsor of the amendment offered by my good friend and colleague from Wisconsin, Senator KOHL. All too often we hear news accounts of children being killed or wounded from guns being used by other children. This amendment addresses the problem of handgun violence by juveniles and seeks to prevent young people from unsupervised access to handguns.

Currently under Federal law, the sale or delivery of handguns to persons under 21 years old is prohibited by federally licensed dealers. However, others without firearms licenses can legally sell handguns to juveniles. This amendment would correct this inconsistency and establish a clear Federal policy concerning juveniles and handguns.

This proposal would make it a crime to sell or give a handgun to a minor under the age of 18 and for a minor to possess a handgun under most situations. There are exceptions in this provision to allow minors to use a handgun under appropriate circumstances. For example, this language would not apply in those instances where the juvenile possesses the handgun for target practice, hunting, a course of instruction in the use of a handgun, under the personal supervision of an adult, or with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian. Also, this legislation defers to State and local exceptions on this issue. For instance, in my home State of South Carolina, persons under 21 years old may not possess or acquire a pistol except as a temporary loan while under the immediate supervision of a parent or adult instructor.

Madam President, I believe that there is justification for this proposal.

The FBI has found there to be an unprecedented level of juvenile violence over the last decade. The arrest rates for criminal homicide among teenagers over the last several years has been alarming. Between 1985 and 1991, the arrest rates for criminal homicide among 13- to 14-year-old males increased by 140 percent, among 15-year-old males by 217 percent, among 16-year-old males by 158 percent, and among 17-year-old males by 121 percent. While this is not a panacea to end the senseless violence among juveniles, I firmly believe it will lead to a reduction in incidents of violent youthful offenders.

I wish to commend the able Senator from Wisconsin for offering his amendment.

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I thank my colleague and I deeply appreciate his cosponsorship and support of this bill. It means a great deal to me and to the positive outcome of this bill.

I wish to recognize Senator PRYOR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. PRYOR. Madam President, I thank my friend from Wisconsin, Senator KOHL. As we know in the Senate, Senator KOHL from Wisconsin is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, and I compliment him on his fine efforts in that subcommittee.

Senator KOHL has come forward with this piece of legislation that is today before the U.S. Senate for our consideration. I truly think it is one of the best contributions that we could make to this crime bill.

Madam President, first I would like to say a word generically about this crime bill and especially about our colleague from Delaware, Senator BIDEN, and our colleague from Utah, Senator HATCH, who have taken this bill and achieved bipartisan support for almost every section of this very complex and thorough piece of legislation. They are to be complimented and congratulated for their outstanding efforts.

Madam President, a few moments ago I was looking through the various titles of this bill. We have talked about a few sections, a few titles of this so-called crime bill that is now before the Senate. I think it would be worthwhile if all of our colleagues in the Senate and if the American people had the opportunity to know about the various titles that we find in this particular piece of far-reaching legislation.

Title V, for example, the obstruction of justice; title VI that deals with youth violence and gangs; and title VII, terrorism. We have some 30 titles that touch almost every life in America. I think that this is a very good piece of legislation. I think that it will be a better piece of legislation should Senator KOHL's amendment become a part of S. 1607, the crime bill of 1993.

Madam President, Senator KOHL has come forward and stated what has hap-

pened in his own State of Wisconsin and the entire United States, but let me, if I could, state what is happening in another part of America, the State of Arkansas.

The most populated county in our State is Pulaski County, AR. That is the county where Little Rock, of course, our State capital, is located.

A recent survey of Little Rock students indicates that 39 percent of the junior high school students and 58 percent of the senior high school students believe that weapons in schools are a problem. This is not in New York. It is not in Chicago. It is not in Los Angeles. This is Little Rock, AR.

Once again, in Little Rock, AR, in Pulaski County, last year saw 61 homicides. One of the highest homicide rates in the entirety of the United States of America is in Little Rock, AR. I hate to report that, but the facts speak for themselves. Thirty-eight of those homicides were against persons 24 years of age or younger. This is over one-half of all the homicides being committed mostly by young people and against young people.

Nationwide, we have seen an 88-percent increase of juvenile crimes in the past decade. What a tremendous rise in the past 10 years, an 88-percent increase.

We have also seen, and I think that Senator KOHL had a chart to this effect, a 111-percent increase has taken place in the past decade for weapons violations among juveniles.

Madam President, I am going to repeat that fact, because I think it bears repeating—a 111-percent increase in the past decade of juveniles arrested for weapons violations.

This is a shocking fact. This is a shocking time. I can only say that Senator KOHL's amendment, I think, goes to something that we must address today, and that is juvenile crime. We must prohibit juveniles from having guns in their possessions and especially taking those guns to school.

Madam President, in conclusion, I state that many of the States are one by one today passing laws similar to the amendment offered by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KOHL]. However, this particular amendment is critical to this legislation, the overall crime bill, because it does two things—it plugs two specific loopholes in the current Federal gun laws. First is the loophole that allows nonlicensed gun sellers, for example, one individual, to sell a gun to another individual who is unlicensed, to sell handguns to minors without it being a criminal offense.

Let me state that this is the first loophole that the amendment offered by Senator KOHL, of which I am proud to be a cosponsor, plugs.

There is a second loophole that this amendment addresses. It is the loophole that does not prohibit nor preclude the possession of a handgun by a

minor. This bill makes it a crime for a minor to possess a handgun.

Madam President, that is simply what this bill does. It does two things. We think that it is drawing tremendous bipartisan support.

It is such a pleasure to see the distinguished Senator from the State of South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], as a cosponsor of Senator KOHL's bill. I am very proud to be an original cosponsor of this amendment. I hope that it will receive universal acceptance by our colleagues in the U.S. Senate.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Mr. METZENBAUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Madam President, I rise to support Senator KOHL's youth handgun safety bill. Senator KOHL, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, has taken the lead in doing something about the violence that pervades the lives of so many of our young people. I find it simply appalling that people between the ages of 16 and 24 are more likely to be victims of handgun crime than any other age group. Firearm homicides are the second leading cause of death for all youngsters ages 15 through 19.

Recognizing that there is no simple solution to the problem of kids who carry guns, Senator KOHL has attacked this crisis on several fronts. A long time supporter of the Brady bill Senator KOHL authored the gun-free school zones bill which is now putting people who bring guns near schools in jail. The amendment which he offers today, the Youth Handgun Safety Act, would make it a Federal crime to sell, deliver, or transfer a handgun or handgun ammunition to a minor. This bill makes it clear that we will hold people liable for contributing to and profiting from juvenile violence.

The bill would also prohibit juvenile possession of a handgun. One would think that most states already have such a common sense law on the books. But the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence reports that 22 States permit the carrying of handguns out in the open, by some or all persons under age 18. In some States it is perfectly legal for gang members to walk around with guns strapped to their hips. To permit this to go on in the name of the second amendment or States rights is simply insane.

Although I fully support Senator KOHL's efforts to end this madness, I believe that the provision prohibiting possession of handguns by juveniles needs some clarification. Thanks to Senator KOHL's hearings on juvenile violence throughout the country we know that children of all ages are forced to eat, sleep, play, and go to school in the constant presence of guns. For example, we know that many kids are left home alone with their parent's gun that is readily accessible.

Clearly, such a child who did not buy the gun, did not leave it lying around the House, never touched it, and is in no position to tell mom or dad to get rid of it, should not be held liable under this bill. Well established principles of fairness require that the crime of possession of a handgun be something more than mere presence near a gun or mere knowledge of where a gun is located.

I appreciate Senator KOHL's pledge that my concerns about defining the term possession will be addressed. I applaud him for his leadership on this issue which is so important to us all.

Madam President, this is a good amendment. This is an amendment that should be adopted.

Mr. MATHEWS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. MATHEWS. Madam President, I, too, rise as a cosponsor of this legislation and in strong support of the amendment offered by my colleague from Wisconsin, Senator KOHL.

Just 130 years ago our Nation was in the depths of a ghastly Civil War. Americans killed Americans, neighbor killed neighbor, and brother killed brother. Many times in that war Abraham Lincoln spoke eloquently about that awful conflict. He spoke of a nation conceived in liberty and of people equal before the law and the eyes of their Maker. A few generations before, Thomas Jefferson had created from parchment and inspiration the Constitution Lincoln pledged to preserve. Jefferson, too, wrote of life and liberty and people with inalienable rights to both.

Today, the Nation conceived in liberty lives in terror. City to city and house to house, the ringing words of freedom are drowned in a roar of gunfire. The rights we prize are bolted behind doors that cannot protect families cowering behind them. Millions of Americans think equality springs not from words or law or a Divine Maker's gift of human dignity, but from the barrel of a gun. More than 15,000 times a year, they use that gun to snuff out a life. A century after Lincoln, Americans are still killing Americans, neighbors are killing neighbors, brothers are killing brothers. And worse, strangers are killing anyone who chances by.

A few days ago, Hillary Clinton said she could not bear to read another news story about a child in a rain of bullets. I cannot bear it either, but I also cannot stop reading those stories.

A few weeks ago here in this city a 4-year-old girl was killed by a stray bullet while her father was in prison for shooting another 4-year-old girl. He saw no parallels between his dead daughter and another man's wounded one.

A few weeks ago in Nashville, my hometown, a 16-year-old girl was using her automated bank card for the first

time, withdrawing some of the money she'd earned on her first job; 16-year-old girls will do many things for the first time, but this young woman will not. A young man put a gun to her chest and pulled the trigger. For \$20. I mention the sum because even though we have become inured to the horror of murder, the pettiness of the take still draws our attention.

I cannot stop reading those stories because the stories do not stop: A 17-year-old arrested for shooting a 3-month-old baby—a juveniles shoots his girlfriend to death at dinner. In Memphis, TN, at Raleigh-Egypt High School, a 17-year-old high school student was shot and wounded when she attempted to convince a gunman to put down his weapon. All he wanted to do was rob her of a jacket she was wearing at the time.

In one nationwide poll, 20 percent of adults knew someone whose child had been shot by another child. Another poll shows 40 percent of high school students know someone killed by a gun; 15 percent and carried a gun that month; 224 kids under age 18 killed by gunfire in the District of Columbia in 5 years.

Within sight of where I stand now, grade school children so firmly believe their violent death is imminent that they have planned their own funerals. I have two granddaughters in grade school. I cannot imagine what would run through my heart if one came up to me and said, "Grandpa, will you make sure I'm buried in my prettiest dress?"

Lincoln and Jefferson vowed that our Republic would last. But I ask plainly and simply: If we stay this murderous course, what will last? And who?

Our police are undermanned, and their adversaries have greater firepower. Our young people kill each other with weapons a so-called adult sold them or gave them. Mothers send children to a public school or a public park, and that afternoon identify their bodies in the public morgue.

Many people say we do not need to stem the flow of weapons but to build more prisons, lock criminals up, and throw away the key. I agree we have to be hard as nails in punishing gun-related crime, but more prisons and tougher sentences are not a full solution. Over the past 5 years, Tennessee has built 6 new incarceration facilities, and our judicial system is filling them. Yet guns crimes continue to rise.

Guns are absurdly plentiful and preposterously easy to get. Let us face the truth: If we are going to curb gun-related crimes, we have to contain the flow of firearms.

The problems are rampant and expensive. The yearly cost of firearm injuries of the U.S. health care system exceeds \$3 billion. The average cost of a single firearm injury is nearly \$54,000, and 85 percent of that cost is paid by

the taxpayer, for the victims are generally uninsured. The average cost of a fatality approaches \$374,000. The taxpayer bears about \$317,000 of that cost.

The incredible financial cost is not the only one we pay. There are countless losses beyond price—the grief of friends and family, the contributions that never will be made, the lives that never will be touched by those who have been shot and killed. The life of our Nation is made poorer with each life gunned down and cut short.

Madam President, too many people—including too many in Congress—say there is no legislative remedy for this enormity. They say felons always will find guns. Reckless adults will hawk them to minors. Worse, they parrot the fractured sense of groups who think keeping guns from criminals and children means taking guns from them. So we should simply accept butchery with firearms as a fact of American life and grow tougher callouses.

Madam President, I think not. I think all of us are tired of putting up with people who miss the point. I think you made that point yourself recently.

The point is not what legislation cannot do. The point is that Congress has not tried hard enough. Time and again, we have had chances to act. And we have ducked, dodged, delayed, and detoured while more people die. We should be ashamed.

Madam President, we are about to get another chance. The Kohl amendment will stop the appalling spread of handguns among our children. And it will do so without abridging rights of law-abiding Americans to own firearms. In the name of everything that is moral and just about America, I will support this amendment. I ask all Members of this Chamber to look into the terrified eyes of their constituents, consult their conscience, summon their courage, and do what is right. Let us support this Kohl amendment because it is the right thing to do.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, I, too, want to speak as a cosponsor of the Kohl amendment. I urge my colleagues to support this important proposal to keep handguns out of the hands of children.

As our colleague from Wisconsin explained, it is fairly simple. The amendment would generally prohibit children from possessing handguns. He provides the appropriate kinds of exceptions, if the handgun is necessary in the pursuit of work on a ranch or hunting lodge or something of that nature. It is very well balanced. But I commend our colleague for reaching out to do something about the level of crime that has overtaken our country, and particularly the shock and astonishment at

little kids having guns in their possession.

It is time we did something about it. For the past several legislative days here, we have many times imposed harsher and harsher penalties upon youngsters who commit crimes. We are down to age 13. We may even drop it lower if the anguish continues to permeate our communities.

There is ample evidence that increasing numbers of children are gaining access to guns and then using these guns to kill, to maim. According to the National School Safety Center, each day over 135,000 kids carry guns to school.

We have magnetometers, we have inspections, we are wondering how many police we have to put in the schools throughout our country. There is one way to help us deal with the problem. We should do it.

Gunshot wounds to children 16 years and under have tripled in major urban areas since 1986. Between 1985 and 1991 arrest rates for criminal homicide among 15-year-old males have increased by over 200 percent.

The problem of juvenile gun violence, however, is not limited to our inner cities. It pervades our Nation in suburbs and small towns alike. By way of example, in an exclusive neighborhood in Pasadena, CA—not exactly a low-income community—two teenage boys reportedly shot three young women to death at close range. When asked why, they simply said to the police that they had angry words with the victims. They could not even remember what the fight was about.

This kind of callous insensitivity to gun violence is becoming increasingly tolerated and prevalent among our Nation's young people. We have to stop it in any reasonable way we can. Perhaps it is no accident that kids raised on Rambo are more willing to murder people over minor disagreements. But whatever the cause, no American is entirely safe when kids carrying guns are on the loose.

As a nation, we have committed ourselves to keeping drugs and alcohol out of the hands of children. We have adopted strict laws to punish those who would involve children in drug-related crime. And we have passed, at this Senator's insistence, a law to establish a national drinking age of 21-year-olds.

A lethal weapon in the hands of an unsupervised child is far more dangerous than a can of beer. But you could not tell it by looking at the United States Code.

Current Federal law does prohibit gun sales to minors, but only if the seller is a licensed firearm dealer, importer, manufacturer, or collector. There are no Federal limits on private transfers of firearms to children. In other words, a street criminal or drug dealer could transfer a handgun to even a very young child without breaking the law in many States.

That does not make sense.

Many children obtain their guns from family members and friends and from people on the street. So a Federal ban on transfers by licensed gun dealers just is not good enough. We need to better limit private transfers. State laws in this area are scattered and inadequate. In more than half of all States, children are allowed to possess handguns, and to do so legally. Federal action is needed.

So, in conclusion, given the death and destruction associated with the possession of guns by young people, we should do everything we can to keep guns from falling into our children's hands. It is long past time to establish a national minimum handgun age.

I urge all of our colleagues to think about the revulsion, the shock, the surprise, the anguish that all of us see when we hear about a 13- or 14-year-old kid pulling a gun out in a school yard, or just random shooting and shooting anybody in sight.

It is time to send a message if we are serious about crime, this is one relatively painless way—totally painless way—of doing something about it.

I once again commend our colleague, my friend from Wisconsin. I hope he will have the kind of support this amendment deserves.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. KOHL. I thank my colleague from New Jersey, Senator LAUTENBERG, whose support is very important. I do appreciate his support, his cosponsorship of this amendment, and thank him very much.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to list Senator BOXER and Senator MIKULSKI as cosponsors of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KOHL. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter of support for this amendment by Attorney General Reno.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, DC, November 4, 1993.

Hon. HERB KOHL,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR KOHL: I am writing to commend you for your leadership in protecting young people from gun violence, and to lend my support to the Youth Handgun Safety Act (S. 1087). It has become far too easy for young people to acquire guns, and I believe your bill is a common-sense approach to addressing the problem.

Again, I applaud and support your initiative. I look forward to working with you in the future to curb crime and gun violence in America.

Sincerely,

JANET RENO.

Mr. KOHL. There are only 18 States which have laws that prohibit a minor from possessing a handgun. Only 18

States have laws, I want to say it again, which prohibit a minor from possessing a handgun.

For the information of my colleagues, I would just like to read off those States that do have laws; 32 States have no laws which prohibit the possession of a handgun by a minor but Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin do. That is 32 States, as I said, have no laws which prohibit the possession of handguns by minors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam President, let me quote from the Dallas Morning News, August 1, 1993:

*** Twice in the wee hours last Saturday, Mrs. Virgen Blanca and her three children awoke in terror to the sounds of a prowler."

When police arrived, "they found only a message scratched in a light switch beside the apartment door: 'I'll be back.'"

"The next day, Mrs. Blanca bought a .38 caliber Bryco semiautomatic pistol. When the man made his third visit a day later, [Mrs. Blanca's 15-year-old son] Roel shot him."

While we would like to focus on the fact that we have experienced unprecedented violence amongst juveniles in our society today, we must not forget to focus on the fact that there is a legitimate use of the firearm by young people in appropriate and designated circumstances. Self-defense happens to be one of those, whether it is of themselves or of their parents as in the case of Roel Blanca, of Dallas, TX.

But clearly, hunting and target practice, and training in the proper use of a firearm are also a legitimate pursuit because we want to be responsible in providing for our young people the proper environment in which, if they choose to want to learn how to handle a firearm, they learn to handle it in an appropriate fashion.

I have just said all of that for a purpose, because it might sound ever so slightly contradictory that I am a cosponsor of the Kohl amendment. In the course of all of this debate this afternoon, if we fail to focus on the broad range of violence among juveniles today, and focus only on the gun, then we really have missed the whole of the debate and the whole of the crisis in America today. But there is no question there is a crisis. There is no question that we must speak out about juveniles and possession of weapons—in this case firearms—and their misuse.

I believe the legislation Senator KOHL has put before us is a responsible gesture in that direction. The Senator has been most receptive in his cooperative work with me and my staff to work down through this legislation so that we would not deny the legitimate

and the responsible use of a weapon, a firearm, for purposes of self-defense—I guess you would call it a weapon then—or for the legitimate purposes of hunting or target practice or proper education and training.

It is interesting that we link all of these together, but we have to. We have said throughout history that juveniles could be held to certain standards, whereas adults should not be because of constitutional rights, and that we could provide laws that establish a standard for a juvenile who we believe to be less responsible by his or her age, but an adult had to assume the responsibility, and in the assumption of that responsibility came certain “inalienable rights.”

So do we want to talk about rights today? Yes, we have in the expression of this amendment. I think the Senator's amendment is appropriate in doing so. For example, I was concerned, in a western State, where we do not have as much of the difficulty as the inner-city areas have with juveniles, that we have young people, sometimes very young people, legitimately using firearms because they have been properly trained by their parent or they have gone through a gun safety course that gives them that kind of understanding as to not only the lethal aspect of an improperly used firearm but the importance of a wisely used firearm.

So as a result we have said in the course of employment for target practice, hunting, or instruction in safe handling of a handgun, and under adult supervision, and is with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian, and in accordance with State and local laws.

I think there will be a colloquy and some discussion this afternoon as to what permission means. I think that is an important discussion. Senator KOHL and I are in reasonable concert over that, but there remains a problem. And later I would like to visit for the record with him about that particular problem.

But this amendment recognizes by controlling the irresponsible use of the handgun in this instance not always is it improperly used. In fact, as I have said, there are young people all over this Nation who know how to use handguns safely and responsibly, and in my State—not just Idaho but across the country—kids who hunt and target practice and kids in rural areas who use handguns to destroy varmints and pests that threaten crop and property. This amendment allows that activity, and it should. It is important that the record show that we are talking about the irresponsible use of the handgun and not the responsible use of the handgun.

There is also, sadly, kids who may need to use a handgun, as I mentioned in the case of Roel, in self-defense.

Doggone it, we cannot deny the fact that in our society today there is a responsible position for the right of the individual to assume self-defense, no matter how young he or she may be and how tragic the environment in which it has to be conducted. But we cannot, nor should we, deny that inalienable, responsive right of the individual to protect his or her property or family, and we call that self-defense.

The target of this amendment, as I have said, is the juvenile who uses a handgun to commit a crime and the adult who knowingly provides the weapon. That is part of the tragedy that we deal with today.

But let us keep the focus. To fight crime we must attack the criminal and not the weapon. I am disappointed when some of my colleagues come to the floor today and suggest that we will resolve this great crisis of criminality in juvenile America by simply attempting to remove the handgun.

Folks, it is not going to happen. Now, it will help if we do it right. But we have a larger issue today that I think for a few moments deserves some limited amount of discussion, because if we are going to talk about criminal activities with juveniles today, let us not talk about the gun. Let us talk about the why of its happening, because if we take away this weapon of choice today in a very violent young America, it does not take away the violence. It simply suggests that they must find an alternative weapon to conduct a violent act that seems now to be the standard, and that is tragic.

So while we talk about playing slightly on the edge of second amendment rights today, there is another amendment right in this country that ought to be talked about, and that is first amendment rights and something that for some strange reason in our country today has provoked a generation of young people to be increasingly more violent than a generation prior to them.

We should not deny, and it ought to be said for the record, from a very large body of study out there—some 3,000 different studies that we as a policymaking body have somewhat skated around the edges of—now in almost every case we cannot deny that young people's constant watching of violence on television has begun to provoke a very violent young America.

Two doctors from Chicago, Leonard Devlin and Russell Hosmond, followed the viewing habits of a group of children for 22 years. They found that watching violence on television is the single best perpetrator of violence or aggressive behavior later in life, ahead of such commonly accepted factors of parent behavior, poverty, and race. And here is a figure that is very hard for me to understand until I turn on the television set and begin to observe.

They discovered in their studies that the rate of violence in children's pro-

grams is three times the rate in prime-time shows, and that by the age of 18 the average American child has witnessed at least 18,000 simulated murders on television.

Now, if this Senate is going to skirt on the edge of second amendment rights for the average citizen in this country, then we better be willing to skirt on the edge of first amendment rights, that right of free speech and free expression, because clearly it is generating in our society today a massive problem and young people are dying through acts of violence because they have begun to believe that it is the proper action, and therein lies the great tragedy of the debate we have today. Any Senator who wants to come to the floor and suggest hurrah, hurrah, that we are going to stop criminal activities amongst juveniles by taking away their firearms, it will not take away violent activity.

Another study on children watching violence on television. Last year there were 32 acts of violence per hour on children's show times—32 acts per hour. By the time our children finish elementary school, they have witnessed 8,000 murders on television—100,000 acts of violence on television annually.

Where does this fit in all of this debate? We are talking about dealing with a symptom of the problem. Senator KOHL in a very honest and forthright way is speaking out to that issue. But it is not the problem. Young people today, raised on modern violent television, when put in a stressed situation, resort to violence 6 to 1 over what they did simply a generation ago. While I cannot stand with a blind eye to this issue, it is very important that we address it in a responsible way. But I will not, and I am so pleased that the Senator has in a very cooperative fashion worked not to deny the legitimate use of a firearm, in this case a handgun, to teenagers, juveniles under the appropriate supervision and under the appropriate conditions to deal with all of these kinds of concerns.

I ask my colleague to discuss with me a couple of issues of concern.

Page 5, line 13 dealing with the issue of personal supervision. I know that my colleague from Alaska has great concern about this issue, as do others, as it relates to the adult and what is required for a child to possess and use a handgun.

I think it is extremely important that we clarify what all of this means as it relates to the presence of an adult. For example, some States have laws allowing children to hunt alone. Some States allow children to hunt but without a hunting license until they are aged 16 or 18.

Now, if they have a hunting license—and this general provision makes the assumption of a hunting license, as required by State law or to conform with

State law—my concern is should Congress override the State's judgment in this area especially since the amendment is trying to target violent crime? I wish the Senator could respond to this. It is very important that we establish a record in this area, moving toward the implementation of this potential law.

Mr. KOHL. I thank my colleague from Idaho, with whom I have worked very carefully. It has been a mutually satisfactory effort on our part. He has commended me, but I want to commend the Senator for his willingness to sit down and discuss this thing in a very rational and open way.

I think what we crafted together speaks for how people with slightly differing views on such a very important subject like gun control can work together to do something very important. I appreciate the Senator's efforts.

With respect to some of the language, parental supervision, we have been working with the Senator from Idaho and others on this, and we have some language which Senator DOLE has sent over, and Senator MURKOWSKI, and others that we think is going to be adequate and satisfactory so as to not create too many difficulties for young people who want to use handguns in a responsible fashion that we have discussed and which this bill encompasses.

The exceptions would be, as the Senator pointed out, hunting, target practice, and farm work in and around ranches and farms. We originally said "under supervision," and the Senator from Idaho suggested language which might indicate parental consent, a letter from a parent, would be adequate and satisfactory to permit those kinds of activities. I believe that kind of language would be acceptable.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CRAIG. I yield to the Senator from Alaska for the purpose of a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, the Senator from Wisconsin I think has done an exemplary job of addressing the tremendous difficulties we have in this Nation relative to minors possessing handguns for criminal purposes. I could go on at great length. But suffice it to say he has my total admiration. However, as he knows, and my friend from Idaho knows, rural parts of the country have different needs. It is quite common, for example, for young people in our State to work a trap line at the age of 15 or 16 years. They are out in the wilderness. Clearly, they have a need for some type of protection. More often than not, a handgun is carried for that type of protection.

Berry picking is another such activity. Oftentimes in the fall you run into a bear. It is pretty handy to have a handgun as opposed to the alternative of not having anything.

I could cite numerous examples associated with rural living in the West and Alaska where a handgun is very much a part of the lifestyle of a young person.

So my question specifically to the Senator from Wisconsin is—does he recognize the legitimate need for the carriage of handguns in outdoor pursuits such as I have described; activities that may be a step out from traditional ranching, or activities of that sort, but which would include the more traditional use in Alaska and other wild areas of handguns for self-protection, trapping, and so forth, under the appropriate State laws?

Mr. KOHL. Yes; I would like to respond to my colleague from Alaska and indicate to him that I do understand what he is saying. I understand the particular needs in areas as remote as we find in Alaska. The Senator indicated some outdoor activities like tending trap lines, indicated activities that an individual might come upon a bear. I have no doubt that as we move to conference, we can craft the language that he is looking for that will satisfy the needs of Alaskans.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I understand, Madam President—

Mr. CRAIG. I continue to yield to the Senator from Alaska for purposes of a question.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I appreciate that. Without delaying the Senate's deliberation, it is my understanding from the remarks of the Senator from Wisconsin that basically the second degree that we have been preparing to proceed with has in spirit and in actuality been accepted by the Senator from Wisconsin.

If that is the case, Madam President, the Senator from Alaska thanks the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Idaho and all those who are responsible for working to curb the illicit use of handguns among juveniles and still recognize that in many areas of the United States, handguns serve a very appropriate and practical purpose for responsible juveniles who have the training and background and know the responsibility associated with the use of such firearms.

So with that, I thank my friends. I thank my colleague from Idaho for allowing me to enter into the dialog with the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank my colleague from Alaska for dealing with that important issue. It is unique in its concern, and I think he spotted the issue very clearly.

In western environments, I, as a youth growing up, would find myself still on my family's property but miles from the house carrying a handgun at age 12 for a variety of reasons, but primarily to shoot rattlesnakes. That was a matter of self-protection. Yet I was near public property, or I was clearly where I could become subject to a law enforcement officer miles away.

I think that addresses it. I appreciate the sensitivity of the Senator from Wisconsin to this issue.

There is one other area that I think deserves some discussion. I wish the Senator from Wisconsin would respond to the relationship between the Federal Government and State government. The Federal Government generally has left juvenile matters to the States.

Can he clarify for our colleagues why this amendment is needed, and how he envisions the relationship of Federal, State, and local governments in carrying out this very important amendment?

Mr. KOHL. I thank the Senator from Idaho for his question.

He is right. The need for this legislation, as he knows, comes about because there are only 18 States that deal with the possession of handguns by minors. If all 50 States had dealt with the problem, we would not be talking here today about it. But we have this legislation to address the problem, which all across our country is not being addressed.

In the case of a juvenile, first offense, we will have alternative sentencing, and there will not be any problem. But what we will do in most cases is mandate juveniles to State and local authorities who will deal with them according to the Federal legislation that we are passing here today.

So I do not anticipate that juveniles in very many cases, unless there are very serious crimes involved, will be dealt with at the Federal level. They will be dealt with at the State and local level.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank my colleague for responding to that.

Madam President, in closing, let me reiterate what the Senator from Wisconsin has said, as it relates to 18 States and the District of Columbia having adopted strict antigun legislation regarding juveniles. I mention that not only for the importance of recognizing that this legislation is in part patterned after some of those States, but also showing the innate conflict we find ourselves in when we target an inanimate object like a gun and say: This is the problem, and if we remove it from the scene, the problem of violence will go away. We know what is happening right here in the District of Columbia. It is almost an every-night scene on the evening news. It is phenomenally tragic in the history of modern day America that this is going on.

In the District of Columbia, the law prohibits anyone under the age of 18 from possessing a handgun without a registered certificate. The argument is that they get it from Virginia. Well, Virginia prohibits anyone under the age of 18 from possessing a handgun, except for supervised target shooting. So it is not allowed in the State of Virginia. Maryland has restrictive laws.

The reason I mention this is to point out once again part of my premise, which is that we have to address the root cause.

It is, someday, going to dawn on this Senate that we will have to trample—I hope cautiously—in areas where we have not yet tread, and that is as it relates to suggesting, as Senator SIMON, who has led in this area, and Senator DURENBERGER, who has also led in this area, that our young people are being raised on violence. And doggone it, violence begets violence. Until we deal with this in a societal way instead of a piecemeal way—and that is to not in any way lessen the importance of this legislation—but until we recognize this as a massive societal problem, it is potentially possible that a violent young America growing up could produce as their offspring an even more violent America. That would be a phenomenal tragedy, and we would be standing on this floor, or our counterparts will a generation from now, wondering why Senators in the 1990's did not deal in a more appropriate fashion to bring down the communicative tools of ongoing violence as seen by modern-day juveniles.

Eighteen thousand murders are viewed on television by the time you are age 18. By the time you leave junior high, you have witnessed 8,000 murders and 100,000 acts of violence on television. That is why we are here today, not because some inanimate metal object is inherently dangerous, but because we have created a very violent young society, and we are not yet ready to deal with it.

I yield the remainder of my time.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I listened with great interest to my friend from Idaho, and I think he makes some very valid points about violence and television and children, and I, too, think—whether I want it to or not—we are going into that area, whether the Senator from Delaware thinks it makes sense or not. But one of the things I thought I heard him say was: "Why are we federalizing this relative to young people?"

Mr. CRAIG. If the chairman will yield, I had questioned the historic relationship that the Federal Government had with State and local governments as it related to juvenile crime. I engaged the Senator from Wisconsin in a colloquy about that. I think there is some concern there, and if you could address that in a broader sense, I would greatly appreciate it, because while we sense the need to respond, we are treading in fairly new areas that we have allowed largely to remain at State and local levels, am I not correct?

Mr. BIDEN. The Senator is correct. That is why I wonder—and I see the distinguished Republican leader on the floor—why he voted for the Republican leader's amendment on gangs. We just

federalized, for all children, every crime you could possibly think of. I wonder how he could vote for that and have any question about this? That is my question, and I do not have any more to say. That is a rhetorical question, I guess.

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I ask that Senator PELL be listed as a cosponsor of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I believe the Republican leader is prepared to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I want to ask the sponsor of the amendment a question. There has been some discussion about a couple of minor modifications in the amendment, which I think would make it acceptable to most everyone in the Chamber. I wonder if there might be some way to resolve that problem. We have talked about it.

If those changes were made, I think the Senator from Wisconsin would have almost unanimous support.

Mr. KOHL. We have looked at some of the modifications made with respect to some of the language, and the language as we read it and understand it is acceptable to us.

Mr. DOLE. If the Senator from Wisconsin would modify his amendment at the appropriate time,

Mr. BIDEN. If the Republican leader will yield, I think he is prepared to do that now. It would take unanimous consent since this is a second degree. I suggest that he ask unanimous consent to so modify his amendment, and we may be able to move on.

Mr. KOHL. The same modification we talked about?

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I have been informed there is no need for unanimous consent.

Mr. DOLE. There would be a modification on page 5, starting on line 19, and page 6 starting with line 15.

Mr. KOHL. That is correct. The modification on page 5, reads: "with the prior written consent of the juvenile's parent or guardian." And on page 6, it reads, "the juvenile has the prior written consent in the juvenile's possession at all times when a handgun is in the possession of the juvenile."

Mr. DOLE. That is correct. If the Senator would send that modification to the desk.

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I send a modification to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has that right.

The amendment is so modified.

The amendment (No. 1148), as modified, is as follows:

On page 127, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following:

Subtitle D—Youth Handgun Safety

SEC. 631. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a pervasive, nationwide problem.

(2) Problems with crime at the local level are exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs.

(3) Firearms and ammunition, and handguns in particular, move easily in interstate commerce, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

(4) In fact, even before the sale of a handgun, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce.

(5) While criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to the concern that violent crime is not under control, and foreigners may decline to travel in the United States for the same reason.

(6) Just as the hardened drug kingpins begin their life in the illicit drug culture by exposure to drugs at a young age, violent criminals often start their criminal careers on streets where the ready availability of guns to young people results in the acceptability of their random use.

(7) Violent crime and the use of illicit drugs go hand-in-hand, and attempts to control one without controlling the other may be fruitless.

(8) Individual States and localities find it impossible to handle the problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their effort unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures.

(9) Inasmuch as illicit drug activity and related violent crime overflow State lines and national boundaries, the Congress has power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to combat these problems.

(10) The Congress finds that it is necessary and appropriate to assist the States in controlling crime by stopping the commerce in handguns with juveniles nationwide, and allowing the possession of handguns by juveniles only when handguns are possessed and used for legitimate purposes under appropriate conditions.

SEC. 632. PROHIBITION OF THE POSSESSION OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION BY, OR THE PRIVATE TRANSFER OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION TO, A JUVENILE.

(a) DEFINITION.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(29) The term 'handgun' means—

"(A) a firearm that has a short stock and is designed to be held and fired by the use of a single hand; and

"(B) any combination of parts from which a firearm described in subparagraph (A) can be assembled."

(b) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(s)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a juvenile, or to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

"(A) a handgun; or

"(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

"(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

"(A) a handgun; or
 "(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

"(3) This subsection does not apply to—

"(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile or to the possession or use of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile if the handgun and ammunition are possessed and used by the juvenile—

"(i) in the course of employment, in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch), target practice, hunting, or a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a handgun;

"(ii) with the prior written consent of the juvenile's parent or guardian who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm, except—

"(I) during transportation by the juvenile of an unloaded handgun in a locked container directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (i) is to take place and transportation by the juvenile of that handgun, unloaded and in a locked container, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor; or

"(II) with respect to ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun or ammunition with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian and at the direction of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State or local law from possessing a firearm.

"(iii) the juvenile has the prior written consent in the juvenile's possession at all times when a handgun is in the possession of the juvenile.

"(iv) in accordance with State and local law;

"(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun in the line of duty;

"(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile; or

"(D) the possession of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile taken in defense of the juvenile or other persons against an intruder into the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

"(4) A handgun or ammunition, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned to the lawful owner when such handgun or ammunition is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

"(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'juvenile' means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

"(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

"(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

"(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown."

(c) PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking "paragraph (2) or (3) of"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(5)(A)(i) A juvenile who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except that a juvenile described in clause (ii) shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation.

"(ii) A juvenile is described in this clause if—

"(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun or ammunition in violation of section 922(s)(2); and

"(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense under section 922(s) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense.

"(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(s)—

"(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both; and

"(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun or ammunition in the commission of a crime of violence, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both."

(d) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROVISIONS IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—

(1) SECTION 5031.—Section 5031 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "or a violation by such a person of section 922(s)" before the period at the end.

(2) SECTION 5032.—Section 5032 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph by inserting "or (s)" after "922(p)"; and

(B) in the fourth undesignated paragraph by inserting "or section 922(s) of this title," before "criminal prosecution on the basis".

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1974.—Section 223(a)(12)(A) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5633(a)(12)(A)) is amended by striking "which do not constitute violations of valid court orders" and inserting "(other than an offense that constitutes a violation of a valid court order or a violation of section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, or a similar State law)."

(f) MODEL LAW.—The Attorney General, acting through the Director of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, shall—

(1) evaluate existing and proposed juvenile handgun legislation in each State;

(2) develop model juvenile handgun legislation that is constitutional and enforceable;

(3) prepare and disseminate to State authorities the findings made as the result of the evaluation; and

(4) report to Congress by December 31, 1994, findings and recommendations concerning the need or appropriateness of further action by the Federal Government.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. I think at least some perceive this

as a problem. Maybe it was not. There was concern of creating two classes of juveniles, one who lived on the farm and one who might have lived in a small town right next to the farm, a son or daughter of a mechanic, or whatever. I think this makes it clear that that is certainly not the intent and will not happen under the Senator's amendment. I thank him for making that modification.

Mr. CHAFEE. Madam President, I would like to ask the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin if this is the proper time for me to make a couple of comments on the bill.

Mr. KOHL. Go ahead.

Mr. CHAFEE. Madam President, I strongly support and am a cosponsor of the amendment offered by the Senator from Wisconsin. This amendment makes sense. Indeed it makes so much sense that I was very surprised—and distressed—to find that it is not already part of our Federal handgun laws. It is past time to rectify that oversight.

Under current law, a handgun may not be sold to someone who is a juvenile. Yet it is perfectly legal to give or lend a juvenile a handgun. It is perfectly legal for a juvenile to have a handgun in his or her possession. The only illegal action is the formal sale of a handgun to a juvenile.

This is ludicrous. Handguns are dangerous and lethal weapons that if handled at all, should be handled by adults—and in my view even then under strict conditions. Children simply should not have handguns. The fact that children and teens may possess a handgun perfectly legally is, in my view, one reason why we see such utter slaughter among our young people today.

I want to take a moment to emphasize that this slaughter is part of a bigger problem: That of the widespread availability of handguns in our society. We now have in circulation more than 70 million handguns, which are increasing at a rate of 2 million per year. These are a significant threat to public welfare. It is a shameful fact that this threat is particularly serious for our Nation's children. Today there is virtually no place in which children can find safe haven from handgun violence. Homes, schools, parks, playgrounds, shopping malls, streets, yards, cars, buses: wherever they go children are exposed.

Some horrifying examples:

In Miami, last June, a 6-year-old boy was hit by a stray bullet and killed while walking along busy Biscayne Boulevard with his brother. The boy crumpled to the sidewalk. A nurse driving by stopped to try to save his life but couldn't. The shot came from an argument more than a block away.

In Monroe, NC, a 5-year-old was playing ball last May with his 7-year-old brother at a recreation center when

shots rang out. The 5-year-old was hit and killed.

One year ago, a 6-year-old Connecticut boy was riding the schoolbus home from kindergarten when he was hit in the head by a 9-millimeter slug from a handgun.

These incidents clearly demonstrate how the presence of handguns generally in our society is harming our youngsters. It is a key reason why I have introduced legislation to ban handguns altogether with certain limited exceptions. The amendment before us does not go as far as I would like, but it has my strong and wholehearted support. We should—we must—at the very least prohibit children from having handguns. It is horrible enough when a child is shot by an adult wielding a handgun, but it is even more ghastly when the bullet comes from a handgun wielded by another child.

In the hands of a youngster, a handgun is a tragedy waiting to happen. Children who find others' handguns or have handguns of their own often accidentally shoot themselves or a sibling. More than 500 children die each year this way. The cases are horrifying:

In June, in Pittsburgh, 3-year-old Andre Butler shot Robert Broadus, also age 3, in the right arm with a handgun. The bullet passed through Robert's arm and came within two inches of hitting his chest.

In May, in St. Louis, a 6-year-old girl shot her 4-year-old brother at home after she found a fully loaded .32-caliber revolver belonging to a relative.

In April, in Cleveland, a 3-year-old shot himself in the head with a gun he found.

Or, in a moment of teenage depression, children may impulsively use a handgun to attempt suicide: every year, nearly 1,500 children successfully commit suicide with a gun, and this number is rising.

And children are finding and using handguns at school. In every state, children are carrying handguns to school as if they were lunchboxes. An estimated 135,000 boys carry guns to school every day. And it's not just the big urban cities: roughly 1 of every 8 rural principles reports more guns than ever before in their schools.

These handguns cause tragedy:

In March 1992, a Chicago third-grader pulled a handgun from his bookbag and shot a student in the spine.

In my own State of Rhode Island, this year alone we have had 15 school handgun incidents.

It is to the point where school budgets must allocate money for \$4,000 metal detectors and \$150 wands.

Administrators are donning bullet-proof wear, and school police are carrying guns. Parents of wounded children are suing school boards for negligence.

The Kohl amendment makes illegal the possession of a handgun by a juvenile, except in certain limited cases. It

makes sense. If we want to take a first step toward ensuring that our children do not continue to be killed or permanently disabled by gunshot wounds, we must approve this amendment. It is the very, very least we can do for our youngsters.

I congratulate my colleague on his thoughtful amendment.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Madam President, I wholeheartedly support Senator KOHL's amendment. I am proud to be a cosponsor of his Youth Handgun Safety Act of 1993 bill on which this amendment is based. The fact that our Nation is full of children and teenagers wielding guns is a national disgrace.

Last week in New Britain, CT, a student walking to high school was shot five times in front of the school just as classes were about to begin. A day later, the student, Miguel DeJesus, died. This story of senseless violence among teenagers is repeated again and again in communities across the Nation. Disputes that used to be resolved in fistfights, now end in gunfire. We have to end this kind of senseless violence. Getting handguns out of the hands of teenagers is a first step in that direction.

Senator KOHL's amendment provides reasonable restrictions on the availability of handguns and possession of handguns by young people. It is shocking that this law is necessary, but it is. In too many of our communities, children are killing children, and anybody in between.

This amendment will allow Federal law enforcement to weigh in on the side of States and localities in the fight to take dangerous guns out of the hands of unsupervised children and teenagers. In Connecticut, State law currently prohibits possession of loaded firearms by minors under the age of 16. State law also prohibits the sale of handguns to minors under 18. This amendment will bolster the efforts of State law enforcement in my own State and others which do have tough restrictions on youth handgun possession and end the leakage of guns from States that do not.

The fact that so many of our most brutal and coldblooded criminals are children and teenagers who gun each other down—and anyone else in their way—without a second thought is one of the most shocking aspects of our crime problem. The interviews with these young people are chilling. In some cases, they seem utterly without consciences. We need to begin to treat some of these juveniles as adults and sentence them as severely as the crimes they commit deserve. We have to recognize that some of these youths simply need to be taken off the streets and put into jail cells.

We also have to make it harder for them to get handguns and to provide the police with another tool that will allow them to go after the ones that

are now being carried on the streets, in schools and elsewhere. Last year over 3,000 juveniles were killed by guns, and some estimates suggest that over 100,000 students carry guns to school every day. This law would help us turn those numbers back and convince young people that the possession and use of handguns is a serious offense and no longer acceptable. I urge my colleagues to support Senator KOHL's amendment.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I acknowledge the severity of the problem my colleague seeks to address through his amendment. I commend my colleagues for their leadership in this area.

Americans are rightly shocked by the rising tide of violence among our children. Juvenile violence is a tragic problem across the country. My home State of Utah has seen increased violence among teenagers. Much of this violence can be traced to increased gang activity and drug trafficking. For example, in October, two teenagers were wounded in a shooting outside a Salt Lake City high school. In another case, a star high school football player was charged with the murder of a fellow student. But it is important that we address this problem in a way that will truly solve it, and in a way that ensures that our constitutional rights remain protected.

In response to the escalating violence among young people, the Utah Legislature recently passed legislation prohibiting the possession by minors of handguns, sawed-off shotguns, automatic weapons, and dangerous weapons. It also banned the sale of guns to minors unless accompanied by an adult. The new Utah law also includes important protections for the legitimate use of firearms by minors. After a close review of this legislation, I find that it is compatible with current Utah law.

Madam President, the problem of teen violence is serious. We must ensure that the solution will stem the violence, that it will protect the rights of law-abiding citizens, regardless of their age, and that it is respectful of the proper roles of the State and Federal governments in our system.

Gun control legislation is not a panacea to the problem of violence by our youth. There is no doubt that youths who wish to commit crimes with handguns will continue to get them by illegal means. The solution is to make it clear by our laws and by our punishment that violent crime, whether committed by an adult or by a juvenile, will not be tolerated. Juveniles who commit adult crimes must be consistently treated as adults by our courts.

Most violent crime by juveniles in this country is committed by a small, hardened core of violent offenders. A study conducted by the National Institute of Justice found that 79 percent of

violent crime by youths is committed by just 7 percent of violent teenage criminals. In California, there is a 70 percent juvenile recidivism rate, and 50 percent of California's juvenile inmates have been arrested more than six times. [Bruce Fein, Washington Times, October 26, 1993]

The appropriate solution, then, is to reform the juvenile justice system to ensure that appropriate sanctions are applied to juvenile offenders. What we should not do is trample on the Constitution in our zeal to address the serious problem of youth violence. Both handguns and rifles are legitimately owned and used by juveniles for hunting, for target shooting and competition, and for self-defense in the home. These issues are of particular concern in rural areas. Moreover, the decisions of parents that their children be permitted to engage in these lawful activities deserves our deference. Requiring constant adult supervision dilutes this deference.

Madam President, my colleagues' amendment balances the need to keep handguns out of the hands of violent young offenders with the legitimate rights of law-abiding citizens. Protections for the legitimate use of guns by law-abiding citizens, young and old alike, must be preserved in any action we take and I am satisfied that this amendment does so.

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, I rise in support of the Kohl amendment to strengthen Federal laws regarding underage possession of handguns.

Violent crime has reached unacceptable levels in this country, and the ability of children to obtain guns is at the heart of the problem.

The rate of homicides committed by teenagers increased over 130 percent between 1985 and 1991. Many of the victims in these cases are themselves teenagers. Gunshot wounds are now the second leading cause of death for this age group.

Current Federal law prohibits licensed firearm dealers from selling handguns to individuals who are less than 21 years of age. This amendment would—for the first time—prohibit minors from possessing handguns. This is an important addition to Federal law.

I would have preferred that the threshold age in this amendment be set at 21, not 18, so that we might avoid the inconsistency between the legal age of sale for dealers and the legal age of possession. But this is a matter that can be addressed in the future, and this amendment is a sensible first step.

Later in this debate, Senator CHAFEE and I expect to offer an amendment dealing with State and local efforts to reduce youth access to handguns. Local law enforcement officials are on the frontlines in the battle against youth violence.

But it is also important to bring our Federal laws into line, and the Kohl

amendment is an important contribution to that effort.

I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

• Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, there is no doubt that we are facing a rapidly rising violent crime rate, and that we have a rapidly increasing number of young people using guns to commit murder and other violent crimes.

The statistics are appalling, but are beyond dispute. Between 1987 and 1991, the number of juveniles arrested for murder increased by over 85 percent, over four times more than the murder rate for adults increased. In 1990, one-third of all murders were committed by those under 21.

In 1991, over 122,000 juveniles were arrested for committing a violent crime, the highest number in history, even though the number of juveniles in the 13-17 age bracket was decreasing. And between 1987 and 1991, the number of juveniles arrested for all violent crimes increased by 50 percent, twice the increase for persons over 18.

This bill contains a number of provisions, including some authored by this Senator, that attempt to get violent juveniles off the street. The amendment now before us is another critical component of our anticrime arsenal. It attempts to help deal with the problems of violent juvenile crime by taking a couple of key steps to prevent violent juveniles from getting guns in the first place.

The amendment bans transfers of a handgun to a minor, and the possession of a handgun by a minor without permission of his or her parent. It also incorporates an amendment of mine that makes it a new, separate offense to provide a juvenile with a weapon if the person providing that weapon has reason to believe it will be used in the commission of a crime.

Guns are tearing apart our society, and I know that the American people are outraged by gun laws that make it so easy for juveniles to obtain guns. Make no mistake. Our Nation's young people are not manufacturing their own guns, and they are not stealing every weapon they use. The sad truth is that they get them, in many instances, from people who bought them legally, and who then sell them, at great profit, to young criminals.

What the Kohl amendment does is what we must do—toughen our laws against providing weapons to juveniles.

The current situation is clearly out of control. Between 1988 and 1992, juvenile arrests for weapons violations increased by 66 percent. More and more juveniles are carrying guns and using guns. During the 1991-92 school year, over 200 guns were confiscated in the Chicago public schools, and the Chicago situation is far from unique. The truth is—and I can hardly believe it—that 135,000 juveniles are carrying guns to school every day.

Madam President, we cannot continue to permit this kind of deterioration of the environment in which our children are being raised. We cannot continue to permit our Nation's schools to deteriorate into armed camps. No child can learn in that environment. We simply must act.

Now, I do not pretend to believe that this amendment will solve all of the problems associated with juvenile violence. However, I have worked with Senator KOHL in developing this amendment, and I have cosponsored this amendment, because we will never solve the problem of juvenile violent crime unless we can do better in keeping guns out of their hands in the first place.

This amendment will help us do that, and I therefore strongly urge its adoption by the Senate. •

STATUS OFFENSE

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, several people have raised concerns about the creation of what some would call a status offense for the possession of handguns by minors. A status offense, as many of you know, is an offense by a minor that would not be an offense if the person committing the act were an adult. Truancy and drunkenness are two examples.

Well, I am concerned about incarcerating juveniles for status offenses. In general, we should not do it. And that concern is embodied in our Juvenile Justice Act. But possession of a handgun by a minor is different than truancy. A truant is a danger to himself, but a kid with a handgun is a danger to all of us.

So while I would oppose the creation of other status offenses, this one is just different. In my mind, we need to allow the Federal Government to go after kids with handguns. And my bill, I should note, prohibits first-time offenders from going to jail.

POSSESSION

Madam President, Senator METZENBAUM has raised a question about whether the language prohibiting a juvenile from possessing a handgun could be fine-tuned, so as to ensure that only juveniles with actual possession of a handgun can be prosecuted.

I want to tell my good friend from Ohio that I promise, before we go to conference to take a fresh look at the possession language with an eye toward fine tuning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, I join my colleagues in expressing the gratitude and admiration for the Senator from Wisconsin.

This is an important amendment. It is consistent with Senator KOHL's approach to problems that he thought it through very carefully, prepared a good amendment, and worked to develop support for it. I believe it will now be agreed to by a substantial margin.

This is not the first occasion in which Senator KOHL has demonstrated this kind of ability. All of us will recall 2 years ago when we took up what was then and is now known as the Brady bill. It was the subject of a great deal of controversy. A small group of Senators, led by Senator KOHL, Senator METZENBAUM, Senator DOLE, and myself, and others, over a period of time worked out some changes in that measure to the point where it received 67 votes in the Senate and is now the bill that has been introduced in the House.

That bill for good reason is still called the Brady bill, but the provisions of that bill are significantly different from the provisions of the bill which was initially introduced in the House of Representatives. The prospects for the bill passing and becoming law are substantially increased as a result of those changes. Senator KOHL deserves a great deal of the credit for participating in and helping lead the effort to make those changes.

So I commend him for this effort. I simply note for the RECORD that it is a consistent action with what he has done in the past and what I know we can expect in the future.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

The minority leader, the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to be made a cosponsor of the amendment, as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I guess a procedural matter now will be the majority leader will withdraw the second-degree amendment.

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, is it now appropriate for me to withdraw my amendment and to seek consent to vote on Senator KOHL's amendment without further amendment or any intervening action or debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader has a right to withdraw his amendment, and it will require unanimous consent.

Mr. MITCHELL. I withdraw my amendment.

The amendment (No. 1149) was withdrawn.

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam President, I propound the unanimous consent request as stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MITCHELL. I now ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1148, AS MODIFIED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amend-

ment (No. 1148), as modified, of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KOHL].

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 100, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 363 Leg.]

YEAS—100

Akaka	Feingold	McConnell
Baucus	Feinstein	Metzenbaum
Bennett	Ford	Mikulski
Biden	Glenn	Mitchell
Bingaman	Gorton	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Graham	Moynihan
Boren	Gramm	Murkowski
Boxer	Grassley	Murray
Bradley	Gregg	Nickles
Breaux	Harkin	Nunn
Brown	Hatch	Packwood
Bryan	Hatfield	Pell
Bumpers	Hefflin	Pressler
Burns	Helms	Pryor
Byrd	Hollings	Reid
Campbell	Hutchinson	Riegle
Chafee	Inouye	Robb
Coats	Jeffords	Rockefeller
Cochran	Johnston	Roth
Cohen	Kassebaum	Sarbanes
Conrad	Kempthorne	Sasser
Coverdell	Kennedy	Shelby
Craig	Kerrey	Simon
D'Amato	Kerry	Simpson
Danforth	Kohl	Smith
Daschle	Lautenberg	Specter
DeConcini	Leahy	Stevens
Dodd	Levin	Thurmond
Dole	Lieberman	Wallop
Domenici	Lott	Warner
Dorgan	Lugar	Wellstone
Durenberger	Mack	Wofford
Exon	Mathews	
Faircloth	McCain	

So the amendment (No. 1148), as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. GRAMM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

(Later the following occurred.)

CHANGE OF VOTE

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, on vote No. 363, I inadvertently entered the wrong vote. Since the outcome of the vote will not be changed, I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD reflect that I voted "yea" on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The foregoing tally has been changed to reflect the above order.)

SALUTE TO PRESSLER

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, as we continue to make progress on the crime bill, I wanted to take a minute to call attention to the efforts of my colleague, Senator LARRY PRESSLER.

On October 23, Senator PRESSLER delivered the Republican response to the President's weekly radio address. Senator PRESSLER devoted his remarks to the topic of crime, and, in the past few days, we have seen some of the Republican approaches he emphasized incorporated into the crime bill before us.

These approaches include truth in sentencing at the State level, and the

need for more prison space. As we continue deliberating this bill, it is my hope that the remaining tough anticrime approaches so well defined by Senator PRESSLER will become part of the final crime bill.

For the benefit of my colleagues and others who may be interested in reviewing Senator PRESSLER's remarks I ask that it be included in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICAN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RADIO ADDRESS ON CRIME—SENATOR LARRY PRESSLER, OCTOBER 23, 1993

Hello I'm Senator Larry Pressler, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And I'll be involved in the Senate debate on crime next week.

I'm going to respond directly to President Clinton's remarks on crime. There is a big, big difference in the Republican bill now in the Senate, known as the Dole-Hatch bill, and the Democrats' bill, the Biden bill, which President Clinton supports.

Now this morning, President Clinton's remarks glossed over the differences in the approach on crime between the Republicans and the Democrats. There are big, big differences in the two bills the Senate will be debating, although the rhetoric about each bill is similar. The devil is in the detail.

President Clinton would have you believe that he is supporting a tough crime bill. In fact, it is a weak crime bill. Ours is much tougher.

Here are some examples of the differences. First of all, the Republicans want the death penalty for drug kingpins. The Democrats don't.

The Republicans want to stop the endless legal appeals that keep States from enforcing the death penalty. Hardened criminals on death row should only get one bite at the apple. That's it. Democrats want to make appeals easier by overturning crucial pro law enforcement Supreme Court decisions. Democrats don't seem to mind giving endless appeals to society's most violent offenders, and endless pain to crime victims and their families.

Another big difference the Republican bill provides that a crime committed with a gun would require an additional mandatory 10 year sentence. If the gun is fired, he will get 20 years. If he uses an assault weapon, he will get a 30-year mandatory sentence. And anyone convicted of a gun-related offense three times gets either life in prison or a death penalty. A career criminal should be a career prisoner. That's a real tough approach.

There's a big difference between the two bills. Now, both bills provide money for additional police officers, but the difference is that the Republican bill does not handcuff those additional police officers.

Now, in many States prison sentences are a bad joke, and law-abiding citizens are not laughing. A typical murderer is sentenced to 15 years, but serves only 5½ years. A typical rapist is sentenced to 8 years, but is back on the street in only 3 years.

What do these dangerous career criminals do when they are paroled from prison? You know as well as I do. Many of them are soon committing the same crimes that sent them to prison in the first place. The Republican bill has a solution. It is called "truth in sentencing." If States want to send their criminals to one of our new prisons, they must

adopt laws which require that a criminal sentenced to 15 years will be in prison 15 years. No parole, no probation.

So those are two bills that will be debated in the Senate next week. President Clinton is speaking of the weaker bill. I hope the American public learns the difference between the two bills.

President Clinton and the Democrats talk about rehabilitation and alternative sanctions. Republicans know that talk is cheap. We share the common sense of the American people that the best and only place for a violent criminal is behind the bars of a prison cell.

Thank you for listening. Please continue to write and call your Senators and Representatives with your thoughts and concerns. And be informed that the rhetoric we heard from President Clinton this morning on the crime bill is hallow, because he is supporting a very weak bill.

The Republican bill is a tough bill. It is more than tough talk. Our bill provides tough actions that will fight crime.

The public should know the difference.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that a technical correction be made to the Kohl amendment as modified which was just adopted. I ask unanimous consent that on page 6, line 17, add the word "is" between "handgun" and the word "in."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas, the minority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I wonder if I could make an inquiry of the distinguished manager of the bill.

Mr. FORD. May we have order so we can hear the minority leader?

Mr. DOLE. I just wanted to inquire of the distinguished chairman if we are going to rotate amendments. We just had one from that side. We have one on this side that will not take long.

I know the Senator from California has been here. So has Senator ROTH been in the back room. Then I assume—how long will the Senator from Delaware's amendment take?

Mr. ROTH. We have reached agreement that will limit it to a half-hour.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I say to the Republican leader in the past we have attempted to do that, although we have not done it thus far.

Yesterday we had several amendments in a row, Republican amendments. I think it is generally good practice.

Frankly, the Senator from California has been here waiting to introduce this amendment. I think generally that is a good practice but it is nothing we have unanimously agreed upon.

Mr. DOLE. I wonder if the Senator from California might agree we can have 30 minutes on this amendment, and she would be recognized following this one. That would be rotation. There would be a certainty there.

I do not want to offer the amendment on behalf of the Senator from Delaware

because then the majority leader could offer an amendment on behalf of the Senator from California. We do not want to get into that kind of a situation.

Mr. BIDEN. I suggest the Senator from Kansas ask the Senator from California that question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield for a question?

Mr. DOLE. I will just raise the question with the Senator from California. If she has any objection to the Senator from Delaware proceeding for 30 minutes—is that equally divided?

Mr. ROTH. Equally divided.

Mr. BIDEN. On an amendment totally unrelated to guns.

Mr. DOLE. I do not know what the amendment is. It is not a gun amendment. What is it? And then the Senator from California be recognized, probably for the remainder of the day.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. If I may, Mr. Leader, would I have your agreement that directly following this half-hour, Senator LEVIN would be recognized for purposes of a first-degree and I would be recognized for purposes of a second-degree?

Mr. DOLE. Is this going to happen on all the gun amendments? We are going to be locked out? I know the majority leader can do that, and probably would do that, so I do not know what we would gain. I would certainly be agreeable to suggesting that after this amendment, the Senator from Michigan be recognized. Then I am certain, if the Senator does not offer the second-degree, the majority leader will. I know the practicalities.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Will the Senator from Kansas yield for a question? I think we are at the point of agreement here, but I just want to be certain. The Senator from Kansas is the minority leader, actually has priority as we know. Do I understand the Senator from Kansas to indicate that if there is agreement to go forward with the Roth amendment, that immediately thereafter Senator LEVIN could be recognized for a first-degree amendment and Senator FEINSTEIN would be recognized for a second-degree amendment?

Mr. DOLE. I would have a hard time agreeing on the second-degree. I know it can be done as a practical matter.

Mr. BIDEN. Will the Senator yield? There may be a practical solution to this.

I would consider propounding the following unanimous-consent request: That the Senator from Delaware be able to proceed for 30 minutes equally divided in the usual form, and that there be no second-degree amendments in order to the Senator from Delaware's amendment. Upon completion of his amendment, the Senator from California be able to introduce her amendment with no time agreement, but no second-degree amendments in order?

Mr. GRAMM. No; I cannot.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. I would not.

Mr. LEVIN. No second-degree amendment in order to my amendment.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. That is agreeable.

Mr. DOLE. I object to that. I think we are going to get there the same way. Why do we not just go ahead, agree to the Senator from Delaware followed by the Senator from Michigan. You are going to get it done. I just cannot agree to give up the second-degree amendment. You will get it. Otherwise I will just offer the amendment of the Senator from Delaware while I have the floor.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Am I a first-degree with no second-degree? That is acceptable to me.

Mr. METZENBAUM. They have not agreed to that.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. It is not acceptable to me then. I am prepared to put forward a first-degree and a second-degree, if that is helpful.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, may I help you a little bit?

The Senator from Kansas makes a good offer, and the Senator from Delaware made a good offer that we have the Senator from Delaware for 30 minutes, equally divided with no second-degree amendments. The Senator from California would have it, without any second-degree amendments. I think that would satisfy the Senator from Kansas without any second degrees.

Mr. DOLE. I would say to the Senator from Kentucky, ordinarily it might. We are dealing with gun amendments now. We are getting into an area we did not think we would even get into on this bill.

It is not I do not want to cooperate with the Senator from California. She is going to be able to do what she wants to do. But I think the important thing is we recognize the Senator from Delaware, then the Senator from Michigan.

I am certain you are going to accomplish your objective.

Mr. BIDEN. I agree.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Delaware be able to proceed for 30 minutes, with the time equally divided in the usual form; that no second-degree amendments be in order; and that upon completion of the Senator's amendment and a vote thereon, if it requires a vote, that the Senator from Michigan be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MATHEWS). Is there objection?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. For purposes of an amendment.

Mr. BIDEN. For purposes of an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. Did we move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin was adopted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator did not.

Mr. BIDEN. I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GRAMM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH].

AMENDMENT NO. 1150

(Purpose: To require State and local governments to cooperate with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service regarding enforcement of immigration laws)

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH] proposes an amendment numbered 1150.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.

(a) STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION.—Notwithstanding any law, ordinance or regulation of any State or subdivision thereof to the contrary, officials of any State or local government or agency, upon the request of any duly authorized official of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, shall provide information regarding the identification, location, arrest, prosecution, detention, and deportation of an alien or aliens who are not lawfully present in the United States.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General, in concert with the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, shall report to the Congress and the President on the extent to which State and local governments are not cooperating with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. This report shall identify any State or local governments that have adopted laws, policies or practices of non-cooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the specific nature of those laws, policies or practices, and their impact on the enforcement of the immigration laws.

(c) FUNDING BASED ON COOPERATION.—No State or local government or agency which has been identified in the Attorney General's report required by the preceding paragraph, which has a policy or practice of refusing to cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service regarding the identification, location, arrest, prosecution, detention, or deportation of aliens who are not lawfully present in the United States, shall be eligible for any Federal funds from appropriations

made pursuant to a provision of this Act or of an amendment made by this Act authorizing appropriations, as long as such policy or practice remains in effect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I rise today to offer an amendment to the crime bill addressing an issue which is at the heart of the success or failure of any law enforcement operation—cooperation among law enforcement agencies. We know that cooperation among Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies is essential to any effective governmental response to crime, no matter what the issue. Over the years, we have worked hard in the Congress to try and promote such cooperation.

Given these efforts, I am concerned about the fact that, over the last decade, some local jurisdictions have enacted laws that attempt to limit local government's cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in its efforts to enforce our Nation's immigration laws. These local laws are often referred to as "sanctuary," "refuge," or "noncooperation" laws and often limit or sometimes entirely prohibit city officials from cooperating with the INS.

Surprisingly, these local laws or policies of noncooperation have most often been adopted in some of the nation's largest cities, which, we all know, often have the most serious problems with illegal aliens. They have been adopted by cities in all regions, including New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Here are a few examples of what I speak.

In 1986, the Oakland City Council unanimously adopted a resolution declaring Oakland to be a city of refuge for certain foreign nationals and instructed all Oakland city employees to "refrain from assisting or cooperating" with the INS relating to alleged violations of the civil provisions of the immigration laws.

In 1989, San Francisco adopted an ordinance even broader than Oakland's, declaring San Francisco a city and county of refuge and not limiting that to any specific foreign nationals. This ordinance generally prohibited the use of "City funds or resources to assist in the enforcement of Federal immigration law * * * unless such assistance is required by federal or state statute, regulation or court decision." The only general exception applies to persons booked for allegedly committing a felony.

In Los Angeles, a written police department policy permits officers to notify the INS only in limited circumstances when they come in contact with illegal aliens.

While the State of California has recently enacted a statute prohibiting certain local noncooperation laws, this

law applies only to persons arrested and booked for allegedly committing a felony. As a result, the new State law still allows noncooperation regarding large numbers of illegal aliens, those who may have been arrested or convicted of misdemeanors and those who are administrative violators.

A broadly worded Chicago executive order of April 25, 1989, prohibits city officials from investigating or assisting "in the investigation of the citizenship or residency status of any person unless such inquiry or investigation is required by statute, ordinance, Federal regulation or court decision." This order thus appears to prohibit local law enforcement authorities from voluntarily cooperating with the INS. In fact, the INS has informed my staff that this executive order has resulted in "zero cooperation" in terms of street level law enforcement in Chicago.

A New York City executive order of August 7, 1989, prohibits city officials from transmitting information regarding any alien to Federal authorities unless required by law to do so. While the New York City order also specifically instructs law enforcement agencies to continue to cooperate with Federal authorities, my staff has been informed by the INS that this executive order inhibits cooperation from local authorities regarding noncriminal aliens or so-called administrative violators.

Cooperation among public officials at all levels is essential to any effective law enforcement effort. My amendment requires that, consistent with the supremacy clause of the U.S. Constitution, State and local governments provide information to duly authorized Federal immigration authorities when such information is necessary to enforce our Nation's immigration laws. I am confident that State and local governments will understand the importance of this cooperation and will comply with the requirements of this amendment if it is adopted.

My amendment also calls for the Attorney General, together with the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to report to the Congress and the President 6 months after this legislation is enacted regarding the level of State and local cooperation in this important area. This report will enable the Congress to assess the extent to which State and local non-cooperation with the INS is an obstacle to enforcing our Nation's immigration laws. Any jurisdiction the Attorney General determines is not cooperating with the INS would not be entitled to share in funds appropriated under this pending legislation until that noncooperation policy is discontinued.

My amendment does not require State or local governments to become responsible for enforcement of Federal

immigration laws. That is a Federal responsibility. But my amendment does say that those localities that have adopted official policies of noncooperation with Federal law enforcement authorities on immigration issues are not entitled to share in funds appropriated under this pending legislation.

While enforcement of immigration laws is a Federal responsibility and enforcement of criminal laws is generally a State and local responsibility, clearly the two are not mutually exclusive domains. In the current public debate regarding U.S. immigration laws and policies, many State and local officials have been highly critical of what they see as the Federal Government's inability to effectively police our Nation's borders. Yet, by adopting noncooperation laws and policies, these jurisdictions are only making it that much harder to adopt an effective governmental response to this most serious problem.

I believe this amendment will help achieve the important goal of getting State and local governments to work together with Federal authorities. Only through such cooperation can we hope to resolve this most difficult problem. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, but I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, shortly I am going to put in a quorum call because I am told that two of my colleagues may want to speak in opposition to this amendment.

There are a couple of concerns about the amendment that I have. One is that the police with whom I have spoken, local police, because something along the lines of what my colleague from Delaware has introduced has come up in other immigration bills, have indicated they strongly oppose this, not because they do not want to cooperate with INS but in those areas where there are large immigrant populations they find it eliminates their ability to get cooperation in those communities unrelated to INS. In other words, they rely significantly, as every police agency does, on informants. They rely on cooperation within those communities for efforts in locating and preventing crime and with apprehending criminals.

So that is the reason they do not like it, but, quite frankly, I am surveying to determine whether or not my colleagues on the immigration subcommittee wish to speak to it.

What I am going to do is put in a quorum call. If they are not here by the time my time expires, I am going to accept the amendment. But they are entitled to have their say. I am told

that one of my colleagues, Senator SIMON, is on his way to speak against the amendment. So I would in the meantime suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The presence of a quorum has been questioned. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, what is the situation with regard to time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are under a time agreement. The Senator from Delaware, Mr. ROTH, has 5 minutes and 42 seconds remaining; the Senator from Delaware, Mr. BIDEN, has 7 minutes and 24 seconds remaining.

Mr. ROTH. I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I certainly commend my friend from Delaware. This is a special man. I have watched him through my years of legislating. He gets into an issue and pursues it with great vigor and energy, and he has done it again. I am very pleased to support Senator ROTH on this amendment.

Hear what is happening. In this immigration debate, which is ongoing in our country, just like crime—it will always be an ongoing issue—we continually hear from the local and State governments that illegal immigration is the Federal Government's responsibility. How many times have you heard that in the Chamber in recent times, and that because then we do a miserable failure in the Nation in our responsibility to prevent illegal immigration, and yet we certainly are doing some significant things in a bipartisan way, the States are then burdened with the costs and expenses attributed to the unauthorized immigrants.

It is a travesty, in my mind, for the State and local governments on the one hand to expect the Federal Government to reimburse them for costs attributable to illegal immigrants, when on the other hand the State and local governments prohibit their own law enforcement and other officials from cooperating with the Immigration and Naturalization Service to locate or apprehend or expel illegal aliens.

In the last decade, we have even seen these sanctuary cities and towns, we have seen city councils in their misguided zeal ordering law enforcement officials not to communicate with immigration officers regarding illegal aliens and other types of actions like that by local governments to frustrate the Immigration Service in its work.

If the State and local governments wish to have such a policy, that is

their business. But I fully support Senator ROTH in his bill to prevent those local government entities from receiving funds under this crime bill if they do not cooperate with the Federal law enforcement officers.

It is very simple. It is where the rubber hits the road. You cannot have them complaining in one breath about the Federal Government exposing them to all of these laws and then thwarting the Federal Government at every turn when they will not come up with information when it has to do with crime in their own community.

So here is a chance to clear away some of the underbrush of confusion on an issue. If they want to do that, fine, but you do not get the Federal funds. Either join the United States of America in fighting crime in your community or forget it.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, there is one of these amendments that looks good on paper, and I respect my colleague from Delaware who I know is on this occasion wearing a much less conservative tie than he usually wears here on the floor of the U.S. Senate. But when I asked how will this apply to, for example, the city of Chicago, or the schools in Chicago, the reality is the potential that they may be denied aid simply because they do not want to serve as agents of the Federal Government in this regard is why the police organizations are opposed to this.

I have not checked with any of the education groups. But I have to believe the education groups would be opposed to this. The amendment says, among other things, this report—referring to the report about local cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service—says that the State and local government or agencies have to provide information. That means, for example, the Chicago schools have to provide information about who is a legal resident and who is not.

That is a very, very difficult thing for the Chicago schools to assess. Frankly, it is almost impossible. The Chicago schools are just trying to survive, just trying to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, much less get burdened with something like this.

And the amendment says this report shall identify any State or local governments that adopt the laws, policies, or practices of noncooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

So that if the Immigration Service would ask the Chicago schools, will you tell us which of your students are from families who are here legally and which are not legally, and the Chicago schools decide they are not going to help, then the school safety provisions that are in this bill will be denied to the Chicago schools.

I think you put the schools in an impossible situation. It would mean that

under the policies now practiced by the city of Chicago and the police there, the police do not ask people, are you a legal resident here, if you are arrested for a traffic violation or whatever it is. All of a sudden, the city of Chicago could be totally exempt from the system. And my assumption is Los Angeles and San Francisco also—I see Senator FEINSTEIN here—would be in precisely the same situation. I do not know what the situation is in Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, for the Presiding Officer, but I assume there may be some illegal immigrants in those places.

I think there are ways to handle the problem. And I think on the basic issue of having penalties for employers who hire illegal immigrants, that is the way to approach this.

That is what Senator SIMPSON has advocated. I understand he advocates the Roth amendment right now. But I think it is bad public policy that is going to hurt particularly a lot of urban areas in the country if it were to be adopted.

So I am going to, with all due respect to my friend from Delaware, be voting "no" on this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH].

Mr. ROTH. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, this is a very simple piece of legislation. All we are doing is asking State and local governments to cooperate with the immigration people in determining who are illegal aliens. We are not asking them to do any special investigation. All we are asking is that they disclose what information they have available.

No one is at risk because, first of all, the legislation does not take effect for 6 months, and all it would take, in the case of Chicago, for example, is the stroke of a pen insofar as the mayor is concerned in eliminating the legislation now on the books.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has spoken for 1 minute. The Senator has 1 minute remaining.

Who yields time?

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, if my friend from Illinois is finished, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SIMON. If I could have 1 minute.

Mr. BIDEN. I yield control of the time on the amendment to the Senator from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee is very generous.

I would just point out to my friend from Delaware, Senator ROTH, that the Immigration Service under this amend-

ment can request a great deal of information from the Chicago schools. And if they do not provide that information, which they do not collect right now, then they cannot get Federal funds under this bill.

I just think that is bad policy.

Mr. President, if the Senator from Delaware yields back his time, I will yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays are ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FEINGOLD). All time is yielded.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 93, nays 6, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 364 Leg.]

YEAS—93

Akaka	Faircloth	Mathews
Baucus	Feinstein	McCain
Bennett	Ford	McConnell
Biden	Glenn	Metzenbaum
Bingaman	Gorton	Mikulski
Bond	Graham	Mitchell
Boren	Gramm	Moynihan
Boxer	Grassley	Murkowski
Bradley	Harkin	Murray
Breaux	Hatch	Nickles
Brown	Hatfield	Nunn
Bryan	Heflin	Packwood
Bumpers	Helms	Pell
Burns	Hollings	Pressler
Byrd	Hutchison	Pryor
Chafee	Inouye	Reld
Coats	Jeffords	Riegle
Cochran	Johnston	Robb
Cohen	Kassebaum	Rockefeller
Conrad	Kempthorne	Roth
Coverdell	Kennedy	Sarbanes
Craig	Kerrey	Sasser
D'Amato	Kerry	Shelby
Danforth	Kohl	Simpson
Daschle	Lautenberg	Smith
DeConcini	Leahy	Specter
Dodd	Levin	Stevens
Dole	Lieberman	Thurmond
Domenici	Lott	Warner
Dorgan	Lugar	Wellstone
Exon	Mack	Wofford

NAYS—6

Durenberger	Gregg	Simon
Feingold	Moseley-Braun	Wallop

NOT VOTING—1

Campbell

So, the amendment (No. 1150) was agreed to.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 1151

(Purpose: To improve Federal and State automated fingerprint systems to identify more criminal suspects)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] proposes an amendment numbered 1151.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

In the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

SEC. . TO IMPROVE FEDERAL AND STATE AUTOMATED FINGERPRINT SYSTEMS TO IDENTIFY MORE CRIMINAL SUSPECTS.

The FBI shall report by June 1994 to the Congress regarding how it can accelerate and improve automatic fingerprint systems at the State and Federal level in order to use fingerprints found at the scene of a crime to identify more criminal suspects more quickly and effectively.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I am going to present an amendment in the second degree on behalf of a number of Senators. Senators DECONCINI, METZENBAUM, DANFORTH, PELL, MOSELEY-BRAUN, BOXER, PRYOR, LAUTENBERG, KENNEDY, MURRAY, MIKULSKI, LEVIN, and WELLSTONE. And we would be willing to have any other cosponsors.

Mr. President, I want to tell you a little bit about this amendment and how it came about.

AMENDMENT NO. 1152 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1151

(Purpose: To restrict the manufacture, transfer, and possession of certain semi-automatic assault weapons and large capacity ammunition feeding devices)

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN], for herself, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. PELL, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. KENNEDY, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. WELLSTONE, proposes an amendment numbered 1152 to amendment No. 1151.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, the amendment I have sent to the desk deals with a problem that 66 percent of all American citizens want addressed. Asked in a recent poll, "Would you favor a law banning the manufacture, sale, and possession of semiautomatic assault guns such as the AK-47," 66 percent said yes; only 30 percent said no. There is no reason for weapons of war, Mr. President, to be used freely on the streets of America—where they are weapons of choice for every assassin, terrorist, gang member, drug syndicate, drive-by shooter, Mafioso, or grievance killer.

The most troubling of these categories is the grievance killer, someone who takes out their wrath on anyone who happens to be around—children in a school yard or a swimming pool or walking down a street; workers in offices or post offices; innocent people eating hamburgers in a restaurant; or the grandmother watching television in the privacy of her own living room, when a high velocity bullet from a semiautomatic assault weapon comes through the wall and pierces her chest.

Mr. President, I believe it is time to stop the sale, the manufacture, and the possession of more semiautomatic assault weapons on the streets of America.

This amendment today is a compromise amendment. It takes elements from proposals by the distinguished Senators from Ohio and Arizona. It stops the sale and manufacture of 19 weapons of war based on those listed in the legislation by Senator DECONCINI.

Like legislation put forward by Senator METZENBAUM, this amendment lists other certain specific physical characteristics of semiautomatic assault weapons. If several of those deadly traits are found, the manufacture and sale of these weapons would be stopped as well.

This prevents the copycat model from being produced and sold on our streets.

We have joined in this bipartisan effort to offer an amendment that prospectively bans these high-powered weapons of mass destruction. The bill also explicitly recognizes legitimate United States hunting and recreational rifles by exempting them.

This amendment would stop the proliferation of semiautomatic assault weapons in two ways.

First, it stops—by name—the most commonly used, the most deadly semiautomatic assault weapons:

The TEC-DC9 used to kill eight people in a San Francisco law firm this summer.

The AK-47 and all models of the Norinco, Mitchell, and Poly Technologies Avtomat Kalashnikovs, designed in the U.S.S.R. in 1947.

The AK-47 is the most widely used semiautomatic assault rifle in the world, there are an estimated 20 to 50

million of these rifles in circulation worldwide.

These rifles come equipped with a 30-shot magazine, but any size up to 100 rounds is available.

The SWD M-10, M-11, M11-9, and M-12.

Based on the design of the MAC-10, their fully automatic cousin, these small, compact high-capacity assault pistols are designed to spray bullets over a wide area in seconds.

The Street Sweeper and Striker 12, and other revolving cylinder semiautomatic riot shotguns, that are sold so easily through the mail.

The Beretta AR-70.

This weapon is issued by armed forces in a number of countries including Italy, Jordan, and Malaysia. The semiautomatic version was introduced in the United States in 1984—and comes standard with 8-and 30-shot magazines.

The Colt AR-15, used on October 30 by an avowed child hater in El Cajon, CA, who killed a woman and a 9-year-old girl.

Several weapons—FN/FAL, FN/LAR, and FNC—manufactured by Fabrique Nationale.

One of these weapons—the FN-LAR, which stands for light automatic rifle—has been used by the armed forces of more than 90 countries. It comes standard with a 20-shot magazine.

The Steyr AUR, which stands for army universal rifle.

Used by the Austrian Army for over 10 years, it is specifically designed with its magazine located behind the trigger guard to reduce its weight. It has become a favorite of drive-by shooters because of its light weight and firepower.

Unfortunately, these weapons were designed for warfare—but the only battlefield in America is right here on the streets of our communities.

Second, it prevents the situation where a particular gun model—such as the TEC-DC9—is banned and the gun manufacturer simply creates a copycat version—such as the INTRATEC DC9, used to wreak havoc in San Francisco this summer.

To stop this loophole, this legislation describes certain characteristics for different types of guns that would also result in banning the weapon.

SEMI-AUTOMATIC PISTOLS

Let me give an example. If the weapon is a semiautomatic pistol, it would be banned if it had a detachable magazine and two or more of these characteristics:

A threaded barrel, which permits the gun to accept a barrel extender, flash suppressor, forward hand grip, or silencer;

A barrel shroud that permits the shooter to hold the firearm and the non-trigger hand without being burned;

Also, an ammunition magazine that attaches to the pistol outside of the pistol grip.

A manufactured weight of 50 ounces or more when the pistol is loaded;

A semiautomatic version of an automatic firearm.

I just gave five specific physical characteristics. Any two of them, plus the detachable magazine, would qualify them as a semiautomatic pistol, subject to the cessation of their manufacture and their sale.

SEMI-AUTOMATIC RIFLES

If it is a semiautomatic rifle, the gun would be banned if it had a detachable magazine and two or more of the following characteristics:

A folding or telescoping stock;

A pistol grip that allows the weapon to spray fire from the hip and that helps stabilize the weapon during rapid fire;

A barrel or bayonet mount;

A threaded barrel that permits the gun, for example, to accommodate a flash suppressor, which allows the shooter to remain concealed when shooting at night; and

A grenade launcher.

Surely, weapons that have grenade launchers have no place on our streets.

SEMI-AUTOMATIC SHOTGUNS

If it is a semiautomatic shotgun, it would be banned if it had at least two of the following characteristics:

A folding or telescoping stock;

A pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon;

A fixed magazine capacity in excess of five rounds; and

An ability to accept a detachable magazine.

This legislation also applies to any device—like a chip, belt, or drum—designed to hold more than 10 rounds of ammunition. Possession of the components which could be assembled to form such a large capacity device would also be banned.

This bill, however, is not just about banning weapons of war.

As we were putting this legislation together, it became apparent to me that many Members of this body feel they could not support legislation that did not protect the rights of those who collect or hunt and use weapons for legitimate recreational purposes.

To that end, this legislation specifically protects, by name, 650 weapons, all of which fall under these categories:

Centerfire rifles: autoloaders;
Centerfire rifles: lever and slide;
Centerfire rifles: bolt action; and
Centerfire rifles: single shot.

DRILLINGS, COMBINATION GUNS, DOUBLE RIFLES

Rimfire rifles: autoloaders; and
Rimfire rifles: bolt action and single shots.

COMPETITION RIFLES—CENTERFIRE AND RIMFIRE

Shotguns: autoloaders;
Shotguns: slide actions;
Shotguns: over/unders;
Shotguns: side by sides; and
Shotguns: bolt action and single shots.

As a matter of fact, every single rifle, shotgun that has been on the market this year is specifically exempted from this legislation.

So, just as this legislation employs a list of named guns and objective criteria to stop the sale, possession and manufacture of semiautomatic assault weapons, it uses the same techniques to protect virtually all current hunting or recreational weapons—any firearm that uses a bolt action, pump action, lever action, or slide action hunting weapons is excluded.

Removed from this legislation is any discretion by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms to ban any weapons in the future.

Added to this bill is a 10-year sunset provision so that the effectiveness of the cessation of the manufacture and sale of these weapons can be evaluated—and a determination can be made about whether or not to continue the ban.

What we are essentially saying is: Give this a chance. Let this freeze on the manufacture and sale of semiautomatic assault weapons become law.

What can a crime bill be that does not take into consideration the assault weapons that are used to spray children in a Washington, DC, swimming pool; in a Stockton schoolyard; in a McDonald's; in an office; in a post office? At least this will stop the proliferation of these weapons on our streets.

The harsh reality is semiautomatic assault weapons are turning America's streets into war zones. True, they are not responsible for a large number of homicides, but what they do offer is the possibility of the deranged killer, the grievance killer to take out a whole room of people without having to reload.

On October 30, in El Cajon, a 62-year-old man who had been described as a child hater fired a semiautomatic assault weapon, a Colt AR-15, from his window. One woman died, a 9-year-old girl died and five others were wounded. His gun is one of those banned under this legislation.

Earlier this year, a lone gunman carrying two TEC-DC9's and more than 500 rounds of 9mm ammunition, walked into the Pettit & Martin law firm high in one of San Francisco's premier office buildings. He opened fire. Eight people were killed. One woman held her husband dying, pleading on 911 for help while he died in her arms. Six were wounded.

The TEC-DC9 is simply a copycat version of the Intratech TEC-DC9 already banned under California State law.

What he did is he went to another State, he bought the weapon, he came back. Let me tell you something most people do not know. The only thing that stopped him was the building employees, when he went into the fire

well, locked the smoke doors so he could not get out. He thought he was trapped and he killed himself. He was going to another floor to kill more people—the grievance killer who could take out a whole floor of offices if he wants with one of these weapons.

I remember well when a man by the name of James Huberty walked into a McDonald's in San Ysidro, CA, with an Uzi. Twenty-one people were killed eating hamburgers, 19 were wounded.

I remember in 1989, an unstable drifter with an assault weapon, modeled after the AK-47, walked into a Stockton schoolyard in northern California. He fired 106 rounds of ammunition. Five small children were killed, 29 were injured. The AK-47 would be banned under this legislation.

What in the past have been shocking episodes are now becoming the norm. I know there is going to be an effort to table this legislation, and if it is tabled, there are going to be other incidents. There is no question about that. No one should ever think that this is going to stop. It started, it is going to continue and it is going to grow. Sixty-six percent of the people of this country say, "We don't want assault weapons on our streets."

Nationally, it is estimated by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms that there are about 1 million of these weapons in circulation in America, and the estimate is that in California, 30 to 60 percent of these weapons are in this State. That is 300,000 to 600,000 of the weapons.

Yes, it is true, guns do not fire themselves, nor, however, do they thrust themselves into the hands of the distraught, the deranged, and the disaffected. They have to be bought or stolen.

Today, in all but four States—California, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Hawaii—they can be bought legally over the counter. Yes, over the counter. That is how Gian Luigi Ferri got his TEC-DC9. As I said, he was a California resident for less than a year. He did what thousands of people do: He crossed the State line to buy a weapon of choice, used a former Nevada driver's license, went in, bought this Uzi-like weapon in Las Vegas. He waited the 3 days, he returned to pick it up. Two weeks later, he purchased an identical weapon at another Las Vegas gunshop. Then he returned to California with two TEC-DC9's in his possession. Ferri's assault weapon, the Miami-made Intratech TEC-DC9 is typical of its ilk. It is cheap, easily concealed, it holds 30- to 50-bullet magazines and can fire as fast as a demented killer or gang member, drug dealer or assassin can squeeze the trigger. Most sickening of all, though, it sported a special spring-loaded hellfire switch, legal even in California, that allowed the gun to be fired as fast as a machine gun.

Ironically, he could have bought the gun he was after in California because California State law does not ban copycat weapons. This legislation would.

This photograph shows a semiautomatic assault pistol that had been banned by the State in 1989, and yet this gun, used by Ferri, is simply the copycat version of the weapon. It is still legal today almost anywhere across America. He killed eight people, he wounded six and he shattered the lives of scores more.

One of the victims, Steven Sposato, came to Washington this August to testify before the Judiciary Committee. He had his small child strapped to his back, and he asked the U.S. Senate to please stop these weapons so that other women, like his beautiful wife, would not be killed randomly, in cold blood by a deranged killer.

Then he wrote a letter to the President, and I want to quote that letter because it is very germane to what we are considering today. He said:

"Recently, my beloved wife, Jody, died a brutal and unnecessary death when bullets from a semiautomatic weapon took her innocent life in San Francisco. Her right to live has been violated. She has rights to live and they were violated. Our 10-month-old daughter's right to her mother"—yes, right to her mother—"has been violated. My right," he said, "to have this family has been violated. It is indeed a tragedy when a person can purchase and use a weapon that takes the lives of so many people and alters the lives of so many others, especially my very dear late wife, Jody, and my daughter, Meghan Marie. The laws that permit the sale and use of semiautomatic weapons in the United States must change" to protect the lives and the rights of the good people of this Earth.

What further evidence in this tragedy do we need to classify semiautomatic assault weapons as those of mass destruction?

I think the answer to this is self-evident. I believe the time has come to stop the manufacture, the sale, and the possession of more semiautomatic weapons of war.

Let me give you an example of how readily these weapons are made available today. One of the weapons is the Street Sweeper, known as the Striker 12. It is a shotgun designed and developed in South Africa as a military and riot gun. With its revolving 12-shot cylinder magazine, it can fire all its 12-gauge shotgun shells in less than 3 seconds.

Importation of this weapon was banned in 1989. Yet, the manufacturer found a way around that ban. Today, it is produced domestically by two companies. Even worse, it can be purchased through the mail.

This chart shows a flier presented to me by an official with the Government of the District of Columbia that boldly claims, and let me read it:

Our customers know us as the company that fought ATF for 3 years to allow import of this superior weapon for them. * * * Appeal after appeal, BATF said no. * * * Did we let BATF stop us delivering the goods to our customers? No. They've gotten theirs. * * * Now you can get yours.

In the mail, without any restrictions for \$540, you can get this 12-shot, 12-gauge shotgun, semiautomatic attack weapon.

More than 10,000 guns were stolen in Los Angeles County alone just this last year. A scant 200 of these have been recovered. Nearly 15,000 guns were stolen elsewhere in California. And in one case, a gun store located on 77th Street in Los Angeles, looters made off with 1,150 guns, nearly 600 semiautomatic assault weapons. Where do you think these guns are today? They are not in the hands of legitimate collectors and sportsmen, I can guarantee you that as sure as I am standing here now. They are in the hands of gang members; they are in the hands of criminals. They are eligible for people who are mentally unstable. They are sold in lots behind fences all over the city of Los Angeles.

I am astonished to learn that, with the exception of the Kohl legislation, no major gun control legislation has passed the Congress in the last quarter of a century. Not since 1968, following the assassinations of Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, has Congress been willing to reasonably regulate the flow of guns to our streets.

In that quarter of a century, we have witnessed dramatically rising crime and rising fear. According to figures by the FBI, the number of people killed by guns increased 76 percent from 1968 to 1991, the last year for which figures are available.

This Congress has before it tonight an omnibus crime bill. There is no better vehicle for imposing a ban to stop the manufacture and the sale of weapons of war which fall into the hands of the grievous killers, the gangs, the terrorists, the assassins, and the drive-by shooters. So it really comes down to a question of blood or guts, the blood of innocent people or the Senate of the United States having the guts to do what we should do when we take that oath to protect the welfare of our citizens.

I thank the Chair. I should like to terminate by paying respect both to Senator DECONCINI and Senator METZENBAUM, who for years have offered legislation. Senator DECONCINI's legislation passed this body with 51 votes. Senator METZENBAUM has been in the forefront of pioneering important legislation. We have come together, and I earnestly and sincerely hope that this vehicle will be looked at seriously by this Senate.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. METZENBAUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I rise today in support of the amendment pending before the Senate, an amendment that has been joined by the distinguished Senator from Arizona, myself, and a number of other Senators.

As a matter of fact, this subject is not a new one to the Senate. It is a subject that we fought and battled for in this Chamber over a period of many years. We have come close, but we have never been successful. Meanwhile, the assault weapons are out there on the streets of America mowing down innocent people day in and day out. I think the most serious and pervasive crime problem that exists in America today is the easy availability of military-style semiautomatic assault weapons in the streets of America.

I am deeply disappointed that there is nothing in the crime bill itself that would address this problem. A crime bill without an assault weapons provision in it is not a strong enough bill for the people of this country.

The President has repeatedly called the country's attention to the dangerous problem of assault weapons and indicated his desire to ban them. President Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno, and other members of the administration have emphasized the many dire effects from assault weapons—their effect on violent crime in this country, on law enforcement efforts, on drug-related crime, on the health care system, and on our children. As President Clinton told the Nation in his October 9 radio address, "We cannot go along being the only country on Earth to let teenagers roam the streets with assault weapons."

Attorney General Reno has said, "We must ban assault weapons and we must do it now. It's time for Congress to move."

On another occasion Attorney General Reno added, "The President and I are committed to a national ban on semiautomatic assault weapons. These weapons," said she, "have no legitimate purpose. They are being used to outgun America's police and spray bullets throughout this country's neighborhoods. They cause multiple injuries that emergency room doctors compare to horrible combat wounds. The men and women of America's police departments have asked their legislators to ban assault weapons. How can we ignore their pleas?" said she.

How, indeed, can we? How can we consider passing a crime bill that does not do anything about getting rid of these semiautomatic assault weapons that are mowing down Americans every day of the week. There can be no serious attempt to fight crime in this country without doing something to stop the easy availability of these weapons of destruction.

We have joined together in offering this as an amendment now rather than wait any longer. Some have suggested

we wait for another day. This is an issue that cannot wait. Assault weapons are wreaking havoc and death across this Nation, and any delay means lives lost.

I am frank to say I had hoped the amendment would be stronger than it is. It is not as far as I would like to go. But the fact is I think it will be a major step in achieving the objective that we have in mind.

I also believe that the amendment represents a compromise among myself, the Senator from California, and my good friend, Senator DECONCINI, from Arizona. My assault weapons bill would have gone much further than the compromise. It does not do all the things I think need to be done in order to address the problem in the most comprehensive and thorough manner.

We must act as soon as possible on this issue, and it is for that reason I accepted this compromise approach. I think it is a major step in the right direction.

The time is long overdue for the Federal Government to act on this issue. There are 1 million deadly assault weapons currently in circulation in this country—military style assault weapons such as UZI's and AK-47's and TEC-9's and MAC-10's, and so many more.

I am frank to say I rattle off those names as if I knew what I am speaking of, but I do not know much about those specific weapons, and my guess is there are not many in the Senate who do. We have seen them. They are brought in the hearing rooms. We have looked at them. They look quite ominous. We have pictures of them. The pictures are not quite as ominous as the weapons themselves. But we know those are weapons that every day of the week are killing Americans across this country.

Each of those weapons is designed to spray-fire a hail of bullets within seconds. Each has become the weapon of choice for mass murderers, drug traffickers, youth gangs, and hate groups, and we are paying the price. Law enforcement officials report that they are being outgunned by criminals and drug dealers armed with weapons of war, and innocent people are getting caught in the crossfire.

Assault weapons originally were designed specifically for combat. They were weapons of war. Now they are being used for civilian combat against our police, against our citizens, against our children. They are legally sold with almost no Federal restrictions. The steady barrage of horrible and tragic events in communities across our Nation speaks so loudly and clearly as to the impact of these weapons.

In July of this year, a gunman killed 8 people and wounded 6 others at the San Francisco law offices of Pettit & Martin, using two TEC-DC9 semiautomatic assault weapons with 50-round magazines.

In February, while attempting to serve Federal search and seizure warrants at the Branch Davidian Compound in Waco, TX, 4 Federal agents were killed and 16 others were wounded with an arsenal of assault weapons. These weapons were bought legally from gun dealers and at gun shows.

In January, a Pakistani national entered this country, purchased a semiautomatic AK-47 assault rifle, equipped with a 30-round magazine, from a northern Virginia gun shop. He shot 5 people, killing 2 CIA employees in the CIA's own front yard.

And before that there was Patrick Purdy, who on January 17, 1989, killed 5 small children and wounded 29 others and 1 teacher at an elementary school in Stockton, CA, using a copy of an AK-47 and a 75-round drum magazine. Purdy shot 106 rounds in less than 2 minutes.

I remember after Purdy did that we held hearings here in the Senate. My recollection is that the teacher of that school came before us and told us what a tragedy it was, how those little children were hiding under desks and under tables. It was a touching moment. In spite of that, in spite of the Purdys, the others who have mowed down innocent children and adults in this country, you can still find semiautomatic assault weapons all over the streets of America.

I talked just about some of the most recent, most publicized tragedies. But the fact is we are delaying. Every day that we sit here and that we talk, every day that we do not pass legislation to do something about semiautomatic weapons, we are failing to meet our responsibility. Oh, the NRA does not like it. I know that. But the American people like it. And they expect more of us than that which we are doing, and have done so far.

The incidents of assault weapon violence can go on and on. I can stand here all evening to tell you about it.

These tragedies are a grim reminder that any delay in enacting sensible legislation to restrict free access to semiautomatic assault weapons means that more people will be killed. Right now, there are street gangs and drug kingpins with stockpiles of assault weapons. There are more tragedies just waiting to happen.

Frankly, the lack of a sensible, comprehensive approach to regulating semiautomatic assault weapons is appalling. In most States, there are virtually no restrictions on the purchase of assault weapons. Anyone 18 or older can walk into a gun store, show some ID, sign a form, which no one checks, stating that he is not a felon or drug addict, and walk out with an AK-47 or Uzi assault weapon and ammunition within minutes. That is how assault weapons currently are sold in this country—on the honor system.

The honor system is bringing about a great deal of dishonor in this country. We in this U.S. Senate cannot stand with our heads held high and be proud if we fail to enact this amendment.

This is how the Federal Government protects its people from deadly weapons. But not enough. So when it comes to the semiautomatic assault weapon, this is absolutely insane. It is time to stop this sham.

I am especially troubled by the effects of widespread access to assault weapons on our children. Time magazine and other national publications recently have devoted cover stories detailing this terrible problem. Assault weapons have made their way onto our streets, into our neighborhoods, and into our schools. Youth gang violence has taken on a far more deadly dimension. And our children, especially in inner cities and especially minorities, are turning to assault weapons to settle their disputes.

Recently, in Richmond, VA, an 18-year-old boy walked into a gun store and tried to buy a handgun. He was told that he was under age to buy a handgun but that he could buy an AK-47 instead. Can you believe it? The boy bought the AK-47 and promptly used it to shoot and kill a 17-year-old boy.

How crazy can we be in this country to make it possible to stop the young boy from buying a revolver but making it possible for him to buy a semiautomatic assault weapon?

Every major national law enforcement organization in America supports a nationwide ban on assault weapons, including the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs' Association, the National Association of Police Organizations, and the National Fraternal Order of Police.

The 1992 resolution of the International Association of Chiefs of Police states,

The increase of criminal mayhem perpetrated by individuals having access to semiautomatic weapons continues to increase and escalate daily, as evidenced by the national and worldwide criminally initiated tragedies that have befallen innocent victims.

I cannot imagine what it must be like for police to be placed at such a disadvantage. And we are the ones placing them at that disadvantage.

In addition to law enforcement groups, dozens of leading labor, medical, religious, civil rights, and civic groups support such legislation, including the AFL-CIO, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Association of Retired Persons, American Bar Association, American Jewish Congress, American Public Health Association, National Association of Counties, National Urban Coalition, U.S. Conference of Mayors, and so many more.

Most important, the people support a ban on assault weapons. The vast majority of Americans simply do not un-

derstand why military-style assault weapons are so readily available in this country. That is why two-thirds of all Americans want an immediate ban of these weapons. A March CNN/Gallup/USA Today poll reported that 66 percent of Americans favor a law banning the manufacture, sale, and possession of semiautomatic assault weapons. And a recent Louis Harris nationwide poll, sponsored by the Harvard School of Public Health, found that 63 percent of Americans favor a Federal law banning the sale of all semiautomatic guns—not just assault weapons. Even gun owners want to see assault weapons outlawed. Earlier this year, a USA Today poll showed that 60 percent of gun owners favored a total ban on assault weapons—in an impartial poll done by USA Today. The American people want us to do something about assault weapons—and they want action now.

So who is opposed to banning assault weapons—the leadership of the NRA.

Praise be thou, leadership of the NRA. Let us bend down and salute to them.

The NRA is opposed and has fought every reasonable, common-sense firearms bill that has ever been proposed. They have made a very successful business out of it. The NRA does not agree that any semiautomatic assault weapon should be banned. But the NRA is more and more out of touch with the American people, with gun owners, and, increasingly, with elected officials.

In the last few years, we have seen some very significant developments in the States with respect to assault weapons. In 1989, California became the first State to ban the sale of assault weapons. Since then, New Jersey, Hawaii, and Connecticut have enacted assault weapons bills. More than 30 cities and counties across the country have banned assault weapons. These recent victories signal that the tide is finally turning against the NRA.

But we cannot rely on piecemeal State regulation, however laudable some States' efforts have been. We need a uniform, comprehensive, national solution to the problem.

We need a national ban to get assault weapons off our streets, so that strong State laws cannot be thwarted by weak or nonexistent laws in other States. Strong State laws presently can be evaded by people who purchase banned weapons in a neighboring State with weaker laws and import them into the State in which they are banned. This problem was clearly highlighted in the San Francisco massacre. California bans semiautomatic assault weapons, but the gunman was able to go to neighboring Nevada, which has no assault weapons ban, purchase two TEC-DC9 assault pistols, and come back into California to perpetrate his evil deed.

Is this some radical new measure? Absolutely not. Since 1968, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms has had the broad authority to prevent the importation of guns which are not "particularly suitable for or readily adaptable to sporting purposes." In 1989, the Bush administration permanently banned the importation of 43 models of semiautomatic assault weapons which were determined not to have a sporting purpose.

I have not spoken out on this subject before. But I have to tell you that is one of the most preposterous acts that any President of the United States ever took, to ban the importation of the semiautomatic assault weapons and to do nothing about the semiautomatic assault weapons being manufactured and sold here in this country. What a foolish, what an act totally without relevance. It accomplished nothing. It was just for show. We are going to ban the import of semiautomatic assault weapons. I have a lot of respect for President Bush, and I think he attempted to serve his Nation well.

But in that one particular act, in banning the importation of semiautomatic assault weapons, I think he was either attempting to kid the American people or did not realize the fact that that act of his would have really no significant impact.

The problem now is that 75 percent of the assault weapons are being made in the United States of America. American manufacturers are copying the designs of previously imported assault weapons that have been banned making them here at home. But there is currently no mechanism to prohibit domestic assault weapons sales. It is absurd solely to ban the importation of assault weapons while allowing them to be freely made and sold right here in the United States of America.

Let me take a few moments to explain the assault weapons amendment before us. With all of the deception that invariably surrounds any attempt at reasonable gun control legislation, it is important for Members and the American people to know exactly what this legislation would and would not do.

First, it would prospectively ban a short list of named semiautomatic assault weapons. This Senator thinks there ought to be more of this in the bill. But in an effort to move this forward, I went along with a limited list. These weapons are the most infamous of all assault weapons and have no place in a civilized society.

I believe this list should have been much longer, like the list that was originally included in my own assault weapons bill. But at least it covers some of the most dangerous weapons.

Second, this amendment would ban copies of those listed assault weapons, so that manufacturers cannot evade the restriction simply by changing the

names of the weapons. The gunman in the San Francisco slaughter used a copy of a semiautomatic assault weapon that would be on any reasonable list of banned weapons. We also know that U.S. manufacturers are producing copies of semiautomatic assault weapons that are banned from being imported into this country.

For example, after BATF banned the importation of a South African riot-control shotgun called the Striker-12 in 1986, American manufacturers subsequently marketed a copy of the Striker-12, which they renamed the Street Sweeper, boasting that it was barred from importation. The same thing happened with the USAS-12 Assault Shotgun, which was banned as imported from South Korea, but which is now manufactured in the United States under a different name.

There is strong evidence that it is not enough just to list the assault weapons that are banned. There must be some mechanism to restrict copies of banned weapons. Otherwise, manufacturers, in order to get around the ban, will simply make new assault weapons which are only slightly different from those on the list of banned weapons. More simply, they will just change the names of the guns.

This amendment also would ban the manufacture of newly developed assault weapons. It would do this by using a very strict definition of assault weapons that focuses on the objective features that distinguish such weapons from legitimate hunting or sporting guns.

The reason for this provision is simple. It is clear that any list of banned weapons will soon become obsolete. We need to make sure that the prohibition remains current through the use of a tightly controlled mechanism for prohibiting new assault weapons.

The NRA claims that it is impossible to distinguish a semiautomatic assault weapon from a hunting gun. That is utter, total nonsense. The BATF has been making this distinction for years with respect to imported weapons. It has determined that assault weapons can be distinguished from hunting and sporting weapons by their combat hardware, such as large capacity ammunition magazines, pistol grips, bayonets, flash suppressors, silencers, grenade launchers, and folding stocks. The NRA claims that these combat features just make these weapons look ugly. That is like saying that the combat features on a military jet fighter are there just to make it look fierce.

In addition to the assault weapons ban, the amendment would prospectively ban large-capacity ammunition magazines, which are defined as magazines that contain more than 10 rounds of ammunition.

Former President Bush, a long time hunter and NRA member, tried to ban magazines of more than 15 rounds. As he remarked in 1989:

One thing we do know about these assault weapons is that they invariably are equipped with unjustifiably large magazines.

As my distinguished colleague from South Carolina, Senator THURMOND, noted as he introduced a ban on large-capacity magazines as part of President Bush's 1989 crime package:

As a direct response to the deadly firepower used by the drug kingpins, hired thugs, and other violent offenders, the President is calling for important restrictions on clips and magazines that hold more than 15 rounds. Legitimate sportsmen and hunters can still pursue their avocation without undue interference.

My feeling is, and the plain fact is, that nobody needs a large-capacity 30-round ammunition magazine to spray-fire at targets or game. Nobody needs a 75-round drum magazine—except maybe the Patrick Purdy's of the world.

The amendment also would contain a long list of 650 examples of hunting and sporting guns that are exempt from the prohibition. This list is not actually necessary, since none of these guns would be covered by the definition of semiautomatic assault weapons in the amendment. But for the sake of clarity and to demonstrate the legitimate hunting or sporting guns are not affected by this bill, the amendment includes a list of as many hunting guns as we could find and expressly exempts them from the ban.

Other exemptions are provided for law enforcement, military, testing purposes.

Finally, the amendment would sunset after 10 years. Frankly, I am opposed to any sunset provision and had none in my assault weapons bill, and I do not think we should have it. I think we ought to ban semiautomatic assault weapons once and for all, permanently. But the amendment provides for study by the Attorney General on the effectiveness of the ban, and I am quite convinced that this study will show future Congresses that the ban is effective in fighting crime and saving lives. So I am willing—reluctantly—to go along with the 10-year period.

That is what the amendment would do, and we think it represents a modest attempt to prohibit only the most dangerous semiautomatic assault weapons.

Let me tell you what it would not do. It would not give the BATF the power or discretion to prohibit legitimate hunting or sporting guns. I have already mentioned a list of 650 excluded hunting and sporting guns.

In addition, the prohibition does not cover any manually operated guns, whether by slide action, pump action, bolt action, or lever action.

Not even all semiautomatics are covered because not all semiautomatics are assault weapons. There are many legitimate semiautomatic rifles, shotguns, and pistols, that do not have the killing capacity of assault weapons.

This amendment also would not take any gun away from anybody. This is a

prospective measure only. No one's gun would be confiscated if this amendment were to pass and become law. Anyone who lawfully possesses a gun now, even if it is a semiautomatic assault weapon, would lawfully possess the gun after the law takes effect. And any gun that is lawfully possessed now could be lawfully transferred, sold, or purchased after the law takes effect.

There is no reason why weapons of war should be made available to the public in an unrestricted manner and in unlimited quantities. No hunter needs assault weapons. It was possible to hunt before the AR-15 or TEC-9 was developed. No marksman needs assault weapons. No true sportsman needs an Uzi, an AK-47, a Street Sweeper, or any semiautomatic assault weapon. Let us face it, semiautomatic assault weapons are useful for one thing: The killing or maiming of people.

I really wish we could do more than what this amendment would do—to deal with this problem in a more comprehensive way. But I recognize that some of my colleagues do not feel as strongly about it as I do. I feel that this issue is so critical in fighting crime and saving lives, and because this measure is a step in the right direction, I fully support it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DECONCINI. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment of the Senator from California. I compliment her for the work she put in, in crafting the amendment that was able to bring the Senators from Ohio and Arizona together. We are longstanding friends and we work together on a lot of legislation, but we have had a true disagreement over a number of years as to how far we should proceed in the first effort by the legislative body here to ban some assault weapons. He and I have worked for many years on it, and he knows how much respect I have for him and how I understand his strong commitment to banning assault weapons. But we have genuinely not been able to reach an accord over the past several years. Consequently, he has offered amendments that have not passed, and he has supported an amendment that barely passed, accommodating this Senator when, in fact, he really did not believe the amendment that this body adopted two times here really did what it needed to do for this problem.

So the Senator from Ohio has really been on the cutting edge of this issue long before this Senator stepped into it.

I thank him for his leadership and his willingness to be involved in this issue and never giving up on this Senator, and others, and compromising in the sense that he was willing to pass something even though he did not believe it was near enough.

The Senator from California, new to this body, is certainly not new to the process of putting together what is

necessary, I believe, to bring about a realistic approach, one better than the one the Senate did pass last year, and one that provides some very strong protections of individual rights under the second amendment.

So, Mr. President, the Senate cannot debate the issue of crime, in my judgment, without the opportunity and hopefully passage of some ban on assault weapons.

In the two Congresses, the Senate has included an assault weapon ban in the crime bill.

Unfortunately, that is not the case today. Now we have a President who has stated publicly on numerous occasions that he strongly supports a ban on assault weapons. So it is time to send him a bill that will end the production of these military-style assault weapons, and I emphasize military-style assault weapons. These are not hunting weapons, and I will go into it a little bit later.

In the amendment before us by the Senator from California, the Senator from Ohio, and myself, we have worked very hard to come up to this particular compromise legislation. Although we come from quite different directions, we have agreed on an amendment that is comprehensive in its approach to banning assault weapons but also provides many, many protections of the individual that I feel are fundamental under our Constitution.

Senators METZENBAUM and FEINSTEIN would like to go further, I believe. My concern, as it has always been, in this area is not to infringe on the rights of honest law-abiding gun owners. This amendment brings together our separate bills and approaches.

I believe we have a good proposal. It protects the rights of honest law-abiding gun owners. It protects the rights of these gun owners and hunters while confronting the crime problem caused by assault weapons.

What we are offering is not a panacea for crime. Nobody is going to say by adopting some assault weapon prohibition or antiassault weapon legislation we are going to stop crime. I think it is important to always confront that issue that is used particularly by the NRA and opponents of any kind of restriction of the second amendment. They will say that it is not guns that kill; it is people that kill.

That is true, but people have to have guns. They have to have the semiautomatic weapons to do the damage and carnage that they do.

What they are offering to me is a reasonable approach. It is our belief that a comprehensive solution to crime plaguing our country must include some ban on these weapons, truly weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. President, the need for the legislation has not decreased one bit since the last time we approved an assault weapons bill. In fact, there is even

more compelling evidence for this assault weapons ban. Since the last time we approved this assault weapons ban, we have seen drug-related violence continue and to escalate.

Assault weapons continue to proliferate in drug violence. Police officers continue to be gunned down in the streets of America by all types of weapons but, in particular, semiautomatic assault weapons. Time and time again this country has graphically witnessed the destructive use of assault weapons.

The tragic situation in Waco, TX, was only one of many recent examples in which criminals have used assault weapons to overpower law enforcement. Look at what David Koresh armed himself and his followers with. According to an ATF affidavit, Koresh had stockpiled nearly 200 assault weapons that included AK-47's, AR-15's, MAC 10's, and MAC-11's. In addition, ATF estimated he had accumulated 2 million rounds of ammunition. He also had a machinegun that had been adapted for use. Koresh did not buy these guns to go deer hunting in Texas. He went hunting for Federal agents. He shot 19 of them and killed 4 of them in cold blood.

In my own State of Arizona, law enforcement officials along the Mexican border wage a constant battle against smugglers who arm themselves with military-style weapons. The sheriff of Maricopa County, Joe Opal, a former agent in charge of the Phoenix, AZ, Drug Enforcement Administration, a 31-year member of NRA and currently a member of the NRA, has continuously supported legislation that I have introduced. He said that it is time to protect the people of the city of Phoenix and the county of Maricopa as well as his police officers, and he supports it. So he is able to differ and to split away from the NRA on this issue.

In cities across America, gangs fight turf wars, armed with assault weapons, often killing or severely wounding innocent bystanders because of the capability of these weapons to spray hundreds of rounds within seconds.

Police officers throughout this country will tell you that these killing machines are the weapons of choice for drug dealers and violent criminals. And why are they the weapons of choice? Listen to the words of a police officer who has to face gangs and drug dealers every day. This is what one police officer said in testimony that we have here before us. We have the complete record of that testimony.

Criminals today have used assault style weapons to fire dozens of semiautomatic rounds into crowds on public streets in order to kill a single target. Their large capacity and quick firing capability are what make ride-by style shootings possible. They enable one or two criminals to endanger dozens of people.

This is what an officer said. He has seen one individual who wants to kill

one individual in fact kill many because of the disregard and the capability that that person has in having that kind of weapon.

(Mrs. BOXER assumed the chair.)

Mr. DECONCINI. Madam President, these assault weapons are designed for a specific reason—to shoot as many people as possible as quickly as possible. No hunter in his right mind would use a street sweeper to shoot an elephant or a deer or a rabbit. The fact of the matter is that with an assault weapon a criminal will commit crimes that he would never risk with a normal handgun.

We have witnessed in the last few years a profound change in criminal firepower. Criminals have gone from using defensive weapons, like small handguns, to offensive weapons, such as the AK-47 or the Uzi.

The cop on the street is being outgunned. Overall, the figures reveal a clear trend on the part of criminals to upgrade their arsenals with weapons that fire faster and hold more ammunition than the police have.

In the Judiciary Committee's hearings on assault weapons this year, Chris Sullivan, of the International Brotherhood of Police Officers testified for quite sometime. One of the things he said was the following:

Many departments are upgrading their service weapons from .38 caliber revolvers to 9 millimeter semiautomatics because they are unable to keep up with the firepower which they are facing as criminals move to these assault weapons.

The message is clear. We need to bring some sanity back to our streets in America.

Madam President, this amendment is a direct attack on the spread of assault weapons and their use in the commission of violent and drug-related crimes. It is tightly focused on specific types of assault weapons that have emerged as the firearm of choice of violent criminals.

The amendment includes a limitation on the size of gun clips. This provision was initially proposed in a bill by President Bush and sponsored by many of my Republican colleagues in this Senate. Furthermore, the record-keeping system in this bill is neither onerous nor burdensome. But more importantly, this bill does not give the Federal bureaucracy or the bureaucrat the discretion to add guns to this list.

So we are not turning this over to some unknown body downtown that is going to decide that tonight or tomorrow or next week we are going to add guns. It cannot be done with this bill.

At the suggestion of some Senators, we included a list—not comprehensive but suggestive—of expressly exempted manual and semiautomatic guns by name. We did this so that sportsmen and hunters will be guaranteed that this bill will not affect them.

Madam President, we will hear several arguments, as usual, tonight as we

get into a debate—and I hope we do because I think the American public needs to hear those bogus arguments that are going to be put forward. We should not just sweep this aside by a motion to table. One will be that such legislation as this is unconstitutional.

Our Constitution protects the right to bear arms. We all understand that. There is no question in this Senator's mind about that. There is no question that this bill does not infringe on that at all. But it does not protect the right to bear any arm that some citizens might decide they have a right to possess. We should not permit people to walk around with a Street Sweeper.

Let me just show you what a Street Sweeper looks like, Madam President. That is a gun, Madam President, that is a very interesting weapon. The Street Sweeper was developed in Rhodesia and perfected as a crowd-control weapon in South Africa. It was not ever put together for the purpose of hunting, or even sportsmen uses. They do not have contests to see how well you can fire these, how many rounds you can shoot out in a minute, how many bottles you can knock down, or how many mannequins, or what have you, you can knock over, although that is what it should be used for, because that is what it has been used for.

This is a shotgun. It fires 12 rounds in less than 3 seconds. In 3 seconds this will rotate and propel 12 shotgun shells. It is a light weapon. It is a lightweight weapon. It can be fired from the hip like a pistol, and it is just one indication of what we have here.

Madam President, we need not have this kind of gun available. We need an America where you cannot buy one of these.

Let me just show you an ad of how easy it is to buy a Street Sweeper. This is in a local magazine for guns. Can you buy one of these nifty little things? "Yes, there is a difference." This is the Striker. For \$540, you can buy one of these sweet little things; just have it shipped to you.

You cannot buy a bazooka in this country, or a machinegun. And do not tell me this is not similar to a machinegun, because it is. People who walk the streets with these kinds of weapons, it would be like walking the streets with a bazooka or a machinegun. They want to kill people. They are not interested in hunting.

Time and time again, courts have upheld the constitutionality of assault weapon bans. We ban machineguns now, or you have to get certain permits from the Government to have them, and other weapons, as well. So it is not an infringement on our constitutional rights.

Throughout my years in this Senate, I have strongly opposed gun control measures because I have always been worried about bureaucrats deciding what guns can be made available to the

citizens; that they can just decide that we do not like this revolver or we think too many guns are out there, so let us just stop them all. I have constantly been very, very careful on any restrictions on guns, and have voted so.

The NRA has strongly endorsed my past two elections. I only wish I was running again this time, because they would not endorse me and I would take that as an issue that that organization has lost touch with America.

At one time I was named, with pride, I must say, as legislator of the month by the NRA. But after I spoke with members of law enforcement, I determined that something had to be done about these assault weapons. I discussed it with the NRA. We had a good discussion. We tried hard; I believe they really tried for awhile to help draw a definition of a semiautomatic assault weapon that would be banned. It did not work out. I went ahead. I went ahead because law enforcement in Arizona and around this country told me time and time again that this is dangerous; it is killing their members, as well as the public.

I came to the conclusion that something could be done without infringing on the rights of law-abiding citizens, without taking away any constitutional rights under the second amendment. The amendment we are proposing does not eliminate the right of honest, law-abiding citizens to buy guns for protection, hunting, or other recreation.

We are merely taking off the streets of America weapons that have no purpose other than to kill human beings.

No one buys an AK-47 to keep under their bed for their safety in case someone breaks into their home. No one buys a Street Sweeper to go hunting, to go target practicing. They just do not.

Does this ban affect honest sportsmen? Honest sportsmen do not go hunting with a Street Sweeper. Street Sweepers were made for riot control and used for riot control and now they are used to kill people in this country, as well as in other countries.

Assault weapons are not sporting weapons—unless you consider murder a sport.

Madam President, opponents of this measure would like to make this an "either/or" situation. They say either tough penalties or ban weapons. They are wrong. We need tough penalties, and this bill has them. We need to end the proliferation of some assault weapons. This amendment has it. And we also need to enact tough penalties for criminals, and this bill really has it, as explained by the Senator from California.

For over 3 years, we have been working to pass a ban on assault weapons. And while we debate this issue, police officers continue to patrol our streets, risking their lives against these weapons.

There is no question where law enforcement is on this particular issue. So make no mistake: If you vote to table this or vote against this, you are not supporting law enforcement. If you are talking about a crime bill that is going to go out there and help the people to be safer, you have to vote for this because this is where law enforcement is. Clearly, both management and rank-and-file organizations that are often at odds in law enforcement support a ban of assault weapons. Every one of them.

The Senator from Ohio has pointed out that the National Association of Police Organizations, the Fraternal Order of Police, the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, the National Sheriffs' Association, the Police Executive Research Forum, the Major Cities Chiefs, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, and the Police Management Association, members of these organizations have testified before Congress on many occasions on the need to ban these types of guns. And they speak for their members.

Let me read to you a quote from Dewey Stokes, president of the Fraternal Order of Police. And let me say, Mr. Stokes is an active police officer who goes out on the beat, as well as the executive director. This is the largest organization of law enforcement professionals in the country.

Dewey was in front of a House committee last year testifying on the assault weapons ban. I think his words should ring loud and clear to all of us who are going to vote sometime tonight or tomorrow on this issue. He said, among other things:

As to how important the issue of the increased spread of semiautomatic assault weapons is to the cop on the street, I think it is safe to say that all of us who put on the uniform every day have to sometimes wonder about our own mortality. *** The issue of these weapons may be a political one to some of you. *** but it is potentially a "life or death" issue for us every day we step out of the front door of our homes to go to work.

That is a cop on the street. That is the executive director, representing over 200,000 police officers, cops on the street. They go to work knowing that these kinds of weapons are out there in the hands of people who will use them against them. I think his comments pretty well sum it up, Madam President. We can sit here and debate about the politics all we want to tonight. We can invoke the second amendment when it sounds handy. But the bottom line is that police officers are out there every day, risking their lives and fighting an arms race, and they are losing—not only their lives, they are losing the arms race.

We made a bold decision the last time we passed a ban on assault weapons. We chose to vote with law enforce-

ment, and by doing so we pledged our support to them and we should do it again tonight.

Now is not the time to turn our back on law enforcement officers throughout this country.

Now is not the time to betray our commitment to the law enforcement officers who go out on the street every day to protect us.

How can we say to police officers of this country: Gee, I voted with you last time because you are getting outgunned by criminals. But even though the assault problem worsens, even though you are losing an arms race and losing more officers every year, I am pulling my support for this year's assault weapon man.

On issues of crime and violence I think we should consult those who risk their lives every day for our safety. Law enforcement stands united behind an assault weapons ban and this particular amendment. Every major law enforcement organization, management and labor, support this.

Even conservative leaders, politically on the Republican side of the aisle—Senator Barry Goldwater supports a ban on assault weapons; Jack Kemp, former Member of the House and Secretary of HUD supports limiting the sale of assault weapons.

There is plenty of room for everybody under this umbrella, because it supports law enforcement more than any other part of this bill, in my judgment.

This is not a partisan issue, but a humanitarian one. Not only do we have the opportunity to pass a ban on assault weapons, we have the responsibility to do so and to put ourselves on record.

Let me just take a couple of minutes Madam President, to show a few other of the weapons.

This is a picture of the Tec-9. It is a very well-used gun. It is manufactured in the United States; 3,000 copies are manufactured and sold every month. This gun is equipped with a 36-round magazine. It is a favorite for drug dealers. It shoots at a rate of approximately 1,000 rounds, if it is modified, per minute. Imagine, take 60 seconds off that clock, this weapon can shoot 1,000 rounds.

Its list price—do you know what you can buy one of these for? Three hundred and eighty dollars. That is a pretty devastating weapon for a small amount of change.

Ten assault gun models account for 90 percent of crime involving assault guns. One out of every 10 assault weapons traced is one of these. It ranks number one among assault weapons traced by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Let me show another one, Madam President. I know the Senator from New Jersey wants to talk, and I do not want to keep him waiting much longer.

This is the Uzi pistol. You have all heard of the Uzi carbine, the so-called Uzi gun used around the world by all kinds of organizations; legitimate military organizations and so-called rebel organizations.

This one, the Uzi pistol has a 32-round magazine. It is a favorite for soldiers of fortune. It also is used by legitimate armies throughout the world—armies who are trying to defend borders from other armies who are coming in. The list price for this is between \$200 and \$300. It is advertised as "the gun that made the '80's roar." Based on the 1988 BATF statistics, the Uzi pistol here accounts for the highest number of traces in that particular year.

Let me just see whatever else we have here. We have a number of others. This is the MAC-11 and MAC-9. That only shows us why our police officers are scared. They are not so scared they will not go out, but they are scared because when they go out they are confronted with those kind of weapons on a daily basis.

I truly hope this body will have the courage to stand up for law enforcement. The opponents can say, "Oh, we are for tougher penalties. We have to do something to put those people away." We do that. We have done that over the years. We passed amendments here putting people away forever because they are carrying one of these.

Do we have the courage to put them away here, be it by eliminating these guns so if they are caught with one—just caught with one—they are going to go away for a long time?

This is a good amendment. It is a sound amendment. It is the right thing to do. It is going to take some guts, it is going to take some people who want to stand up to the NRA, who want to do what is right for law enforcement. I truly hope when and if the motion comes to table, that this amendment is not tabled.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, I am a cosponsor of this amendment to ban assault weapons. I am struck by the fact that my colleague, Senator DECONCINI, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, has taken the strong stand that he has because he is someone who believes—and has established that over the years—that sportsmen, those who want to own weapons, ought to be able to do so under certain conditions. And the fact that he is as committed, as passionate, if you will, about banning these weapons tells me something about where we ought to be on assault weapons.

I come from the State of New Jersey and I am proud of my State for many reasons. But one of the things that has made me especially proud of our State is that we have taken the lead in battling the menace of assault weapons.

We in New Jersey have proven that the pro-gun extremists can be beat and that reasonable measures to control gun violence can be approved.

But we New Jerseyans cannot be secure with our own State assault weapon ban because, while the weapons are prohibited in our State, they are not in most other parts of the country. Until we have a nationwide ban, it will remain easy to bring assault weapons into New Jersey from other States.

As a matter of fact, we had an assault weapons ban on the books for a couple of years, and there was a turnover in the legislature such that the Republican Party came into power under a Democratic Governor, and they had a veto override majority in both Houses in the Assembly and in our State Senate. They felt that by getting together they could respond to the NRA's protest, to take away, to prohibit taking away assault weapons, as preposterous as that seems, because, Madam President, assault weapons as we know are not designed for legitimate sporting purposes. They are designed for military use, for war.

I was struck by Senator DECONCINI's exhibit here, when he showed a weapon called the Striker, with its horrendous output. One of the things that was featured in the ad is the fact that this is good for military and police use. It does not really point to its value as a sporting weapon.

I carried a weapon in World War II, and during the period of the breakthrough in Belgium, I was given more ammunition for my weapon, which was a carbine. It did not fire as often, as effectively, nor with as much damage as guns we are seeing now sold on the streets. And I was a soldier, an American soldier at war.

So what are we looking at? What are these weapons good for? Certainly—and I want to commend the Senator from California for her initiative here—certainly, if one is interested in fighting crime, then one must be interested as well in protecting those in law enforcement, as well as the citizens of our country. These weapons are for killing people, lots of people, and quickly. We have seen the devastation of their damage.

I do not know whether it is coincidence, but I notice that side of the aisle has nobody on the floor. I want to see, when the vote is finally counted, where the votes are to get rid of these weapons in the interests of crime fighting. Or are we doing something different when we try to take away these weapons, than fighting crime?

This is not a review of sporting clubs or target shooting or hunting. The amendment that is on the floor is designed to deal with the crime bill. These deadly assault weapons are the weapons of choice of increasing numbers of drug dealers and organized crime figures and they are being used

in lots of crimes. While semiautomatic weapons comprise only one-half of 1 percent of the privately owned guns in this country, they have accounted for 8.4 percent of all firearms traced to crimes between 1988 and 1991. In other words, assault weapons were about 17 times more likely to be used in a crime than a conventional firearm.

Madam President, as more and more criminals buy assault weapons, America's police officers find themselves increasingly outgunned, and that is wrong. The brave men and women who serve as police officers in our Nation deserve better. We try to help them. Wherever possible, we give them bulletproof vests; wherever possible, the procedures are developed such that one is not exposed without another officer being nearby if it can be done. We think constantly about repaying them with enough interest to try to protect their lives. Everyday they put their lives on the line for their communities, and the least that they should be able to expect is that we will not encourage having them outgunned by criminals.

A wide variety of police organizations support a ban on assault weapons, Madam President. You have heard them, but I will repeat them: The Fraternal Order of Police, International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the National Association of Police Organizations—just to name a few. But despite this broad support, for too long now, political leaders have kowtowed, have bent down, in front of a narrow special interest and refused to face reality. "Who is calling the shots?"—to use the expression on the other side. It is NRA and their friends and you would think that they have enough vision to understand that America does not want to have these kinds of weapons in the hands of those in the community who would create crime and take the lives of our law enforcement people and innocent civilians.

So what we have to do is put the interest of the police and the law-abiding citizens first. As I see it, this is not just another policy issue. It is a moral issue; it is a matter of life and death and nothing less.

So, Madam President, while I suspect that this amendment is as strong as any assault weapons ban could be, to have a chance of passing the Senate, I do want to note that my own preference would be far better to have an even stronger version of the ban. I am an original cosponsor of S. 653, which was introduced earlier by Senator METZENBAUM, a broader bill which would have made the ban a permanent feature of the law.

I said before that New Jersey had an assault weapons ban on the books. After a change in legislature took place, they tried to overturn the ban. The Governor of the State, though he faced a veto override majority, went to the public and said, "For God's sakes,

protect our citizens, let your Senator, State senator, let your assembly person, your Representative know how you care about that," and the phones rang off the hook and the telegrams came and the faxes came. They did not have the guts to stand there and remove a ban that had been put in place after a significant struggle. So we ought to take a step here that is consistent with crime fighting and rid the community of these weapons.

Having said that, I wanted something stronger. I do want to just take a minute to commend the distinguished Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN]. She has only been here a short while, but she has taken the leadership role in so many things and her interest in fighting criminals and weapons is well known. She has put together, I think, a masterful piece of legislation. She has recognized the reality that some people are going to want to be able to hold possession of their weapons. These people are grandfathered. I assume these people will have passed some kind of a requirement that said they legitimately own these weapons and listed very specifically, and I again commend her for it, those weapons that would be excluded.

So there cannot be any debate about does this cover this or does this cover that. We know exactly where she wants to take us. I commend her for her outstanding work in developing this compromise. She deserves a lot of credit for her leadership. She also deserves enough votes to pass this.

Madam President, I hope that my colleagues will stand up to the NRA—do what is right. Let us ban these weapons. Let us protect our law enforcement people. Moreover, let us show we mean it when we say we want to fight crime.

I yield the floor.

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, I, too, want to join in voicing my support for the amendment which has been offered by Senator FEINSTEIN, Senator DECONCINI, Senator METZENBAUM, Senator DANFORTH, and many others this evening. I firmly believe that this proposal will provide extraordinary strength in the efforts to try and deal with the violence in our society.

Having been here in 1968 when we passed the first, what they called gun law at that time, we could hear so many of the same arguments: There is no sense passing a bill because there are so many guns out there.

We hear the same argument again. The estimates of 125 or 150 million guns that are out there, they said in 1968, we cannot really do much about crime and violence in our society because there are so many guns out there, and the NRA opposed that particular legislation.

Then in 1986, when we had the McClure-Volker legislation, there were many of us who said, "All right, what we are really interested in are the Saturday night specials, the small concealable weapons that are used in the crimes of violence. We will go ahead and actually deregulate any kind of long gun."

We were talking then about long guns, hunting weapons that are used by legitimate sportsmen and hunters in this country, and let them wipe away any kind of restrictions. They talked about licensing, having a license in terms of the purchase, some interstate restrictions were there, because around 85 to 90 percent of all the killings that were using guns were the Saturday night specials, the small concealable weapons. But the NRA said absolutely no to that—absolutely no. They said we are going to oppose even that kind of limitation, the small Saturday night specials that have virtually no hunting purpose whatsoever. It cannot hit the side of this desk over here from 12 or 15 feet. It is virtually unnecessary in terms of legitimate sportsmen and women, and the NRA resisted what I think would have been an extremely responsible position for them to take that said, "OK, for the legitimate sports person, we will make available those long guns that are used for hunting," and it would have been helping us to deal with the problems of crime and violence in our society.

We were unable to have that. We understand why. Many of us have friends in the NRA. What they need to do is be able to take the position, the nose under the tent: You give them a little bit on the guns of violence, they will be back to you again and again and again. We know the millions, the tens of millions of dollars every single year that they raise in trying to misrepresent the motivations of many of us in trying to deal with the guns of violence in our society. We know that they need in order to bolster their membership and to raise the millions and millions of dollars which they use for political activities and for other kinds of activities.

Now we come here in the recent years. We had President George Bush identify a limited number of these assault weapons, prohibiting their entrance into the United States because they pose some kind of threat to the security of Americans, and then we asked, "Why don't you do that in terms of what is being produced back here at home?" "Oh, no, we can't touch those, we can't touch those."

They were identical kinds of weapons that were being prohibited from entering the United States that he was prepared to take a position on, but he would not take any step at all in trying to deal with those same weapons that are being manufactured here in the United States of America. It is a

completely irrational position. I have yet to hear possibly the justification or the rationale for that position.

Then we know the long period of time that many of us had in terms of resisting the thrust of the NRA on the cop-killer bullets. These are cop-killer bullets that can penetrate armor vests that our law enforcement officials wear.

I actually heard statements made by Members of this body that said we want to have them so when an animal is wounded, we will really make sure that animal is not going to be wounded for a long time. This is a humane act, cop killer bullets. And you ask them, well, what about the cops, what about the policemen and women who are risking their lives and they can penetrate those armored vests? What about their being wounded, their bleeding, their suffering, and what about their families?

It took us 3½ years—3½ years—to take meaningful steps on cop killer bullets with the resistance of the National Rifle Association.

Now we come back to these assault weapons. I agree with my friend and colleague from New Jersey. If I had my option, it would be a prohibition on the manufacture and distribution and the holding of these assault weapons that have absolutely no purpose in hunting whatsoever.

It is an interesting fact that many of these similar kinds of weapons are actually the weapons of choice in Peru and Colombia among the Medellin and other drug producing gangs—not just in this country but in those countries as well. Manufactured where? Here in the United States of America. They are being utilized in many of those countries.

It is scandalous that we talk of trying to do something about the drug rings and all those involved in street gangs and all of the rest and here we are permitting the manufacture, distribution, purchase, and ownership of these weapons and exporting them where they are being used in crimes in these other countries. It is a scandalous situation, Mr. President.

This measure which has been developed by the Senator from California, with the cooperation of Senator DECONCINI and Senator METZENBAUM, is a very important and meaningful step. It is a downpayment to the people in this country, particularly those who live in the cities of this Nation, that we are going to try to do something about the weapons that proliferate in our communities.

There are other ways and means. The Senator from New York deals with the issue of ammunition, which I think is enormously commendable and I wish, quite frankly, we would have an opportunity—maybe we will—to debate that on this bill as well, and other proposals that have been made by the Senator

from Rhode Island and others dealing with other aspects of the gun issue.

Mr. President, this really is enormously important. It is a real indication of who wants to talk tough and who wants to really do something about violence. We have heard with extraordinary eloquence of how we are going to be tough on the criminals in our society. The case has been made by the Senator from California and others in comparing the issues of violence in other countries around the world, the availability and accessibility of guns and the incidents of violence.

How many years do we have to make that case? How long do we have to make that declaration and that plea? Still we find that the long tentacles of the National Rifle Association are able to penetrate this body and many other legislative bodies across the country. I think it is enormously detrimental to the efforts which are attempted to deal with the issues of violence.

Madam President, I had the opportunity to speak at the graduation ceremony at Simon's Rock College, one of our very fine small colleges, buried away in the heart of the Berkshires, where a disturbed student, who was temporarily mentally incompetent as a result of significant depression, went down and was able to buy the long gun—tragically, the kinds of restrictions which would have prohibited that individual from being able to purchase that long gun had been lifted in our own State a few months before—and come back and spray a message of death and wounding to individuals in the school as well as those associated with and who work for the school.

Going to that school several months later, the campus was not the same. The impact and the scarring and the loss not only of the families immediately affected but among young and old alike was so deep and so searing. These matters of violence are not statistics but real human beings, real people, real families, real tears, real blood, and they deserve to have some action in the Senate. I hope the Senator's amendment is accepted.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam President, this amendment is an absolutely critical component of this crime bill. Any legislation worthy of the title "crime" bill must have an amendment that addresses the semiautomatic assault weapons which our police face on our streets every day and are pleading with us to control.

This amendment does two things at once. It supports our police. It stands with our police. It says yes to our police who are pleading with us to restrict the military-style assault weapons that are not used for any legitimate purpose. It also protects the ability of hunters and other legitimate and

recreational gun users to continue to pursue hunting and sporting activities. It does them both at once.

The Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms finds that these types of assault weapons addressed by the amendment of the Senator from California were about 17 times more likely to be traced to crime than conventional firearms. Our law enforcement officers are asking us over and over again, as they have for many years, to take these assault-style weapons out of the hands of people that they face on the street.

To whom are we going to listen? That is the issue. Is it going to be the lobbyists of the NRA or is it going to be men and women who put their lives on the line every day defending us? To whom are we going to listen? I suggest we listen to the police.

We ought to listen to Bob Scully, executive director of the National Association of Police Organizations, NAPO. He is a former police officer in Detroit, by the way, and he testified at a Judiciary Committee hearing as follows:

NAPO has been on record in support of a ban on military-style semiautomatic assault weapons since 1989. We know firsthand that assault weapons are the preferred weapon of drug dealers, gang members and mass killers.

Listen:

We know firsthand that assault weapons are the preferred weapon of drug dealers, gang members and mass killers. The only purpose of an assault weapon is to kill and wound as many people as possible as quickly as possible.

And Bob Scully went on to say:

According to an Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms affidavit, Koresh—

At that Branch Davidian compound in Waco, David Koresh—

had stockpiled nearly 200 assault weapons that included AK-47's AR-15's MAC-10's and MAC-11's. In addition ATF estimated he had accumulated two million rounds of ammunition.

Scully went on to say:

We know that David Koresh did not buy the 123 Colt AR-15 assault rifles to go deer hunting. He went hunting for Federal agents and shot 19.

This is just a guy who runs the National Association of Police Organizations who is reminding us of that.

We also ought to listen to Kenneth Lyons, the national president of the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, the largest police union in the country. At that same Judiciary Committee hearing, he said:

The increased destructive possibilities of semi-automatic assault weapons increase the risk to those officers who put their lives on the line every day. Each traffic stop, each pursuit of a dangerous felon, each knock on a door to serve a warrant can end in disaster for the officer. Our organization and our membership are in a good position to judge the debate on gun control. We are aware of the legitimate and illegitimate uses of firearms. Many of our members are hunters and sportsmen. Many of those same members tell

us that these weapons have no legitimate sporting purpose.

Many people may not realize that there is a clear difference between a semi-automatic assault weapon—which this amendment aims to ban—and legitimate hunting and sporting weapons—which this amendment explicitly protects. The difference is in the combat hardware attached to semiautomatic assault weapons. The assault weapon hardware attached to the assault weapons this bill aims to ban includes grenade launchers; and threaded barrels capable of accepting a silencer, or barrel extender, or flash suppressor. It's obvious that these are military hardware accessories that are designed to kill people. They are clearly not used for hunting or for target practice.

Past examples prove this type of ban on certain military-style assault weapons show results. The 1989 ban on the importation of assault weapons resulted in a 40-percent reduction of imported assault weapons traced to crime. While the number of domestic assault weapons traced to crime increased, murders, assaults, drug crimes, and property crimes linked to assault weapons all declined from 1989 to 1991 as a result of the import ban. We need to continue this trend.

The Feinstein-DeConcini-Metzenbaum amendment is a reasonable proposal. It restricts the manufacture, transfer, or possession of certain semiautomatic assault weapons by specifying 13 specific weapons such as the Beretta AR-70, the MAC 10, the M-10 and the MAC 11. It also restricts additional weapons if they meet a specific test in assault weapons. That specific test is whether a semiautomatic rifle has an ability to accept a detachable magazine and has at least two specific physical characteristics such as a bayonet mount or a grenade launcher. For a semiautomatic pistol, that specific test is whether it has an ability to accept a detachable magazine and has at least two specific physical characteristics such as a threaded barrel capable of accepting a barrel extender, a flash suppressor, or a silencer.

The amendment grandfathers in existing weapons—even those that violate the criteria set forth in the amendment and, thus, deals only with the future manufacture, transfer, and possession of these weapons. And very importantly, the amendment specifically protects lawfully held hunting and sporting firearms.

Let me close by simply saying this. We are going to be making a fundamental decision here tonight on the floor of the Senate. Who are we going to listen to, and who are we going to stand with? That is what it is going to come down to. The experts, the real experts, are not the people who write these technical descriptions, although they are important. And the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], Senator METZEN-

BAUM, and so many others have worked for years to make sure we protect the legitimate rights of hunters at the same time we try to take weapons out of the hands of drug dealers whose only purpose is to kill cops.

That technical effort has been made. I think, very carefully in this amendment. But way beyond that is whether or not we are going to listen to and stand with the men and women who put their lives on the line every day to defend us, who are asking us, pleading with us, to pass this amendment, or whether we are going to listen to and stand with the lobbyists of the NRA.

I think this choice is a clear one. I think we must stand with our law enforcement community. I think that when we do, we will find that, just like with the teflon bullets and the machineguns before them, that when we decided to take a courageous step, that seemed courageous at the time, to ban them, that we did not affect one iota the rights of sportsmen, hunters, or target shooters. This amendment will not affect them, either.

It will help our police. They deserve our help. Let us stand with them.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DANFORTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. DANFORTH. Madam President, I support the very thoughtful amendment offered by Senator FEINSTEIN. I do so after long and careful consideration. The issue in this amendment is how do we feel about guns. Are they sacrosanct? Are they somehow beyond governmental regulation? Are we in Congress prevented from regulating their use? I answer these questions emphatically, "No."

Neither the second amendment, nor the Constitution read as a whole, provides for such a blanket restriction on the reasonable regulation of firearms. Because Congress has this power and because guns and violence are blanketing our cities and our country, it is time to add my voice to the growing call to stop our country's obsession with guns.

Our constitutional rights are precious. They are the cornerstone of our great democratic structure, and they must be vigilantly protected. There are those who argue that waiting periods and other limitations prohibiting immediate access to handguns or semiautomatic guns are unconstitutional; that they infringe on the constitutional right of the people to "keep and bear arms."

But, the Preamble to the Constitution states that the very purpose of the Constitution is to "ensure domestic tranquility." That purpose is not served if any person has access to any weapon at any time.

Existing case law clearly rejects the argument that the second amendment confers an absolute and unrestricted

personal right to bear arms. As stated by then-president of the American Bar Association, L. Stanley Chauvin, " * * * the U.S. Supreme Court had several occasions to review State regulation of firearms in the context of the second amendment. A review of these cases reveals the courts have uniformly held that the second amendment relates merely, solely, totally and only to the unhampered regulation of State militia. It does not confer an individual right."

And listen to the words of former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger who said, " * * * one of the frauds, and I use that term advisedly, on the American people has been the campaign to mislead the public about the second amendment. The second amendment doesn't guarantee the right to have firearms at all."

Even if the second amendment were read to protect an individual right to own a handgun or a semiautomatic weapons, this would not be an unfettered right. Constitutional rights are not absolute. There is a constitutional right to travel, but that right is not absolute. Government regulates speed limits and the safety of vehicles. People have to register their cars, even if that takes 5 days. People have to get a license to drive their cars. People cannot race along at 120 miles an hour in order to get to their destination. We must and should put restrictions on those things which pose a threat to public safety.

Even speech is not an unlimited right. Certain types of speech are prohibited. One cannot use fighting words which tend to provoke acts of violence. One cannot libel or slander another citizen. All types of speech are subject to reasonable time, place and manner restrictions. Officials can require that public demonstrations be licensed, and that they be confined to certain areas at certain times. In fact, one might have to wait 5 days to have a public demonstration. This kind of political expression at the core of our constitutional values can be reasonably regulated. Surely, we can regulate the use of inherently dangerous guns?

The time has come for the reasonable regulation of firearms. I do not want to burden law-abiding citizens who want guns for lawful purposes. But, the present situation is insane.

Let me acquaint you with insanity.

Insanity is the New Orleans mother who, in September, said that her son, accused in the drive-by shooting of a 12-year-old girl could not have done it. She was sure of that, she told reporters; because at the time of the shooting, her son was participating in another shooting at a housing project.

Insanity is 2-year-old Jonathan Williams of Chicago, who suffered a critical head wound while he was out for a walk with his family. Jonathan was hit by bullets from a drive-by shooting

when a man picked him up to use him as a bullet shield.

Insanity is the public school district of East Palo Alto, CA, where drive-by shootings are an epidemic. The district is discussing offering parents insurance policies to cover the cost of burying their children.

And it is not just in California. There is evidence of a surge of life insurance policies being taken out by parents on their children in New York and in inner city areas across the country. This kind of thinking, this terrible resignation and loss of hope, is the new pragmatism. Perhaps it is pragmatic in the same way that schoolchildren in Washington are pragmatic when they plan their own funerals. It is pragmatic in the same way schools are pragmatic when they have drive-by shooting drills as well as fire drills. These are appropriate responses to a much greater insanity.

People in America are going crazy. They are going gun-crazy. And whether the insanity is the result of social problems or poverty or violence on television probably will never be resolved. We may never know. So we have to deal with the facts that we do know. For instance, every 14 minutes of every day an American dies from a gunshot. While I stand here, at least one person will die.

For instance, there are now over 200 million guns in the United States, including 70 million handguns.

For instance, there are almost twice as many federally licensed gun dealers, 286,000, as there are grocery stores.

For instance, the cost of gun-related injuries to the American health-care industry is estimated at \$4 billion every year.

For instance, an estimated 270,000 guns are brought to school every day.

Those are facts we do know. So, it is embarrassing to pretend rational discourse while schools buy metal detectors and teachers buy bulletproof vests.

It is a mockery to pretend reasoned compromise while families cower in bathtubs to escape the stray bullets flying through their homes.

And it is a tragedy to pretend concern for individual rights when children are shooting their mothers and mothers are shooting their children.

All of those terrible, unimaginable things are happening in America. Last year, over 30,000 Americans were killed by guns. Almost eight times as many—236,000—were wounded. And I do not buy the argument that people, and not guns, kill people.

The effect of guns in this equation is clear. They are directly responsible for the death toll. We have always had gangs in America. We have always had teenage toughs. They fought. They used their hands and fists and knives; and sometimes, once in a while, someone was killed. Today, gangs are armed with guns. And every day, not once in

a while, lots of people are getting killed. And those people are often innocent bystanders sprayed indiscriminately by bullets from a car.

There is no such thing as a drive-by knifing.

There were always bullies in school. And kids get black eyes sometimes. But they did not shoot each other. Now we have 6-year-old babies bringing guns to school. So schools are budgeting for metal detectors and body armor. In the schoolyard as in the streets, guns make the difference between walking away from conflict and getting shot in the back. Guns kill.

Last year, 18,200 Americans used guns to commit suicide. There are many tragic ways for people to take their lives. But there is evidence that the risk of suicide doubles when there is a gun in the house. This is particularly true when there are teens in the house. Teenagers are volatile creatures. Their perspective is different. They do not take slights in stride. When they lash out it is impulsive. Sometimes they take it out on themselves. When guns are at hand, guns kill.

There were always household accidents. Last year, 1,400 of those involved guns and resulted in death. Because guns are terrific killers. That is what they are made for, to kill. People kill people. Yes, and guns kill people. Terribly. Efficiently. Easily.

And that ease, combined with the proliferation of guns is affecting us—our sanity—profoundly. The cover story of the November 8, 1993, issue of U.S. News & World Report is called "Guns in the Schools: When Killers Come to Class." The story confirms for me, at least, my belief that the nature of the problem has radically altered in a very short time. "Behind the rash of violence" says the report, "is a startling shift in adolescent attitudes. Suddenly—chillingly—respect for life has ebbed sharply among teenagers—and not just in embattled inner cities."

All over this country, our citizens, young and old, are treating guns, and lives, like playthings. Right outside this chamber, right on our doorstep, kids are playing a new game. They drive around Washington at night with their headlights off. And they shoot—they try to kill—the first passing driver whomakes the fatal mistake of flashing his lights as a neighborly reminder. The wheels are just coming off.

The wheels are coming off in Missouri, just as much as anywhere else:

Not long ago in St. Louis, a 14-year-old pulled out his gun and demanded that his 13-year-old schoolmate hand over his jacket. Instead, the younger child pulled out his own gun and shot him.

In Kansas City this year, gang members have shot bullets into the sides of schoolbuses filled with students coming home from high school.

This summer in Kansas City five teenagers, two of them just 13 years

old, kidnaped and shot a 19-year-old boy because they wanted his fancy pickup truck.

And, as if these stories were not grotesque enough, a mother in St. Louis, irritated at her children for changing channels while she watched television, shot her 12-year-old son. She shot her own son. She is not alone. Mothers have shot and killed their children across the country this year. Because their children came home late. Because they did not like their children's friends.

And this August in Kansas City, a 15-year-old boy shot and killed his mother while they were out together watching a Mel Brooks movie. Police say he shot her four times. He says that he just did it; he does not know why.

Newspaper stories testify to the insanity daily. Children, barely toddlers, kill their brothers and sisters playing cowboys and indians with real guns they find in the park. Older children, still in grade school, are carjacking cars with guns they find on the way to the zoo. And teenagers are impressing their friends by blowing their own brains out during games of Russian roulette. Guns do kill people.

I realize that I am spending a disproportionate amount of time on shootings involving children. There are hundreds of thousands of instances of gun violence in which children are not the immediate victims. Guns, workplace arguments, barroom brawls and on and on. They have also become entangled in the drug trade. It is beyond human capacity to describe all the horrors wrought by guns in America. I focus on children, because I want to demonstrate that the gun death rate is not just a function of adult criminal intent.

It is also because I feel that our country can be judged by the future we promise our children. For too, many, life as an adult is just a distant, bleak possibility. Hardly worth thinking about; certainly not worth sacrificing for.

Today, the burden of ensuring our security rests on our police forces. And the law enforcement community has overwhelmingly spoken in favor of increased regulation. They say it will help them fulfill their brave and dangerous charge. Even those who are the strongest proponents of individual second amendment rights are beginning to call for change. Across America, in Missouri, NRA members are supporting a proposal like the Brady bill by more than 2 to 1.

I know that many Americans, Missourians among them, will disagree with my decision. Many Americans explain patiently that this problem is not their problem. That they are law-abiding. That they live far from the inner city. That they and their fathers have carried guns with good judgment and respect for generations. That, precisely

because of the misusers of guns, they need guns to protect their lives and their families.

(Mr. ROCKEFELLER assumed the chair.)

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, when times were more rational, I found this reasoning more persuasive. But, I have tried to demonstrate today that the wheels have come off; that the proliferation of guns, combined with the utter disregard for human life has resulted in widespread human carnage. We have to begin limiting access to guns. Their unrestricted availability is destroying much of what we know as American life.

It is everyone's problem because we all pay for it. Over 80 percent of the health care costs of gun wound treatment are borne by taxpayers. Nationwide, that is over \$3.2 billion each year.

It is everyone's problem, because those who rely on guns for protection may actually be endangering their families. The October 7, 1993, issue of the New England Journal of Medicine reported the results of a study of gun ownership as a risk factor for homicide in the home. After studying 1,860 homicides in three counties in Tennessee, Washington, and Ohio, the study concluded that "a gun in the home is independently associated with an increase in the risk of homicide in the home." The practice of keeping a gun in the house for protection is demonstrably counterproductive. In layman's terms, that means "guns kill people."

Mr. President, the Senator from California has constructed a bill that responds to the concerns of gun violence as well as protected individual rights. I would not support taking legitimate hunting guns away from the hunters of my State. Reasonable regulation of guns is not tantamount to their confiscation, and I would not support the confiscation of weapons, regularly made and used for hunting. Senator FEINSTEIN's amendment will affirmatively protect almost 700 different types of hunting rifles. This amendment targets semiautomatic assault weapons—the weapon of choice for gangs. It targets the guns that are 20 times more likely to be used in a crime than conventional guns.

Perhaps only a few of the Americans I talked about today would still be alive if we had enacted more restrictions on guns previously. Perhaps such measures would not have helped them at all. I will support this initiative anyway.

First, because there are cases and statistics which prove that regulating the purchase and availability of guns will save lives. Second, because, even without the studies, I will take the police at their word that they are outgunned and need relief. Third, because the NRA inside-the-beltway leadership by adopting an absolutist position has abandoned its rank and file.

Gun owners understand the insanity just described, and they are willing to sacrifice absolute, untrammelled access if it will help a little. They are willing to wait 5 days if that will help. They are willing to ban semiautomatic assault weapons if that will help.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, I will support reasonable regulation of firearms because I think it is time that we put ourselves on record as ending our love affair with guns. We have the constitutional authority, and in 1993, in a year where tragic deaths are mounting at record numbers, we must exercise it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, because the Senator from Rhode Island has been graciously waiting, I ask if I could go prior to him and he agreed I will take just 5 minutes. So if you would be good to tell me when that 5 minutes are up, I will appreciate it. Then I will wrap up at that point.

First, Mr. President, I want to compliment the Senator from Missouri before he leaves the floor, and perhaps I could get his attention. I say to my colleague that his statement was really extraordinary. I only hope that the Members of the Senate, who are not here in the Chamber, heard what the Senator said, the way he said it, the examples that he gave, and his conclusions.

I am very moved by his statement, and I know my colleague, the senior Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN], feels the same, because I saw the way she walked up to the Senator from Missouri. I think it is a breakthrough in this debate. As I say, I only hope that many others heard his fine statement.

Mr. President, to me it is incredible that we are even debating this. It is incredible that an overwhelming majority of the Senate is not on the floor now rushing over to the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] and saying, "Thank you for your leadership, and put me on this bill."

Why do I feel this way? I feel this way because America has become a place where assault weapons are simply out of control. You do not need a doctorate to know that. You do not need a Ph.D. in any field to know that. All you have to do is be alive, lucky to be alive, to know that.

Kids are killed while they are eating hamburgers at restaurants. Grocery store owners and jewelry store owners, people trying to support their families in the retail business, are killed and wounded. Postal workers are killed or wounded in the workplace. People are being killed at work, at play, on the street, just walking, sitting in their homes, because a bullet might ricochet through and kill a baby sleeping in her crib.

It is a collage of death in America. Any of us could close our eyes and just think back to our own communities, our own States, and we can put that collage together. We know those stories. We are not hardened to them yet. I do not want us to get hardened to them, because then we will do nothing.

My own son lost a best friend in John Scully. John Scully did not go to war. He was a brilliant young lawyer working in a law firm. A gunman, on the loose, bought one of these weapons that Senator FEINSTEIN is going to outlaw, comes into the office. John Scully's wife is a lawyer. He throws himself in front of her, takes the bullets, and dies.

He never lived to be a father, to see his children, to enjoy life. He was a young man who had every single thing going for him at work.

It is insane. The Senator from Missouri says it is insane. And where are the Senators? Are they listening? We are going to find out when and if there is a motion to table the Senator's amendment.

This amendment does not stop gun ownership, legal gun ownership, ownership of guns that are needed for hunting, even to protect oneself in one's home.

Mr. President, our hospitals are becoming training grounds for the military. This is insane. Doctors in training who want to know what it is like to treat war wounds are in our hospitals, in our county hospitals. Enough is enough.

When you hear some of these stories you think: Am I in Sarajevo? Am I in Croatia? Am I in a war zone? The answer to that question is no and yes. This is the real threat to our people, as I see it, today.

We cannot allow America to become a killing field. This amendment was so carefully planned by my colleague. She has been so tenacious about making it work. This amendment will lead us in the right direction.

So, in conclusion, let me say that law enforcement supports this and the people of America support this. Let us do the right thing. Let us stand proud this evening. Let us support the Senator, and let us stop the insanity.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from California who just spoke.

When she was speaking, she brought to mind a memory that I have. She pointed out that our military physicians today are getting their training for handling military wounds, the terrible destruction that comes in war, by working in our hospital emergency rooms.

My uncle was a doctor. I can remember him telling us—he trained in New York City—I can remember him telling

us, when he was in the emergency room, of the number of knifings and razor wounds that would come in, but never did he mention a shooting wound. All that is past.

Once upon a time, as was pointed out by the distinguished Senator from Missouri, fights were settled with fists and sometimes with knives, but never with handguns. All that has changed.

The senior Senator from California has brought forward this very fine amendment. This amendment deals with assault rifles and assault weapons. That is what it is talking about, semiautomatic assault weapons. She carefully has delineated those hunting rifles and shotguns that are not covered. On and on it goes, for page after page here, what is not covered by it—a Marlin Model 880 bolt action rifle.

So the suggestion that she is getting hunting rifles or shotguns is nonsense. All of that has been carefully excepted from the bill that she has produced.

Mr. President, I have been a longtime supporter of the ban on assault weapons. I supported the Metzbaum bill. I was a cosponsor of that; the DeConcini bill later on, I was a cosponsor of that. And I wish to be a cosponsor of this legislation this evening.

In 1990, we had a vote on the Metzbaum amendment; 17 for it—I was one of the 17—because it was considered too broad. And so, later on, we dealt with the DeConcini amendment. And the DeConcini amendment prevailed by two votes. Regrettably, that provision was voted down by the House. And now, 3 years later, we have a more carefully drawn amendment that, as I say, deals with semiautomatic weapons.

Mr. President, let us dispose of, once and for all, the constitutional bugaboo that is raised by the NRA. We have all seen the NRA put up on the wall the following words: "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The second amendment; very clever. The trouble is, it is not the second amendment. It is part of the second amendment. And, indeed, it is the second clause to the second amendment.

What does the first clause say? The first clause governs the second clause. The first clause says:

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

That has been interpreted in the Federal courts time after time. Always the same. Always the same—that a community, a State, a municipality, a nation has a right to restrict the bearing of arms.

What it cannot do is restrict the bearing of arms by the militia. The militia is something quite different from an individual walking down the street with a .9 millimeter on his hip.

And so, Mr. President, let us blast away once and for all the constitu-

tional amendment argument that we in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. Congress cannot regulate who has a weapon and who does not.

Mr. President, I have here a couple of pictures that have been shown. Here is an AK-47. Now, there it is. Is anybody suggesting that this is a hunting weapon? Any animal that is hit by this weapon, there would be nothing left of the animal. And so it goes for the rest of the assault weapons.

Mr. President, I for a long time have been sponsoring legislation here that would ban all handguns. I do not deal with rifles and shotguns and I do not deal with, actually, the assault weapons, but I deal with all handguns. My legislation would ban the possession, the manufacture, the sale, and the transfer of all handguns in the United States of America, except for the police, the military, licensed security guards, and certified target clubs who keep the weapons under lock and key.

As the Senator from Missouri pointed out, there are 70 million handguns in the United States of America today, with 2 million being added every single year. And the mayhem that is taking place in our society cannot continue to be tolerated.

We have 12,000 handgun deaths a year, and we have 12,000 handgun suicides a year—24,000 Americans die as a result of handguns every single year. In our country, there are 12,000 shot and murdered with handguns; 173 in Canada. Now, think of the difference.

And people say this is radical legislation to suggest banning handguns. The situation that exists in our country today is radical. That is something that is off kilter, not banning them.

Every civilized nation in the world bans handguns and will not let you walk around with a handgun or go in to buy one.

Up until the legislation that was passed in Virginia restricting the purchase of one handgun a month, sort of a gun-a-month club—that was considered a great achievement, and I commend Governor Wilder for getting that legislation passed. Previous to that, you could back a truck up to a Virginia rifle and handgun store and buy all you wanted. And, indeed, that was what was taking place, and they were taking them to New York and other States to sell.

Mr. President, something has to be done about the slaughter that is taking place in our society today with guns. It is affecting our educational system, our schools. It is affecting our health care system. The statistic is given that \$4 billion a year is added to our health care system because of the destruction brought by guns. I think that is a modest figure. That is the hospital costs. That is not the rehabilitation costs, that can add up to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. President, I have here a magazine. Actually, it is the Harvard Magazine. In it there is an article, "Screen Violence; It's Killing Us." Screen violence is not killing us. Guns are killing us. And that is what has gone wrong in our society today.

Mr. President, we have the possibility of taking a slight step forward tonight. What we do tonight is not going to solve everything. All the amendment of the Senator from California does is deal with semiautomatic assault weapons. It does not deal with all handguns. I wish it did. But I think she is wise to take this step as far as she has, and I hope she succeeds.

I hope everybody will join in support of this amendment. It is a good amendment. It is going to make this Nation of ours a better place if it passes.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Rhode Island for his remarks.

If I may have his attention—and he is speaking with Senator DANFORTH. Let me just say, Senator DANFORTH's speech is a good illustration why he is going to be missed in the U.S. Senate. He has been a person of conscience, and I am proud to serve with him in this body.

The Senator from Rhode Island picked up a magazine, the Harvard magazine, in which on the front cover is a story "Screen Violence; It's Killing Us."

Let me tell you how that is tied in with what we are talking about here tonight.

As some people say, the king of crime is the TEC-9 assault pistol. That is outlawed in this bill. The TEC-9 was used in San Francisco by a man who walked into a law firm, killed eight people, and wounded six.

If I may have the attention of my colleague from Rhode Island, the New York Times interviewed the manufacturer of the TEC-9, this champion of all assault weapons in terms of being used in crime. The manufacturer said:

Our gun just was not selling at all. And then it was used in a television series and sales boomed all over the country.

The reality is, we have to deal with this problem of weapons in our country. But we also have to deal with the problem of television violence, and the two are tied in together. I thank my colleague for those remarks.

I live in southern Illinois, Mr. President. It is hunting territory, much like West Virginia. We have 12 acres out in the country right next to the Shawnee National Forest. I do not get there very often, just as my colleague from West Virginia does not get to his home very often.

But when I am home, I literally see more deer than people on the days

when I am home. I am around hunters all the time.

I have never seen a hunter with an AK-47 or an Uzi, or one of those weapons I see in the back of the Chamber here depicted. They use hunting rifles. They use the instruments that are legal under this particular amendment. We simply have to do something about it.

These assault weapons are 17 to 20 times more likely to be used in a crime than other weapons.

In the city of Chicago—a great city, I do not happen to be from Chicago but I spend a lot of time there—last year, 927 people were killed by firearms there. In the city of Toronto, with roughly the same population, 17 people were killed by firearms. There were 4½ times more people killed in the city of Chicago than in all of Canada last year.

We have to face it. Something is wrong, and it is not just one thing but part of it is the proliferation of weapons.

I wish every Senator could have been there—Senator METZENBAUM was there, I believe—to hear a teacher who taught in California, where that man came along with an AK-47 and killed 5 children, wounded 30. He had an AK-47 that had 75 rounds in it.

What are we doing tolerating a weapon like that?

I can remember the gripping story that teacher told about what happened in that schoolyard, and how she broke down telling that story. If every Member of the Senate could have been there, I am confident we would get rid of these kind of weapons.

Why do we want them? I was at a town meeting in Rockford and somebody got up and said he was strongly opposed to my trying to outlaw these assault weapons. I asked him, "Why do you want the assault weapon?"

He said, "I enjoy going out and shooting tin cans." That was literally his answer.

If we have to take away his ability to shoot tin cans with one of these semiautomatic rifles or weapons, and we can save lives, he can fire at tin cans with something else. This just does not make sense.

The Atlanta Journal Constitution studied all guns traced by the BATF between January 1, 1988, and March 27, 1989. Let me just read three things:

Assault guns *** were used in one of every 10 crimes that resulted in a firearms trace last year.

Of the thousands of gun models sold in the United States, just 10 of them—all members of the so-called assault gun family—accounted for 12.4 percent of the Nation's drug-related crime.

One of every five [assault guns traced to crime] was a weapon known as the TEC-9.

We have to do something. And this phony argument about the second amendment—the second amendment says we have to have the right to militia, to State militias, so you do not

have a concentrated Federal Government. That is all it says. The right to bear arms is not an unrestricted right. No one has a right to have a nuclear weapon. We know it is a restricted right.

So I hope we do the right thing. We have a choice tonight and it is a fairly simple choice. We can side with the gun lobbyists who do not want to change anything, who represent, among others, the manufacturers of these weapons, or we can side with the police, the people who risk their lives to protect us each day.

I do not have a hard time making a decision on that. I think we ought to be standing up for our law enforcement people. I think we ought to be standing up, protecting our citizens. I am certainly going to vote for the Feinstein amendment. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of it.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of Senator FEINSTEIN's amendment to restrict the use and possession of assault weapons. It is absolutely imperative that we rid the streets of these weapons of destruction that have no place on our streets.

Throughout the debate on the crime bill, many members have related personal events that have affected their lives. Several months ago, I didn't think I, too, would have a story to relate, but sadly, I do. Only last month I met with the family of John Scully, a young attorney from Hawaii, who was one of the eight people murdered by a lone gunman with two assault guns during a rampage through a San Francisco law firm this past summer.

As I sat with John's parents, Niall and Pegi Scully of Honolulu, his wife, Michelle Spiess Scully, who was injured during the shootings, his sister, Megin Scully-Minuth, and her husband, Reed, I became personally involved with the tragedy of a violent crime. Having one son who is a police officer with the Honolulu Police Department, and another who is a physician, I was no longer able to listen to these fine people as merely their Senator. I listened as a parent, a grandfather and a friend.

Despite their recent loss, the Scully family is channeling their grief through the establishment of the John and Michelle Scully Fund, which seeks to reduce handgun-related violence in this country. They were visiting Capitol Hill to urge Members of the Senate to support the Brady bill. Their selflessness was remarkable; their commitment to change Senators' minds steadfast; and their ability to relate as personal a tragedy as this inspiring. Pegi spoke of having a contact her six surviving children to tell them the John's death. Michelle, who was injured in the attack, quietly retold her husband's last words as he shielded her from the gunman. Megin explained that as a physician, the medical costs

related to gun violence are staggering. And her father, also a physician, called gun-related violence as a devastating public health issue.

Mr. President, I bring this to my colleagues' attention because the seriousness of allowing individuals to own, or have access to, weapons of such dramatic destruction is unacceptable. We cannot have a crime bill, without dealing with the issue of the availability of military-style assault weapons. I urge adoption of this amendment.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, this Senator has dedicated his public life as State attorney general and U.S. Senator toward making our homes and neighborhoods safe from criminal violence and secure in their civil liberties. I have consistently voted against broad bans on firearms, such as the Feinstein proposal, precisely because they do not make our neighborhoods safer, nor make our families more secure in their homes.

I, too, feel the frustration to do something to combat the gun violence and to end the daily tragedies where innocent lives are lost to drug-dealing thugs or deranged lunatics. I realize that the easy thing to do would be to vote for this legislation, win the praise of editorial boards, and walk away feeling as if I did something to stop gun violence. But when I remember that 93 percent of guns obtained by violent criminals are not acquired legally, I conclude that the focus on banning firearms is misplaced and misguided.

Instead, we must have the courage to pass and enforce measures which will give law enforcement officials the resources to put violent offenders away for life and make gang members think twice before picking up a firearm. This morning I have cosponsored amendments to this crime bill which will do just that—if an individual uses an assault weapon in commission of a crime, he will face a minimum of 30 years imprisonment. That, Mr. President, deals with our gun violence head on. I support the motion to table.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I had not initially planned to participate in the debate on this amendment. I do not serve on the Judiciary Committee, which crafted the crime bill. I do not live in a State with large urban centers that are struggling daily to deal with the human consequences of violent crime. And I do represent a constituency that largely rejects gun control as a policy approach to combating crime, a view that I strongly share.

As many of my colleagues know, I am a hunter and a sportsman. And I am not in the habit of supporting measures designed to restrict access to firearms. I have always felt we should get tough on criminals rather than penalize legitimate gun owners. I respect, and will vehemently oppose any challenge to, the second amendment to the Constitution.

But I also watch television. I read the newspapers. I talk with my colleagues who represent urban America. I understand the concerns of the residents of those cities and of the families of the men and women who constitute their law enforcement community.

We all understand that crime is a complex social problem that requires a comprehensive response. It requires more resources for law enforcement. It demands swifter and surer punishment of criminals. It requires more attention to the underlying social causes of crime, such as poverty, drugs, and the breakup of the family.

After careful deliberation, I have decided to support the Feinstein amendment. As a Senator from a rural State, I want to explain briefly why I have come to this position.

The debate on the Feinstein amendment should have less to do with its quantitative effect on reducing violent crime, and more to do with whether it will help the law enforcement community in its uphill struggle with criminals.

The Feinstein amendment is reasonable. It will help in our struggle to keep the most dangerous weapons off our streets. And it will not undermine legitimate gunowners' rights.

Like many of my colleagues, I would prefer not to place any restrictions on access to guns. I would prefer to live in a world where placing restrictions on access to guns is not even an issue because there is no reason for it. My greatest wish, however, is to live in a society where I do not have to fear for the safety of my children.

I know many of my colleagues have shared very personal experiences on this subject. Others have related stories they have heard secondhand, but that nonetheless touched them deeply. Regrettably, there is no shortage of such stories from which to choose. I have been fortunate in that I have had no brush with crime. And my family has been relatively safe from this terrible madness—so far. But that does not mean that I sleep easily at night. I still worry, and I still empathize with those who have suffered tragic losses as a result of the wave of violence sweeping our country. And I still join with them in their plea to stop this madness. We must stop this madness.

While I continue to believe that the key to fighting crime is stiffer penalties for criminals and resolution of the underlying societal problems that lead to crime, each day I am becoming more and more convinced of the necessity for reasonable measures like Senator FEINSTEIN's proposal.

And I believe it is reasonable. The Feinstein proposal would prohibit a specific number of guns classified as semiautomatic assault weapons. It would include an objective list of features and would allow additional weapons to be banned only if they contained

two or more of these features. At the same time, the proposal includes a comprehensive list of sporting and hunting guns, to the tune of 600 or 700 guns, that could never be banned under this legislation. Finally, the proposal would prohibit large capacity ammunition feeding devices that can hold over ten rounds of ammunition, with a specific exemption for devices that handle .22 caliber rimfire ammunition. The weapons the Feinstein amendment would restrict are not hunting or sporting weapons. The guns it would take off the streets are the weapons of choice for the cold-blooded killers that are terrorizing our society today.

Mr. President, there is no single solution to the crime problem we are facing today. The effect of this isolated amendment may be limited. But it will contribute to our overall effort, and it will not affect legitimate gunowners. This proposal is practical; it is reasonable; and it is fair. I urge my colleagues to support the Feinstein amendment.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today in support of the amendment offered by the Senator from California.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Throughout my service in Congress, I have been a strong supporter of second amendment rights. And I remain firmly convinced that the legitimate rights of American sportsmen must be protected.

Yet no right is absolute. Just as the right to free speech does not cover slander, certain fighting words, or yelling fire in a crowded theater, the right to bear arms must necessarily be limited when it is clearly necessary to protect society.

For this reason, I believe that every right carries with it a responsibility—a responsibility to, at a minimum, do no harm to others in the exercise of that right.

I am fortunate to represent a state where, for the most part, people exercise their second amendment rights responsibly. Montana is a State of sportsmen. Hunting is part of our heritage. It is something that makes life in Montana special.

And I take a back seat to no one—absolutely no one—in protecting the legitimate rights of Montana's hunters and sportsmen.

Growing up on a ranch, I also grew up around guns. My father taught me to hunt and to handle firearms responsibly. In the process, I developed a healthy respect for firearms and the damage they can do.

Sadly, though, this respect seems to have faded away in many communities throughout this Nation. The right to bear arms is alive and well, but the responsibility that should accompany this right is nowhere to be found. Too many guns—and too little respect for human life—have caused too many Americans to live in fear.

Just blocks away from this Capitol, people are dying virtually every night from gunshot wounds. Washington has become known as the murder capital of the Nation. And that is a national disgrace.

And Washington, DC, is not unique. The story is the same in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, and many cities across this Nation.

Beyond our cities, it is clear that crime has become a serious problem in rural America. Several years ago, I worked with the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Senator BIDEN, to add a comprehensive rural crime title to the crime bill.

Up until recently, violent crime—gun-related crime—was something that most Montanans just did not worry about. Yet, today, I cannot say that Montana has escaped the increase in gun violence.

Several weeks ago, for instance, two rival youth gangs met in a confrontation in the parking lot of a Billings fast food restaurant. While most of the injuries were caused by baseball bats, one young man took a hand gun and shot a rival gang member in the arm.

And last July, a Billings man shot and killed his sister-in-law. He then grabbed his two young children and fled in his car, with the police in hot pursuit. Once cornered, he attempted to use his own children as human shields while firing at the police.

THE NEED FOR DECISIVE ACTION

To be frank, this is an agonizing issue for me and many of my fellow Montanans.

For many years, I have contended that this and other gun control measures would not work. I continue to believe that stiff penalties, more police, and better law enforcement were the best ways to stem the violence. For this reason, I have supported virtually every amendment that would have imposed the death penalty for gun-related killings. Earlier today, for instance, I supported Senator D'AMATO's amendment imposing stiff mandatory sentences for gun crimes.

But, despite all we have done—and all the money we have spent—to clamp down on crime, we have still fallen short. The killings continue.

According to the FBI, the number of violent crimes committed with a firearm has almost quadrupled over the past three decades. And these numbers have risen most sharply over the past 8 years.

While my vote on the amendment by the Senator from California will cause some controversy at home, I am not the first Senator from Montana to have reached the conclusion that we must take action to halt the spread of guns and violence in our society.

Back in 1968, in the wake of Robert Kennedy's assassination, our former majority leader, Mike Mansfield, reached a similar conclusion.

Senator Kennedy's assassination had a profound effect on Senator Mansfield. Yet it was the senseless Washington murder of Thad Lesnick, a young marine lieutenant from Fishtail, MT, that Senator Mansfield said "was finally decisive in persuading me to the need for adequate firearms control legislation."

Although Senator Mansfield addressed this issue over 25 years ago, his words and his wisdom can provide guidance for us here today. Senator Mansfield said:

I have made my decision because I believe a Senator owes the people of his State not merely an echo but also a judgment. And in my judgment, dangerous and disturbing trends have developed in gun traffic and gun usage in this Nation. Guns as such are not the source of the difficulty, but these trends in irresponsible handling are part and parcel of the rising tide of violence that has come to plague the land. In these circumstances, I can no longer accept the position that the best response is no response. In my judgment, that is not an acceptable answer in view of the spread of murder and mayhem by firearms. * * * It is not an answer in view of the easy access to deadly weapons which is open to maniacs and madmen. It is not an answer in view of the problems of maintaining law and order which confront the hard-pressed police in the Nation's cities. To leave things as they are, in short, is not an adequate answer to one of the highest rates of gun killings and maiming—accidental or deliberate—in the world.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC SAFETY AND SPORTSMEN

When I began this statement, I stressed the importance of protecting the rights of sportsmen—the hunters and marksmen who enjoy shooting sports; who understand the importance of exercising their second amendment rights responsibly.

Moreover, I believe that most of Montana's sportsmen understand the need to control the spread of gun related violence. And I believe most of these Montanans are also willing to accept reasonable restrictions on access to the most dangerous types of firearms. So long as these restrictions do not threaten their rights to use and purchase sporting weapons.

I share this concern. I see the need to restrict access to truly dangerous weapons—weapons like the so-called Street Sweeper shotgun. But any such restrictions must meet two fundamental tests: First, they must be narrowly crafted so as to protect the legitimate second amendment rights of hunters and sportsmen; And, second, they must be directly related to reducing gun related violence.

I believe the amendment before us today meets both elements of this test.

It is narrowly crafted. This amendment would provide iron-clad, copper riveted protection for over 650 models of rifles, pistols, and shotguns presently lawfully in the hands of American sportsmen. Not a one of these weapons would be affected by the passage of this amendment. Mr. President,

I ask that a list of these protected weapons be printed in the RECORD following these remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BAUCUS. Beyond this, a number of provisions adequately protect the rights of American sportsmen. These include:

A grandfather provision that will prevent the confiscation of any weapons already legitimately in the hands of any American citizen—absolutely nobody who lawfully owns one of these weapons today will have it taken away; an exclusion for all weapons manually operated by bolt, pump, lever or slide action; an exclusion for semiautomatic with a fixed magazine; an exclusion for ammunition feeding devices capable of feeding less than 10 rounds; and an exclusion for permanently inoperable and antique firearms.

Along with the narrow scope of this amendment, it is clearly directed at reducing gun violence. The Senator from California has spoken eloquently about the tragedies assault rifles have caused in her native State.

Yet, even in a relatively low crime State like Montana, the proliferation of assault weapons is causing serious problems.

I was shocked to learn that in the city of Billings alone, there have been three recent potentially violent incidents involving assault weapons.

On two occasions over this past summer, Billings police apprehended a skinhead on his way to a local bar. On both occasions this skinhead possessed an assault rifle. And on both occasions, he told the police he wanted to "kill some Mexicans."

Billings Police Chief Wayne Inman—who also supports passage of this amendment—recently learned of a threat upon his life by an individual known to own an assault rifle.

If these sorts of incidents can occur in Billings, MT, they can occur anywhere in America. No American is safe. And Congress must act.

CONCLUSION

In closing, Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support this amendment. It is not a panacea for the problems of violence in our society. But it will help. And it is the right thing to do.

EXHIBIT 1

ASSAULT WEAPONS COMPROMISE DISCUSSION DRAFT—PROPOSED APPENDIX A: PROTECTED GUNS

CENTERFIRE RIFLES—AUTOLOADERS

Browning BAR Mark II Safari Semi-Auto Rifle.

Browning BAR Mark II Safari Magnum Rifle.

Iver Johnson M-1 Carbine.

Iver Johnson 50th Anniversary M-1 Carbine.

Marlin Model 9 Camp Carbine.

Marlin Model 45 Carbine.

Remington Model 7400 Auto Rifle.

Remington Model 7400 Special Purpose Auto Rifle.

Ruger Mini-14 Autoloading Rifle (w/o folding stock).

Ruger Mini Thirty Rifle.

CENTERFIRE RIFLES—LEVER & SLIDE

Browning Model 81 BLR Lever-Action Rifle.

Browning Model 81 Long Action BLR.

Browning Model 1886 Lever-Action Carbine.

Browning Model 1886 High Grade Carbine.

Cimarron 1860 Henry Replica.

Cimarron 1866 Winchester Replicas.

Cimarron 1873 Short Rifle.

Cimarron 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Cimarron 1873 30" Express Rifle.

Dixie Engraved 1873 Rifle.

E.M.F. 1866 Yellowboy Lever Actions.

E.M.F. 1860 Henry Rifle.

E.M.F. Model 73 Lever-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 73 Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 336CS Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 30AS Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 44SS Lever-Action Sporter.

Marlin Model 1894S Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 1894CS Carbine.

Marlin Model 1894CL Classic.

Marlin Model 1895SS Lever-Action Rifle.

Mitchell 1858 Henry Replica.

Mitchell 1866 Winchester Replica.

Mitchell 1873 Winchester Replica.

Navy Arms Military Henry Rifle.

Navy Arms Henry Trapper.

Navy Arms Iron Frame Henry.

Navy Arms Henry Carbine.

Navy Arms 1866 Yellowboy Rifle.

Navy Arms 1873 Winchester-Style Rifle.

Navy Arms 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Remington 7600 Slide Action.

Remington Model 7600 Special Purpose Slide Action.

Rossi M92 SRC Saddle-Ring Carbine.

Rossi M92 SRS Short Carbine.

Savage 99C Lever-Action Rifle.

Uberti Henry Rifle

Uberti 1866 Sporting Rifle.

Uberti 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Side Eject Lever-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Trapper Side Eject.

Winchester Model 94 Big Bore Side Eject.

Winchester Model 94 Ranger Side Eject Lever-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Wrangler Side Eject.

CENTERFIRE RIFLES—BOLT ACTION

Alpine Bolt-Action Rifle.

A-Square Caesar Bolt-Action Rifle.

A-Square Hannibal Bolt-Action Rifle.

Anschutz 1700D Classic Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Custom Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Bavarian Bolt-Action Rifle.

Anschutz 1733D Mannlicher Rifle.

Barret Model 90 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Beeman/HW 60J Bolt-Action Rifle.

Blaser R84 Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO 537 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO ZKB 527 Fox Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO ZKK 600, 601, 602 Bolt-Action Rifles.

Browning A-Bolt Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Stainless Stalker.

Browning A-Bolt Left Hand.

Browning A-Bolt Short Action.

Browning Euro-Bolt Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Gold Medallion.

Browning A-Bolt Micro Medallion.

Century Centurion 14 Sporter.

Century Enfield Sporter #4.

Century Swedish Sporter #38.

Century Mauser 98 Sporter.

Cooper Model 38 Centerfire Sporter.

Dakota 22 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.

Dakota 76 Classic Bolt-Action Rifle.

Dakota 76 Short Action Rifles.

Dakota 76 Safari Bolt-Action Rifle.

Dakota 416 Rigby African.

E.A.A./Sabatti Rover 870 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Auguste Francotte Bolt-Action Rifles.

Carl Gustaf 2000 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Heym Magnum Express Series Rifle.

Howa Lightning Bolt-Action Rifle.

Howa Realtree Camo Rifle.

Interarms Mark X Viscount Bolt-Action Rifle.

Interarms Mini-Mark X Rifle.

Interarms Mark X Whitworth Bolt-Action Rifle.

Interarms Whitworth Express Rifle.

Iver Johnson Model 5100A1 Long-Range Rifle.

KDF K15 American Bolt-Action Rifle.

Krico Model 600 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Krico Model 700 Bolt-Action Rifles.

Mausser Model 66 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Mausser Model 99 Bolt-Action Rifle.

McMillan Signature Classic Sporter.

McMillan Signature Super Varminter.

McMillan Signature Alaskan.

McMillan Signature Titanium Mountain Rifle.

McMillan Classic Stainless Sporter.

McMillan Talon Safari Rifle.

McMillan Talon Sporter Rifle.

Midland 1500S Survivor Rifle.

Navy Arms TU-3340 Carbine.

Parker-Hale Model 81 Classic Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 81 Classic African Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 1000 Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 1100M African Magnum.

Parker-Hale Model 1100 Lightweight Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 1200 Super Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 1200 Super Clip Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 1300C Scout Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 2100 Midland Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 2700 Lightweight Rifle.

Parker-Hale Model 2800 Midland Rifle.

Remington Model Seven Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington Model Seven Youth Rifle.

Remington Model Seven Custom KS.

Remington Model Seven Custom MS Rifle.

Remington 700 ADL Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington 700 BDL Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington 700 BDL Varmint Special.

Remington 700 BDL European Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington 700 Varmint Synthetic Rifle.

Remington 700 BDL SS Rifle.

Remington 700 Stainless Synthetic Rifle.

Remington 700 MTRSS Rifle.

Remington 700 BDL Left Hand.

Remington 700 Camo Synthetic Rifle.

Remington 700 Safari.

Remington 700 Mountain Rifle.

Remington 700 Custom KS Mountain Rifle.

Remington 700 Classic Rifle.

Ruger M77 Mark II Rifle.

Ruger M77 Mark II Magnum Rifle.

Ruger M77RL Ultra Light.

Ruger M77 Mark II All-Weather Stainless Rifle.

Ruger M77 RSI International Carbine.

Ruger M77 Mark II Express Rifle.

Ruger M77VT Target Rifle.

Sako Hunter Rifle.

Sako Fiberclass Sporter.

Sako Safari Grade Bolt Action.

Sako Hunter Left-Hand Rifle.

Sako Classic Bolt Action.

Sako Hunter LS Rifle.

Sako Deluxe Lightweight.

Sako Super Deluxe Sporter.

Sako Mannlicher-Style Carbine.

Sako Varmint Heavy Barrel.

Sako TRG-S Bolt-Action Rifle.

Sauer 90 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage 110G Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage 110CY Youth/Ladies Rifle.

Savage 110WLE One of One Thousand Limited Edition Rifle.

Savage 110GXP3 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage 110F Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage 110FXP3 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage 110GV Varmint Rifle.

Savage 112FV Varmint Rifle.

Savage Model 112FVS Varmint Rifle.

Savage Model 112BV Heavy Barrel Varmint Rifle.

Savage 116FSS Bolt-Action Rifle.

Savage Model 116FSK Kodiak Rifle.

Savage 110FP Police Rifle.

Steyr-Mannlicher Sporter Models SL, L, M, S, S.T.

Steyr-Mannlicher Luxus Model L, M, S.

Steyr-Mannlicher Model M Professional Rifle.

Tikka Bolt-Action Rifle.

Tikka Premium Grade Rifles.

Tikka Varmint/Continental Rifle.

Tikka Whitetail/Battue Rifle.

Ultra Light Arms Model 20 Rifle.

Ultra Light Arms Model 28, Model 40 Rifles.

Voere VEC 91 Lightning Bolt-Action Rifle.

Voere Model 2165 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Voere Model 2155, 2150 Bolt-Action Rifles.

Weatherby Mark V Deluxe Bolt-Action Rifle.

Weatherby Lasermark V Rifle.

Weatherby Mark V Crown Custom Rifles.

Weatherby Mark V Sporter Rifle.

Weatherby Mark V Safari Grade Custom Rifles.

Weatherby Weathermark Rifle.

Weatherby Weathermark Alaskan Rifle.

Weatherby Classicmark No. 1 Rifle.

Weatherby Weatherguard Alaskan Rifle.

Weatherby Vanguard VGX Deluxe Rifle.

Weatherby Vanguard Classic Rifle.

Weatherby Vanguard Classic No. 1 Rifle.

Weatherby Vanguard Weatherguard Rifle.

Wichita Classic Rifle.

Wichita Varmint Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 Sporter.

Winchester Model 70 Sporter WinTuff.

Winchester Model 70 SM Sporter.

Winchester Model 70 Stainless Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 Varmint.

Winchester Model 70 Synthetic Heavy Varmint Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 DBM Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 DBM-S Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 Featherweight.

Winchester Model 70 Featherweight WinTuff.

Winchester Model 70 Featherweight Classic.

Winchester Model 70 Lightweight Rifle.

Winchester Ranger Rifle.

Winchester Model 70 Super Express Magnum.

Winchester Model 70 Super Grade.

Winchester Model 70 Custom Sharpshooter.

Winchester Model 70 Custom Sporting Sharpshooter Rifle.

CENTERFIRE RIFLES—SINGLE SHOT

Armsport 1866 Sharps Rifle, Carbine.

Brown Model One Single Shot Rifle.

Browning Model 1885 Single Shot Rifle.

Dakota Single Shot Rifle.

Desert Industries G-90 Single Shot Rifle.

Harrington & Richardson Ultra Varmint Rifle.

Model 1885 High Wall Rifle.

Navy Arms Rolling Block Buffalo Rifle.

Navy Arms #2 Creedmoor Rifle.

Navy Arms Sharps Cavalry Carbine.

Navy Arms Sharps Plains Rifle.

New England Firearms Handi-Rifle.

Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 5 Pacific.

Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 1.5 Hunting Rifle.

Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 8 Union Hill Rifle.

Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 4.5 Target Rifle.

Remington-Style Rolling Block Carbine.
Ruger No. 1B Single Shot.
Ruger No. 1A Light Sporter.
Ruger No. 1H Tropical Rifle.
Ruger No. 1S Medium Sporter.
Ruger No. 1 RSI International.
Ruger No. 1V Special Varminter.
C. Sharps Arms New Model 1874 Old Reliable.

C. Sharps Arms New Model 1875 Rifle.
C. Sharps Arms 1875 Classic Sharps.
C. Sharps Arms New Model 1875 Target & Long Range.

Shiloh Sharps 1874 Long Range Express.
Shiloh Sharps 1874 Montana Roughrider.
Shiloh Sharps 1874 Military Carbine.
Shiloh Sharps 1874 Business Rifle.
Shiloh Sharps 1874 Military Rifle.
Sharps 1874 Old Reliable.
Thompson/Center Contender Carbine.
Thompson/Center Stainless Contender Carbine.

Thompson/Center Contender Carbine Survival System.

Thompson/Center Contender Carbine Youth Model.

Thompson/Center TCR '87 Single Shot Rifle.

Uberti Rolling Block Baby Carbine.

DRILLINGS, COMBINATION GUNS, DOUBLE RIFLES

Baretta Express SSO O/U Double Rifles.
Baretta Model 455 SxS Express Rifle.
Chapuis RGExpress Double Rifle.
Auguste Francotte Sidelock Double Rifles.
Auguste Francotte Boxlock Double Rifle.
Heym Model 55B O/U Double Rifle.
Heym Model 55FW O/U Combo Gun.
Heym Model 88b Side-by-Side Double Rifle.
Kodiah Mk. IV Double Rifle.
Kreighoff Teck O/U Combination Gun.
Kreighoff Trumpf Drilling.
Merkel Over/Under Combination Guns.
Merkel Drillings.
Merkel Model 160 Side-by-Side Double Rifles.

Merkel Over/Under Double Rifles.
Savage 24F O/U Combination Gun.
Savage 24F-12T Turkey Gun.
Springfield Inc. M6 Scout Rifle/Shotgun.
Tikka Model 412s Combination Gun.
Tikka Model 412S Double Fire.
A. Zoli Rifle-Shotgun O/U Combo.

RIMFIRE RIFLES—AUTOLOADERS

AMT Lightning 25/22 Rifle.
AMT Lightning Small-Game Hunting Rifle II.

AMT Magnum Hunter Auto Rifle.
Anschutz 525 Deluxe Auto.
Armscor Model 20P Auto Rifle.
Browning Auto-22 Rifle.
Browning Auto-22 Grade VI.
Krico Model 260 Auto Rifle.
Lakefield Arms Model 64B Auto Rifle.
Marlin Model 60 Self-Loading Rifle.
Marlin Model 60ss Self-Loading Rifle.
Marlin Model 70 HC auto.
Marlin Model 9901 Self-Loading Rifle.
Marlin Model 70P Papoose.
Marlin Model 922 Magnum Self-Loading Rifle.

Marlin Model 995 Self-Loading Rifle.
Norinco Model 22 ATD Rifle.
Remington Model 522 Viper Autoloading Rifle.

Remington 552BDL Speedmaster Rifle.
Ruger 10/22 Autoloading Carbine (w/o folding stock).

Survival Arms AR-7 Explorer Rifle.
Texas Remington Revolving Carbine.
Voere Model 2115 Auto Rifle.

RIMFIRE RIFLES—LEVER & SLIDE ACTION

Browning BL-22 Lever-Action Rifle.

Marlin 39TDS Carbine.

Marlin Model 39AS Golden Lever-Action Rifle.

Remington 572BDL Fieldmaster Pump Rifle.

Norinco EM-321 Pump Rifle.

Rossi Model 62 SA Pump Rifle.

Rossi Model 62 SAC Carbine.

Winchester Model 9422 Lever-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 9422 Magnum Lever-Action Rifle.

RIMFIRE RIFLES—BOLT ACTIONS & SINGLE SHOTS

Anschutz Achiever Bolt-Action Rifle.

Anschutz 1416D/1516D Classic Rifles.

Anschutz 1418D/1518D Mannlicher Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Classic Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Custom Rifles.

Anschutz 1700 FWT Bolt-Action Rifle.

Anschutz 1700D Graphite Custom Rifle.

Anschutz 1700D Bavarian Bolt-Action Rifle.

Armscor Model 14P Bolt-Action Rifle.

Armscor Model 1500 Rifle.

BRNO ZKM-452 Deluxe Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO ZKM-452 Deluxe.

Beeman/HW 60-J-ST Bolt-Action Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt 22 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Gold Medallion.

Cabanass Phaser Rifle.

Cabanass Master Bolt-Action Rifle.

Cabanass Espronceda IV Bolt-Action Rifle.

Cabanass Leyre Bolt-Action Rifle.

Chipmunk Single Shot Rifle.

Cooper Arms Model 36S Sporter Rifle.

Dakota 22 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.

Krico Model 300 Bolt-Action Rifles.

Lakefield Arms Mark II Bolt-Action Rifle.

Lakefield Arms Mark I Bolt-Action Rifle.

Magtech Model MT-22C Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 880 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 881 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 882 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 883 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 883SS Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 25MN Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 25N Bolt-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 15YN "Little Buckaroo".

Mauser Model 107 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Mauser Model 201 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Navy Arms TU-KKW Training Rifle.

Navy Arms TU-3340 Carbine.

Navy Arms TU-KKW Sniper Trainer.

Norinco JW-27 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Norinco JW-15 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington 541-T.

Remington 40-XR Rimfire Custom sporter.

Remington 541-T HB Bolt-Action Rifle.

Remington 581-S Sportsman Rifle.

Ruger 77/22 Rimfire Bolt-Action Rifle.

Ruger K77/22 Varmint Rifle.

Ultra Light Arms Model 20 RF Bolt-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 52B Sporting Rifle.

COMPETITION RIFLES—CENTERFIRE & RIMFIRE

Anschutz 64-MS Left Silhouette.

Anschutz 1808D RT Super Match 54 Target.

Anschutz 1827B Biathlon Rifle.

Anschutz 1903D Match Rifle.

Anschutz 1803D Intermediate Match.

Anschutz 1911 Match Rifle.

Anschutz 54.18MS REP Deluxe Silhouette Rifle.

Anschutz 1913 Super Match Rifle.

Anschutz 1907 Match Rifle.

Anschutz 1910 Super Match II.

Anschutz 54.18MS Silhouette Rifle.

Anschutz Super Match 54 Target Model 2013.

Anschutz Super Match 54 Target Model 2007.

Beeman/Feinwerkbau 2600 Target Rifle.

Cooper Arms Model TRP-1 ISU Standard Rifle.

E.A.A./Weihrach HW 60 Target Rifle.

E.A.A./HW 660 Match Rifle.

Finnish Lion Standard Target Rifle.

Krico Model 360 S2 Biathlon Rifle.

Krico Model 400 Match Rifle.

Krico Model 360S Biathlon Rifle.

Krico Model 500 Kricotronic Match Rifle.

Krico Model 600 Sniper Rifle.

Krico Model 600 Match Rifle.

Lakefield Arms Model 90B Target Rifle.

Lakefield Arms Model 91T Target Rifle.

Lakefield Arms Model 92S Silhouette Rifle.

Marlin Model 2000 Target Rifle.

Mauser Model 86-SR Specialty Rifle.

McMillan M-86 Sniper Rifle.

McMillan Combo M-87/M-88 50-Caliber Rifle.

McMillan 300 Phoenix Long Range Rifle.

McMillan M-89 Sniper Rifle.

McMillan National Match Rifle.

McMillan Long Range Rifle.

Parker-Hale M-87 Target Rifle.

Parker-Hale M-85 Sniper Rifle.

Remington 40-XB Rangemaster Target Centerfire.

Remington 40-XR KS Rimfire Position Rifle.

Remington 40-XBBR KS.

Remington 40-XC KS National Match Course Rifle.

Sako TRG-21 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Steyr-Mannlicher Match SPG-UIT Rifle.

Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-I Rifle.

Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-III Rifle.

Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-IV Rifle.

Tanner Standard UIT Rifle.

Tanner 50 Meter Free Rifle.

Tanner 300 Meter Free Rifle.

Wichita Silhouette Rifle.

SHOTGUNS—AUTOLOADERS

American Arms/Franchi Black Magic 48/AL.

Benelli Super Black Eagle Shotgun.

Benelli Super Black Eagle Slug Gun.

Benelli M1 Super 90 Field Auto Shotgun.

Benelli Montefeltro Super 90 20-Gauge Shotgun.

Benelli Montefeltro Super 90 Shotgun.

Benelli M1 Sporting Special Auto Shotgun.

Benelli Black Eagle Competition Auto Shotgun.

Beretta A-303 Auto Shotgun.

Beretta 390 Field Auto Shotgun.

Beretta 390 Super Trap, Super Skeet Shotguns.

Beretta Vittoria Auto Shotgun.

Beretta Model 1201F Auto Shotgun.

Browning BSA 10 Auto Shotgun.

Browning BSA 10 Stalker Auto Shotgun.

Browning A-500R Auto Shotgun.

Browning A-500G Auto Shotgun.

Browning A-500G Sporting Clays.

Browning Auto-5 Light 12 and 20.

Browning Auto-5 Stalker.

Browning Auto-5 Magnum 20.

Browning Auto-5 Magnum 12.

Churchill Turkey Automatic Shotgun.

Cosmi Automatic Shotgun.

Maverick Model 60 Auto Shotgun.

Mossberg Model 9200 Regal Semi-Auto Shotgun.

Mossberg Model 9200 USST Auto Shotgun.

Mossberg Model 9200 Camo Shotgun.

Mossberg Model 6000 Auto Shotgun.

Remington 11-87 Premier Shotgun.

Remington 11-87 Sporting Clays.

Remington 11-87 Premier Skeet.

Remington 11-87 Premier Trap.

Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Magnum.

Remington 11-87 SPS-T Camo Auto Shotgun.

Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Deer Gun.

Remington 11-87 SPS-BG-Camo Deer/Turkey Shotgun.

Remington 11-87 SPS-Deer Shotgun.
Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Synthetic Camo.
Remington SP-10 Magnum-Camo Auto Shotgun.
Remington SP-10 Magnum Auto Shotgun.
Remington SP-10 Magnum Turkey Combo.
Remington 1100 LT-20 Auto.
Remington 1100 Special Field.
Remington 1100 20-Gage Deer Gun.
Remington 1100 LT-20 Tournament Skeet.
Winchester Model 1400 Semi-Auto Shotgun.

SHOTGUNS—SLIDE ACTIONS

Browning Model 42 Pump Shotgun.
Browning BPS Pump Shotgun.
Browning BPS Stalker Pump Shotgun.
Browning BPS Pigeon Grade Pump Shotgun.
Browning BPS Pump Shotgun (Ladies and Youth Model).
Browning BPS Game Gun Turkey Special.
Browning BPS Game Gun Deer Special.
Ithaca Model 87 Supreme Pump Shotgun.
Ithaca Model 87 Deerslayer Shotgun.
Ithaca Deerslayer II Rifled Shotgun.
Ithaca Model 87 Turkey Gun.
Ithaca Model 87 Deluxe Pump Shotgun.
Magtech Model 586-VR Pump Shotgun.
Maverick Models 88, 91 Pump Shotguns.
Mossberg Model 500 Sporting Pump.
Mossberg Model 500 Camo Pump.
Mossberg Model 500 Muzzel loader Combo.
Mossberg Model 500 Trophy Slugster.
Mossberg Turkey Model 500 Pump.
Mossberg Model 500 Bantam Pump.
Mossberg Field Grade Model 835 Pump Shotgun.
Mossberg Model 835 Regal Ulti-Mag Pump.
Remington 870 Wingmaster.
Remington 870 Special Purpose Deer Gun.
Remington 870 SPS-BG-Camo Deer/Turkey Shotgun.
Remington 870 SPS-Deer Shotgun.
Remington 870 Marine Magnum.
Remington 870 TC Trap.
Remington 870 Special Purpose Synthetic Camo.
Remington 870 Wingmaster Small Gauges.
Remington 870 Express Rifle Sighted Deer Gun.
Remington 879 SPS Special Purpose Magnum.
Remington 870 SPS-T Camo Pump Shotgun.
Remington 870 Special Field.
Remington 870 Express Turkey.
Remington 870 High Grades.
Remington 870 Express.
Remington Model 870 Express Youth Gun.
Winchester Model 12 Pump Shotgun.
Winchester Model 42 High Grade Shotgun.
Winchester Model 1300 Walnut Pump.
Winchester Model 1300 Slug Hunter Deer Gun.
Winchester Model 1300 Ranger Pump Gun Combo & Deer Gun.
Winchester Model 1300 Turkey Gun.
Winchester Model 1300 Ranger Pump Gun.

SHOTGUNS—OVER/UNDERS

American Arms/Franchi Falconet 2000 O/U.
American Arms Silver I O/U.
American Arms Silver II Shotgun.
American Arms Silver Skeet O/U.
American Arms/Franchi Sporting 2000 O/U.
American Arms Silver Sporting O/U.
American Arms Silver Trap O/U.
American Arms WS/OU 12, TS/OU 12 Shotguns.
American Arms WT/OU 10 Shotgun.
Armsport 2700 O/U Goose Gun.
Armsport 2700 Series O/U.
Armsport 2900 Tri-Barrel Shotgun.

Baby Bretton Over/Under Shotgun.
Beretta Model 686 Ultralight O/U.
Beretta ASE 90 Competition O/U Shotgun.
Beretta Over/Under Field Shotguns.
Beretta Onyx Hunter Sport O/U Shotguns.
Beretta Model SO5, SO6, SO9 Shotguns.
Beretta Sporting Clay Shotguns.
Beretta 687EL Sporting O/U.
Beretta 682 Super Sporting O/U.
Beretta Series 682 Competition Over/Unders.
Browning Citori O/U Shotgun.
Browning Superlight Citori Over/Under.
Browning Lightning Sporting Clays.
Browning Micro Citori Lighting.
Browning Citori Plus Trap Combo.
Browning Citori Plus Trap Gun.
Browning Citori O/U Skeet Models.
Browning Citori O/U Trap Models.
Browning Special Sporting Clays.
Browning Citori GTI Sporting Clays.
Browning 325 Sporting Clays.
Centurion Over/Under Shotgun.
Chapuis Over/Under Shotgun.
Connecticut Valley Classics Classic Sporter O/U.
Connecticut Valley Classics Classic Field Waterfowler.
Charles Daly Field Grade O/U.
Charles Daly Lux Over/Under.
E.A.A./Sabatti Sporting Clays Pro-Gold O/U.

E.A.A./Sabatti Falcon-Mon Over/Under.
Kassnar Grade I O/U Shotgun.
Krieghoff K-80 Sporting Clays O/U.
Krieghoff K-80 Skeet Shotgun.
Krieghoff K-80 International Skeet.
Krieghoff K-80 Four-Barrel Skeet Set.
Krieghoff K-80 RT Shotguns.
Krieghoff K-80 O/U Trap Shotgun.
Laurona Silhouette 300 Sporting Clays.
Laurona Silhouette 300 Trap.
Laurona Super Model Over/Unders.
Ljutic LM-6 Deluxe O/U Shotgun.
Marocchi Conquista Over/Under Shotgun.
Marocchi Avanza O/U Shotgun.
Merkel Model 200E O/U Shotgun.
Merkel Model 200E Skeet, Trap Over/Unders.

Merkel Model 203E, 303E Over/Under Shotguns.
Perazzi Mirage Special Sporting O/U.
Perazzi Mirage Special Four-Gauge Skeet.
Perazzi Sporting Classic O/U.
Perazzi MX7 Over/Under Shotguns.
Perazzi Mirage Special Skeet Over/Under.
Perazzi MX8/MX8 Special Trap, Skeet.
Perazzi MX8/20 Over/Under Shotgun.
Perazzi MX9 Single Over/Under Shotguns.
Perazzi MX12 Hunting Over/Under.
Perazzi MX28, MX410 Game O/U Shotguns.
Perazzi MX20 Hunting Over/Under.
Piotti Boss Over/Under Shotgun.
Remington Peerless Over/Under Shotgun.
Ruger Red Label O/U Shotgun.
Ruger Sporting Clays O/U Shotgun.
San Marco 12-Ga. Wildflower Shotgun.
San Marco Field Special O/U Shotgun.
San Marco 10-Ga. O/U Shotgun.
SKB Model 505 Deluxe Over/Under Shotgun.

SKB Model 685 Over/Under Shotgun.
SKB Model 885 Over/Under Trap, Skeet, Sporting Clays.
Stoeger/IGA Condor I O/U Shotgun.
Stoeger/IGA ERA 2000 Over/Under Shotgun.
Techni-Mec Model 610 Over/Under.
Tikka Model 412S Field Grade Over/Under.
Weatherby Athena Grade IV O/U Shotguns.
Weatherby Athena Grade V Classic Field O/U.
Weatherby Orion O/U Shotguns.
Weatherby II, III Classic Field O/Us.
Weatherby Orion II Classic Sporting Clays O/U.

Weatherby Orion II Sporting Clays O/U.
Winchester Model 1001 O/U Shotgun.
Winchester Model 1001 Sporting Clays O/U.
Pietro Zanoletti Model 2000 Field O/U.

SHOTGUNS—SIDE BY SIDES

American Arms Brittany Shotgun.
American Arms Gentry Double Shotgun.
American Arms Derby Side-by-Side.
American Arms Grulla #2 Double Shotgun.
American Arms WS/SS 10.
American Arms TS/SS 10 Double Shotgun.
American Arms TS/SS 12 Side-by-Side.
Arrieta Sidelock Double Shotguns.
Armsport 1050 Series Double Shotguns.
Arizaga Model 31 Double Shotgun.
AYA Boxlock Shotguns.
AYA Sidelock Double Shotguns.
Beretta Model 452 Sidelock Shotgun.
Beretta Side-by-Side Field Shotguns.
Crucelegui Hermanos Model 150 Double.
Chapuis Side-by-Side Shotgun.
E.A.A./Sabatti Saba-Mon Double Shotgun.
Charles Daly Model Dss Double.
Ferlib Model F VII Double Shotgun.
Auguste Francotte Boxlock Shotgun.
Auguste Francotte Sidelock Shotgun.
Garbi Model 100 Double.
Garbi Model 101 Side-by-Side.
Garbi Model 103A, B Side-by-Side.
Garbi Model 200 Side-by-Side.
Bill Hanus Birdgun Doubles.
Hatfield Uplander Shotgun.
Merkel Model 8, 47E Side-by-Side Shotguns.

Merkel Model 47LSC Sporting Clays Double.
Merkel Model 47S, 147S Side-by-Sides.
Parker Reproductions Side-by-Side.
Piotti King No. 1 Side-by-Side.
Piotti Lunik Side-by-Side.
Piotti King Extra Side-by-Side.
Piotti Piuma Side-by-Side.
Precision Sports Model 600 Series Doubles.
Rizzini Boxlock Side-by-Side.
Rizzini Sidelock Side-by-Side.
Stoeger/IGA Uplander Side-by-Side Shotgun.

Ugartechea 10-Ga. Magnum Shotgun.

SHOTGUNS—BOLT ACTIONS & SINGLE SHOTS

Armsport Single Barrel Shotgun.
Browning BT-99 Competition Trap Special.
Browning BT-99 Plus Trap Gun.
Browning BT-99 Plus Micro.
Browning Recoilless Trap Shotgun.
Browning Micro Recoilless Trap Shotgun.
Desert Industries Big Twenty Shotgun.
Harrington & Richardson Topper Model 098.

Harrington & Richardson Topper Classic Youth Shotgun.
Harrington & Richardson N.W.T.F. Turkey Mag.
Harrington & Richardson Topper Deluxe Model 098.

Krieghoff KS-5 Trap Gun.
Krieghoff KS-5 Special.
Krieghoff K-80 Single Barrel Trap Gun.
Ljutic Mono Gun Single Barrel.
Ljutic LTX Super Deluxe Mono Gun.
Ljutic Recoilless Space Gun Shotgun.
Marlin Model 55 Goose Gun Bolt Action.
New England Firearms Turkey and Goose Gun.

New England Firearms N.W.T.F. Shotgun.
New England Firearms Tracker Slug Gun.
New England Firearms Standard Pardner.
New England Firearms Survival Gun.
Perazzi TM1 Special Single Trap.
Remington 90-5 Super Single Shotgun.
Snake Charmer II Shotgun.
Stoeger/IGA Reuna Single Barrel Shotgun.
Thompson/Center TCR '87 Hunter Shotgun.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, if no one else seeks the floor, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I just took a phone call from the President who said that if I thought it would do any good, to please come to the floor and indicate that this bill has his strong support.

I also have a letter from the Attorney General which has just arrived, saying:

Your amendment is a well reasoned and balanced approach to the problem of the proliferation of assault weapons on our Nation's streets. The President and I strongly support this measure and hope that it will be adopted.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, DC, November 9, 1993.

Hon. DIANNE FEINSTEIN,
Hart Senate Office Building, U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR FEINSTEIN: I commend you for your leadership in seeking a ban on new semiautomatic assault weapons. These weapons have no sporting purpose, but instead are used all too often in violent crimes with tragic consequences.

Your amendment is a well reasoned and balanced approach to the problem of the proliferation of assault weapons on our nation's streets. The President and I strongly support this measure and hope that it will be adopted.

Sincerely,

JANET RENO.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that a list with the endorsements of 53 different organizations that have endorsed a ban on assault weapons be printed in the RECORD. These involve labor organizations, police organizations, religious organizations, and medical associations.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A.F.S.C.M.E.
AFL-CIO.
AFL-CIO, Public Employee Department.
African Methodist Episcopal Church.
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.
American Academy of Pediatrics.
American Academy of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation.
American Association of Retired Persons (AARP).
American Bar Association (ABA).
American College of Emergency Physicians.
American Federation of Teachers (AFT).
American Jewish Committee.
American Jewish Congress.
American Medical Association (AMA).

American Medical Student Association.
American Psychiatric Association.
American Public Health Association.
Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
B'nai B'rith International.
B'nai B'rith Women.
Emergency Nurses Association.
Episcopal Church, Washington Office.
Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association.
Fraternal Order of Police (FOP).
Gray Panthers.
International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).
International Brotherhood of Police Officers (IBPO).
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
League of Women Voters.
Major Cities Chief Administrators.
Mennonite Central Committee, Washington Office.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
National Association of Counties.
National Association for Multi-Cultural Counseling and Development.
National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO).
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Education Association (NEA).
National Leagues of Cities.
National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE).
National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.
National Sheriffs' Association.
National Urban League.
Police Executive Research Forum (PERF).
Police Foundation.
Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Religious Action Center.
Unitarian Universalist Association, Washington Office.
United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society.
U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I thank those colleagues who come forward tonight, indicating their support for this. My understanding is that Senator BOREN and Senator DASCHLE were, hopefully, going to come to the floor also to speak on it.

I would like, if I might, just to quickly recap what this amendment does. It does three things. It incorporates the specific list from Senator DECONCINI's prior legislation.

Second, these are the most common military assault weapons, all of which were developed originally for weapons of war. It takes from Senator METZENBAUM's legislation certain physical characteristics. If the weapons have enough of these physical characteristics such as, in a certain category the detachable magazine, and two other characteristics, they then are prohibited for future manufacture and sale.

It sets penalties. It has a 10-year sunset clause so it can be evaluated. It calls for a study after 5 years. Then it exempts and protects all guns with in-

ternal magazines, 650 to 700 current-model hunting and recreational weapons, which are listed in the appendix and are made expressly part of the law. All manually operated weapons are exempted: Bolt, slide, pump and lever action. And all guns lawfully possessed before the date of enactment are grandfathered by this legislation.

In essence, what this legislation does is protect the legitimate rights of collectors, of sportsmen, of hunters, but says to the people who are afraid to walk to the bank at night, that they might be part of a casual assault, a drive-by shooting or whatever, that we are going to do our level best to curb the proliferation of these weapons.

As I said, there are 1 million of them in the United States. As you and I both know, these weapons can be easily bought, with the Street Sweeper, through a catalog by anybody for \$540.

They are capable of enormous violence and damage. Somebody walking in this Chamber, firing just a couple of rounds with the right shot could wipe out everyone in the Chamber. No one is given a chance with these kinds of weapons.

I hope that after all the examples everyone has spelled out—Senator DANKFORTH, Senator BOXER, Senator METZENBAUM, Senator DECONCINI, Senator KENNEDY, everyone who has spoken on this bill—that there will really be an opportunity. I know we are very close to the votes. It is very important, I think, that we protect the people of our Nation with this one.

I want to thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, could I speak for 8 minutes as in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I would not ordinarily object. I simply ask my colleague from Iowa, is he addressing the matter before the body or is it another matter?

Mr. GRASSLEY. Another matter that took place in the House of Representatives today.

Mr. EXON. I will not object, Mr. President, although there have been some of us who have been waiting to talk to this matter. I will not object if I can have the assurance of my friend and colleague from California that she will be available for some questions that I have. If she is going to be available for 8 minutes, I will be glad to try and accommodate my friend from Iowa. Although I do hesitate objecting, I do say that I have concern about this matter of interrupting legitimate debate on a matter at hand when people are waiting to address this in order to accommodate—

Mr. GRASSLEY. I will make it easy for my colleague. I will withdraw my request.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, could I ask the courtesy of my colleague from California if she would try and answer a question or two I have regarding the legislation?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. If I can.

Mr. EXON. First, could you clarify for me what rights or what adverse effects would the legislation in the form of an amendment that you are offering to the important crime bill, what adverse effect would this have on collectors of guns, of which there are many in the United States? Can they still buy, sell, and trade, getting down to the transfer issue?

I recognize that, of course, they can buy, sell, and trade all of the hundreds of weapons that you have excluded, by definition, in your amendment.

How about the 13 classes of weapons generally called automatic weapons that are the heart and soul, as I understand it, of your amendment. How would those be affected with regard to collectors or owners of such guns and especially the transfer issue, as I understand it, references?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. To the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, the answer to your question is, yes, they can sell weapons legally in their possession at the time the act is enacted. This legislation is essentially a freeze on the production of new weapons, but everything that is legally in possession is essentially grandfathered.

Mr. EXON. If I stand corrected, I hold a picture of a SWD M-119. I do not have one, but if I had one of these guns now, then I could sell or dispose of it in any fashion I wished, if I had it. But what your amendment would really do is to end, as I understand it, the availability of such weapons in the future.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. That is correct.

Mr. EXON. That is part and parcel of the grandfather clause.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. That is correct.

Mr. EXON. Let me then further make sure that I understand this. Once again, if I were critical of your legislation that it did not go far enough—I do not intend to be in that position; I am only phrasing the question in this manner for clarification purposes—what you are really doing then is saying that anyone who now owns one of these 13 classifications of weapons that you reference, a collector or otherwise would have the full right to sell or transfer those weapons now owned to any other party.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. That is correct. All guns, lawfully possessed before the date of enactment, are exempt from this legislation.

Mr. EXON. That is also true then, if I may pursue the questioning one step

further, with regard to the death of a gun owner, it could be transferred under a will as directed by the person who is deceased or could be awarded by the courts in a legal proceeding with regard to the disposition of an estate?

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. The answer to the Senator from Nebraska is in the affirmative. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. EXON. I thank my friend from California.

Mr. President, I am a gun owner. I own hunting rifles and hunting shotguns. I have been a gun owner all of my adult life. Even before I was an adult, I owned a gun. Save one or possibly two, I do not know a single male member of my family who does not own a hunting gun of some type. But even if they did not, they would all know that dad or grandfather has an adequate inventory of hunting guns that would be available to them any time they wanted to use them.

I say that only to try and set what I am about to say in a realistic, reasonable, and honest manner. I will simply say that I have never been a member of the National Rifle Association, but I have been supportive of the basic tenets of what the NRA has subscribed to over the years. I first got into some difficulty with the National Rifle Association, although it had not been mentioned on the floor, I think one of the first times that we were able to pass legislation here opposed by the National Rifle Association. Those who have been here long enough will remember that as the plastic gun problem. Plastic guns were becoming very common. They were guns that could be smuggled very easily through any surveillance system at an airport, for example, or any public facility where we have certain regulations and equipment to detect weapons.

I crossed the NRA on that particular proposition, and we were able to solve that finally by not outlawing plastic weapons but requiring, by law, that the weapons no longer be invisible to screening devices in public places because they had to have something that would show up on the screen that does the screening when we go through, for example, airport security.

I have supported and will continue to support many of the worthy goals of the National Rifle Association.

I did so last week when we appropriated money once again basically that went to the National Rifle Association for the purpose of providing safety schools, safety training, rifle shooting facilities that I think have been one of the great contributions the National Rifle Association has made.

I would simply say, though, that in this particular situation I will ask to be a cosponsor of the legislation introduced by my colleague from California, and I wish to make a few remarks on how I reached this decision, as difficult as it was.

First, I would like to say that our office has been flooded the last couple of days with my constituents back home and other people from around the country calling in to say "vote against the ban on guns."

I do not believe that the amendment carefully crafted by the Senator from California bans guns. It does ban—and I think correctly so, given the situation that faces America today—13 classes of killer weapons never designed or thought of for the legitimate purposes of hunting. This does not affect the sale or ownership of any legitimate hunting rifle or shotgun, and as has been just demonstrated by the responses to questions that I have asked the author of the legislation, this does not ban guns except and unless you wish to have further production and availability of more automatic killer weapons designed primarily for the killing of people and not legitimate hunting.

What this bill will not do—and I emphasize this—it is my view that this bill, unfortunately, will not stop most of the killings that we are now witnessing in horror and disbelief. But it will surely help end the rate of increases in the future and begin to eliminate the primary weapon for these types of killings and mass destruction.

It is time, Mr. President, that the Senate and hopefully the House of Representatives, that will have to take up this measure, recognize we have killing fields all over America today. We have abhorred the killing fields in different parts of the world, but I believe that in the United States of America the average citizen is more fearful today for the safety of themselves and their loved ones than ever before. Unfortunately, I believe that the Senator from California would be the first to agree that passage of this act is not going to eliminate all or most of those fears.

But what the Senator from California is addressing is, is it not about time that we stop, look, and listen, and pass reasonable legislation such as that offered by the Senator from California to try to cut down the availability of these weapons of killing in the future.

I simply say, Mr. President, that in addition to all of this, although I have not heard from our police forces in America, I would have to think if we can pass this type of legislation, once again in the future we will have the hope of beginning to level the playing field that is now swiftly moving to supremacy by the outlaws and the killers against the police. Oftentimes, our law enforcement officials themselves are the first ones to be mowed down in the killing fields.

I simply say, Mr. President, that it seems to me this is the time when we must step up to the bar. If there is anything more important about the future that our crime package is trying to address, it has to go to the heart of these

weapons of mass destruction. Certainly this does not mean that some of the hunting rifles that I own and are very prevalent in the United States of America cannot or will not be used—or handguns—for drive-by shootings. We are not going to solve that problem.

If there is any criticism of this legislation, it might be considered too fainthearted, not tough enough. I am not subscribing to this, but I would simply point out, make it clear to those who have not studied this piece of legislation that it does not confiscate any guns. It makes no significant change whatsoever, no change whatsoever in the right of an individual to own and buy legitimate hunting rifles or shotguns.

I would simply say, Mr. President, that while there will be attacks made on this as antigun ownership, I repeat once again I think it would not be unfair to characterize the amendment offered by my colleague from California as the hunting gun ownership rights act because it spells out very distinctly that certainly hunting rifles owned by law-abiding citizens can and should be a part of our society, and I would hope that because of this debate, although I assume there will be arguments to the extreme contrary in this Chamber, the Senate will rise to the occasion at this juncture and take what I think is at least a tiny step forward to addressing the serious crime problem of which guns are an important part as we address the future of our country.

Mr. President, I thank my friend from California for answering my questions. I believe that she has accepted the fact that I would like to be a cosponsor of the measure, and I urge its adoption by the Senate.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE. I know the Senator from Oklahoma has been waiting. If I can just take 1 minute. It would be our intention to move to table this amendment maybe in about—it will take time for some people to get back. If we set it at 9:30, that would give everybody an opportunity to return to the Capitol.

Let me tell you why. We have all kinds of gun amendments, and there is going to be a gun bill up here as soon as we finish the crime bill. It seems to me that is the appropriate time to talk about different gun amendments. We would hope that in an effort to complete the crime package—we think we have a good one—we would not start down this road. I know anybody has a right to do whatever they want. But it would seem to me if we can table this amendment and let it come back up at the appropriate time on the Brady bill, whatever, it would be in the interest of getting a good, tough crime package out of here, into conference, wherever.

And so at 9:30, there will be a motion to table the pending amendment.

Mr. BIDEN. Will the Republican leader yield for a question?

Mr. DOLE. I would be happy to yield. I do not want to delay the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. BIDEN. Knowing the Republican leader and what a very good counter he is, I suspect he would not be moving to table unless he thought he had a reasonable chance of tabling. But let me ask the question. Has the Republican leader contemplated what might happen if in fact there is, if a tabling motion fails?

Is there a desire then to move tonight to a vote on this measure?

Mr. DOLE. That would probably be unlikely. We would not want to do that, at least until the debate was over on NAFTA.

Mr. BIDEN. The vote or the debate?

Mr. DOLE. Maybe even the vote. That would be coming up soon. But we have another idea in mind. We can maybe have a cloture vote tonight on the amendment and on the bill tonight. If the Senator from California gets cloture, we might be willing to surrender. If not, then we could get cloture on the bill, and wrap this bill up in about 30 minutes.

Mr. GRAMM. Will the distinguished leader yield?

Mr. DOLE. Would that be satisfactory?

Mr. BIDEN. I would have to consult with my leader on that.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I want to thank the distinguished Republican leader. I believe there are Members of the Senate who support this amendment. I am not one of them. But I think there are Members who support it. I have several gun amendments that I intend to offer. I think the people living in the District of Columbia who have no convictions ought to be able to have a firearm in their home to protect themselves. I want the Senate to vote on that.

We have an instant check amendment which we are ready to have the Senate vote on. We probably have 25 gun amendments either on the Democratic side of the aisle or the Republican side of the aisle.

The relevant point here is that we have crafted now what I believe is a potentially historic crime bill. If we start on guns tonight and we end up with 25 amendments, we are going to greatly delay this bill. We are certainly not going to pass it before we go home. I am afraid in this whole process that the fragile alliance we put together could be torn apart. And, finally, when this bill is finished, when we have passed a crime bill, we are going to immediately go to a gun bill. And we are all going to have an opportunity to offer our amendments. The amendment that we are talking about tonight will be offered again. It will either be ac-

cepted or rejected on a bill that is dedicated to the gun issue.

The amendment that I want to offer giving law-abiding citizens the right to have a firearm to protect themselves in their own homes in the "murder capital" of the country will be debated and voted on. But I do not want to offer it here as something that would be destructive of our efforts to pass the crime bill.

So I hope that people who want to vote for the motion to table, whether they are for the amendment or not, so that we can pass a crime bill, hopefully tomorrow, and then we can bring up the gun bill, the distinguished Senator from California can then offer her amendment. It will be voted on. I can offer my amendments. They can be voted on. Others can do the same.

We will have the crime bill. We will have an opportunity to have a gun bill. It seems to me that is the logical direction that we should go in. I hope people will keep that in mind when they vote. (Mrs. MURRAY assumed the chair.)

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I say to my friend from Texas, in my experience I have found the Senator from California to be a very bright and insightful Senator. I think that she has found that the crime bill may be a better horse to ride than the Brady bill.

But I understand the Senator's point. He has made it clear.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BOREN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. BOREN. Madam President, I thank my colleague. I want to begin by complimenting Senator EXON, our colleague from Nebraska, for the remarks he made just a few moments ago. I think very often we find ourselves incapable of addressing this very important issue to our society because we are in the midst of a debate that is often distorted by those with polar positions.

Like the Senator from Nebraska said, if this were an amendment to ban guns, if this were an amendment to confiscate guns, if this were an amendment to deny to those who wish to use weapons for sport legitimately in this country, I would be opposed to it. If this were an amendment that was aimed at taking away the rights guaranteed under the second amendment to the Constitution to keep and bear arms, I would not be supporting this amendment.

That is not at all what this amendment does. This amendment does exactly what we should seek to do as responsible representatives of the people; that is, strike a fair balance, one that addresses a dire need in our society to curtail the violence in our communities and in our streets, to protect those law enforcement officers who are out defending us and yet find themselves the principal victims and targets

of assault weapons that are in use by the criminal community in this country; that seeks to reduce that violence and to protect law enforcement people while at the same time recognizing the legitimate constitutional rights of Americans to keep and bear arms and to keep them for proper purposes.

I commend the Senator from California for striking that balance so carefully, so thoughtfully in this amendment.

Like the Senator from Nebraska, I wish to ask unanimous consent, Madam President, that I be added as a cosponsor of the amendment of the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BOREN. Madam President, I go back to the point at hand. None of us wants to infringe constitutional rights. None of us wants to see weapons banned that have a legitimate sporting purpose. This amendment does not do that.

But we have to face the fact that when we talk about the wave of violence in our society, when we talk about a bill that is aimed at reducing crime and the threat of crime in our society, some meaningful provisions that govern the use of certain kinds of weapons are not only relevant to this bill, but they are at the very heart of the objective of this bill of reducing the level of violence and crime in our society.

The facts speak for themselves. Semiautomatic assault weapons are a significant crime problem in America's increasingly violent society. It is estimated that 1 million semiautomatic assault weapons are currently on the streets in this country. These weapons are designed to maximize lethal effects. They are not sporting weapons. They are designed to kill, to kill people through a rapid rate of fire, firing dozens of bullets in seconds. They have become the gun of choice for the commission of crimes, violence, gang wars, and the armies of drug lords.

Just look at the statistics. Less than one-half of 1 percent of privately owned guns in this country are assault weapons, and yet they are used in 12.5 percent of all the narcotics crimes, 25 times the rate of the ownership of these guns in our society. They are one-half of 1 percent of privately owned guns, but they are used in 11 percent of Gun Control Act violations. That is the use of guns by repeat offenders and convicted felons to commit crimes after they have served their original prison sentences.

While they are only one-half of 1 percent of the guns privately owned in this country, they are used in 30 percent of all of the crimes carried out by organized crime in our society.

So the figures speak for themselves. If we are serious about trying to find a way to reduce violence in our society,

to reduce violent crime in our society, to protect those law enforcement officers, those men and women who are putting on the uniform and going out on the streets to defend us and to make sure that we are safe and to make sure that our families are safe and that our children are safe on the way to and from school, if we are serious about meeting our responsibility to those law enforcement officers, then we should stop and take a close look at this amendment. And after we do, I think we are going to find very strong reasons to support it.

Assault weapons are 17 times more likely to be traced to crime than conventional firearms. The United States already bans the importation of semiautomatic assault weapons. This legislation would just also prohibit domestic production in the future of these firearms.

A recent study found that two-thirds of assault guns traced to crime are manufactured domestically. We have already recognized the special category into which assault weapons fall. We have already recognized that in our law and by the action of our Government by banning their importation. That is simply not going to do the job when two-thirds of those being used in crimes in this country are domestically produced.

The Feinstein amendment represents a carefully crafted approach, designed to get these guns off of our streets while at the same time protecting the legitimate interests of law-abiding Americans to own guns. The ban is prospective only. As the Senator from Nebraska just said a moment ago, it is not going to confiscate weapons that are now lawfully owned by Americans. Moreover, all guns made in the future will have the date of manufacture on them so the act can be enforced without requiring all gun owners to register their weapons.

The legislation exempts from coverage approximately 700 guns, by name. Again, as the Senator from Nebraska has indicated, in many ways, this bill could be hailed as a bill which recognizes the rights of American citizens to legitimately own guns that are used for the right kinds of purposes, instead of eating away at the right of Americans to keep and bear arms appropriately.

This legislation underlines and recognizes and enforces that right. It is not a radical proposal; it is a proposal in keeping with the Constitution; it is a proposal that should be embraced and supported by those who uphold the right of American citizens, peacefully, to keep and bear arms for legitimate purposes, including for sporting purposes.

These guns are weapons that have legitimate sporting purposes, and it is important to remember that not all semiautomatics are assault weapons. But such sporting guns do not have the

killing capacity of assault weapons. The comprehensive list of over 700 is far-reaching and covers every sporting weapon that could be identified by the author of the amendment.

The amendment simply bans a very short list of specific semiautomatic assault weapons. It also adopts a clear objective test for semiautomatic assault weapons that will be banned in the future. Such weapons must have a detachable magazine and at least two other physical characteristics, such as a grenade launcher, bayonet mount, or folding or telescoping stock.

So this is the kind of legislation that promises to protect our citizens from the terror and violence of assault weapons, while safeguarding the rights of law-abiding Americans who use guns to hunt or to protect their homes and their families.

Madam President, it is often said every time we consider legislation of this kind: Well, any time you make any exception at all, any time you ban any category, any time you try to take action of any kind in this area, it is the nose of the camel under the tent. It is the beginning of the end. It is going to end up depriving all Americans of the right to legitimately keep and bear arms under the Constitution.

Madam President, it is time that we take a more mature approach than that. In fact, I think that attitude of saying we are not going to take any reasonable steps to curtail the use of these kinds of weapons to commit violent crimes in our society undermines, because of the lack of logic of that position and lack of reasoning and lack of balance, the arguments of those of us who fervently believe in the constitutional right to keep and bear arms for legitimate purposes.

I heard the Senator from Nebraska talk earlier about proposals that we struggled with on the floor of the U.S. Senate in regard to those weapons—we called them plastic weapons at that time, weapons not detectable by devices in airports and by our Customs Service, as those people were searched to come into our country. At the time that amendment came to the floor, I was privileged to serve in this body as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, during a period of time in this country in which we were acutely aware of the threat posed by terrorists who were attempting to smuggle different kinds of weapons into this country and do so in ways in which they could not be detected. It would have been irresponsible had we closed our eyes to the threat of terrorism in our society by arguing simply that we cannot do anything at all and pass any amendment with the word "gun" in it, because somehow we are striking at the basic constitutional right to keep and bear arms.

Madam President, we must not forever be frozen into inaction by the fear

that our legitimate concerns and reasonable actions in keeping with the Constitution, in keeping with the desire to protect those who have legitimate sporting purposes for having guns, rifles and shotguns—we must not be frozen into inaction by the fear that our motives can be distorted, or that somebody can oversimplify our position, or that somebody can produce a 30-second spot in the heart of a campaign that distorts our position, that tries to make our constituents believe that just because we are for banning weapons that terrorists might bring into this country, that could be used against their own families in their own communities, or that just because we want to put a stop to the use of assault weapons in our societies, that are used to kill people and threaten the law enforcement officers that put their lives on the line for us, that somehow we are then against the constitutional right to keep and bear arms, that we are against people having the right to have guns for sporting or other legitimate purposes.

Madam President, I believe that fear underestimates the intelligence of the American people. I do not think people from any other State in the Union in which more people own guns for sporting purposes than is true in my State. I do not think you would find constituents in any State represented in this Chamber where people feel more strongly about the constitutional right to keep and bear arms than do the people of my State. I share their convictions. But, at the same time, I have enough faith in the common sense of the people who sent me here to know that while they uphold the constitutional right, and while they do not believe in banning all guns, and while they do not want to interfere with legitimate sporting activity, I know that they have the common sense not to want to allow the criminal element of this country to be armed with assault weapons, to go out and outgun and outfight law enforcement officials who are spread so thin across this country trying to protect us.

Let us have faith in the common sense of our constituents. Let us have faith in our own judgment and to know that just because we take a responsible action to stop the spread of these kinds of weapons in our society, that it does not mean that any of us are going to stand here and allow for the erosion of the basic constitutional rights of the American people.

No, the people are ahead of us on that. They know better than to just be taken in by slogans or propaganda. Many members of organizations who are dedicated to protecting the constitutional rights to keep and bear arms are concerned that by taking extreme positions, these organizations began, over time, to erode public support for legitimate gun ownership in

this country. The best thing we can do to protect the constitutional right to keep and bear arms, the best thing that we can do to protect the right of those who want to use weapons for legitimate sporting purposes or for self defense or to protect their homes and families, the best thing that we can do is be responsible and strike a responsible balance by taking care of those weapons that are simply out on the streets as a danger to our society and not for legitimate use.

So, Madam President, I am proud to cosponsor the amendment of my colleague from California. I sponsor it as one that is devoted to the right to keep and bear arms, as one who believes that legitimate sporting weapons should never be banned in our country, or the right to have them. We should not put undue interference in the way of those who want to use guns for legitimate reasons.

But I also do it as one who sees what is happening to our society. It is being torn apart. It is being torn apart by violence, by crime, by drive-by shootings.

I was riding the other day with a person back from the airport. The person spoke with some accent. I turned to this particular gentleman, who was sharing the taxi with me. I asked him where he was from. He told me what country.

I asked: "Are you just visiting our country?"

He said: "No. I've lived here a number of years."

I said: "Are you an American citizen?"

He said: "I am considering becoming an American citizen." Then he said something that really chilled me. But, he said, "I have not done it yet because I have been so concerned by what I see is the rising tide of violence in American society."

I was shocked. I was struck down by his comment. I was hurt by it. I thought surely I would never live to hear that comment made about the United States of America and about our society, about a place that has been known for a spirit of community and civility and care for one another, a place where we never had to lock our doors—at least when I was growing up in a small community in Oklahoma and even in some of our cities, as well, a place where agreements were sealed with a handshake, a place where we thought of only other areas of the world where people had to live behind walls with barbed wire at the top and hire personal bodyguards to get to and from work.

We all visited those countries, those other countries where that kind of fear and that kind of concern reigned.

Madam President, we have to face the fact that it is beginning to happen here. When the mayor of our capital city even seriously considers request-

ing the National Guard, using the military to patrol the streets, again something we only think of in other countries of the world where regrettably they have not shared our own commitment to constitutional process and democratic Government. Even think about the possibility of that happening here, to think about the rate of violent crime in our society, to think about young people in our schools who have now large numbers, according to polling data, are afraid of their own schools, are afraid to go to and from school, parents that are afraid to send them. This is the United States of America?

Madam President, we cannot let that happen. We cannot stand by any longer and allow those who put their lives on the line for us to be without protection in the face of assault weapons where they are able to fire so many more rounds at our police officers than they are able to fire back in defense of ourselves and the defense of us.

We cannot wait any longer. It is not right for us to wait until another police officer is gunned down, another man or woman in uniform, sent there to play a role to defend our institutions and society. It is not right for us to wait until 10 more are killed or 100 are killed or other innocent victim is killed on the street corner, all because we are paralyzed in inaction because we have somehow polarized ourselves into the belief that we should act on the basis of what can be said in an oversimplified 30-second spot, or we have to be put in one camp or another, either you have legitimate gun ownership or banning all guns, or you are for the right to keep and bear arms under the Constitution, or you are against it.

Madam President, we are not forced to those extreme choices. There is another choice, a responsible choice, a reasonable choice. The Senator from California has had the courage, the foresight, and the intelligence to present us with that choice, one that protects legitimate gun ownership and the constitutional right while at the same time it begins to strike a fair balance in protection of law enforcement officers.

That is why the Fraternal Order of Police, the National Sheriffs Association favored the amendment of the Senator from California. That is why so many right-thinking people who own supporting weapons in this country favored the amendment of the Senator from California. That is why even many members of organizations which are devoted to try to preserve the right to keep and bear arms support the amendment of the Senator from California.

She has had the foresight to offer it. I say to my colleagues that it belongs on the crime bill because it strikes at the heart. It is relevant to the heart of what is fueling increased crime in this

country, along with other factors. It is a majoring factor. Let us not pretend it is not.

She had the intelligence and the foresight to present us with a choice, a middle path, a reasonable path that strikes a fair balance.

Let us have the wisdom and the courage to support her in voting for this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, we have allowed this debate to go on for quite a time now. Frankly, I want to compliment the distinguished Senator from California because she has presented this amendment in good faith, I am sure, and she has presented it in a very intelligent way. We admire that.

But it does not negate the fact that there are a lot of people opposed to it. It does not negate the fact that if this amendment becomes part of this bill, the best crime bill in history may go down to defeat.

I know the distinguished Senator from Delaware and I have worked our hearts out to try and bring the best crime bill together we possibly can, and it happens to be that now. I do not think you can beat what we have right now, considering the fact that we probably, and I hope will, strike the habeas part of this bill, even though that issue is something near and dear to my heart.

I led the fight 2 years ago to really reform our habeas corpus system in this country. It passed the Senate 58 to 40. It would stop the unnecessary frivolous litigation after litigation, appeal after appeal, that has been going on all over this country. It would stop it just like that while still protecting the constitutional and other rights of every convicted person.

I would like to do that again, but because we know that the habeas part of this bill can hang this crime bill up, both the distinguished Senator from Delaware and myself are willing to give up that debate, as important as it may be. It is important to me personally, and I think to anyone else who really looks at the travesty that goes on with multiple repeated appeals by people in prison; frivolous appeals that cost the taxpayers of every State millions and millions of unnecessary dollars.

But we both know we have to give that up, even though we would both like to resolve that problem in the interest of having a crime bill that will do something against crime in this country.

I have to tell you this particular amendment could cause us to lose this bill, not because standing alone it is going to be the worst thing that ever happened to any of us. It is because it will provoke all kinds of other amendments and cause us a lot of difficulty that will kill this bill. If that happens, the whole country ought to come down

on us, because as important as this may be to those who sincerely advocate it, as important as it may be, there are others who have a different view. Their view is very strongly held also and in good faith. And I happen to be on the other side.

Be that as it may, the amendment offered by my colleague would prohibit the transfer or possession of semiautomatic assault weapons. However, it has not been adequately explained just what an assault weapon is. In the wrong hands, any weapon is an assault weapon.

According to the FBI, in 1991 nearly five times as many individuals were murdered at the hands of criminals wielding knives, 3,405 people killed, than were murdered with rifles, 741, and most of those rifles were not the assault weapons listed in this amendment. In fact, all of them were not, according to what our facts are.

In fact, more people were murdered by criminals using blunt objects, such as hammers, 1,082, compared to the 741 with rifles. More people were murdered by criminals using their hands, their fists, or feet, 1,189.

You have 1.9 million violent crimes in our society committed in 1992. Less than 10,000 involved so-called assault weapons, and anything can be an assault weapon.

These statistics are from the 1992 FBI uniform crime reports.

But even if you disagree with that, the fact is whichever side you are on, if this amendment passes, we are endangering this bill.

There are sincere people on both sides of this amendment, although some may not like the tough-on-crime aspects of this bill.

Frankly, this is our one time in the last 8 years where we could really do something for our society, where we could really put the money behind our words because of the work of the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee. This is where we really could put 100,000 new policemen on the streets and help our cities, towns, and hamlets throughout this country. This is where we could put \$6 billion into new prisons to take care of these hardened, vicious, violent criminals who are just walking out of the revolving doors. This is where we could have a law against violence against women that would help to make tremendous inroads in that area; where we could beef up our FBI, our DEA, the Drug Enforcement Administration; where we could beef up Quantico, the greatest police academy in the world, where at least 1,000 top police people go and learn the very best methods of criminology and law enforcement available every year; where we can do something against rural crime. And, Mr. President, it is all financed, all paid for.

This is the first time in the whole time I have been here in 17 years where

we have been willing to do that, thanks to our distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee. And it is all going to go down the drain.

Now in a few minutes, the Republican leader is going to move to table the amendment. I hope my colleagues will consider tabling it. Because if this amendment passes, it is just the floodgate for everything else in our society, every other amendment that anybody has an idea about.

We have been able to keep some amendments off that literally would have hurt this bill terribly. We have worked very hard. It has been a day and night effort.

And I have to tell you, I hate to see this bill hurt because of any amendment, no matter how sincere, no matter how well thought out, no matter how important. Because I have to tell you, as important as many people feel this amendment may be, it is not as important as getting 100,000 police out there on the streets, or putting \$6 billion into building prisons, regional prisons, boot camps, and so forth, to take care of these hard and vicious criminals. It is not as important as the violence against women bill that women all over this country have begged us for. For years the Senator from Delaware and I have worked on this bill, along with Senator DOLE, for so many months and years. It is not as important as the beef-up of our courts, our prosecutors, our FBI, our DEA; or the effort in rural crime. All of these provisions could help make a tremendous dent in what is wrong with our society today.

Madam President, I hope that we will vote to table this amendment, not because it cannot come back for another day. The fact of the matter is that the distinguished Senator from Delaware offered to his side to bring up, to allow the Brady bill to come up right after this bill, where we will debate every one of these amendments straight up and fight them at that time. This amendment has every chance of coming up and being passed on that bill without harming this bill.

If there were no other opportunity for the distinguished Senators who feel so strongly about this amendment to bring it up, then I could understand. But there is going to be an open, important, valid, and fair good-faith opportunity immediately following the passage of this bill; immediately following.

The majority leader has promised that he will bring up the Brady bill and we can fight it out at that time. Then the substantive arguments can be made on our side against this amendment.

But, to be honest with you, this is a procedural problem. The offer has been made. There is no question that this amendment can be seen and can be debated and be voted up or down on the Brady bill. And that is where it ought

to be. It should not be here destroying what all of us have done and worked so hard to do.

I do not care how well thought out it is or how important it is. These provisions that we have already passed and worked on so hard are more important. And our society's problems are more important than having any single amendment added to this bill at this particular point, including this one. As well thought out and sincere about it as they are—I acknowledge that—I do not happen to agree with it. But the fact of the matter is that that is neither here nor there.

If there were no other opportunity to bring it up, I could understand it. But there is every opportunity, and we could have it out then at that time in a full and open debate and let the chips fall where they may. Why ruin this bill with this amendment at this particular time?

Now, I know there are those who feel that they should, no matter what. But, to be honest with you, this bill is more important than this amendment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MATHEWS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. MATHEWS. Madam President, I am proud to stand with my colleague from California and to be a cosponsor of this amendment which she has so courageously offered.

If we finish our work tomorrow evening, my plans are to go back to Tennessee and spend the next 3 days hunting. I am ready to take with me two shotguns, a Remington 1100 and another gun. I have a couple of rifles that I am going to take.

But these are not the type of guns we are talking about tonight. We are not talking about the guns that are used for sporting purposes.

The amendment which the Senator from California is offering would ban the manufacture, import, sale, possession, and transfer of at least 19 types of military-style semiautomatic weapons, as well as other weapons that meet objective, physical features criteria. It defines combinations of features that no longer would be permitted on future editions of firearms, thereby preventing embargoed weapons from being reissued under new names.

Weapons banned by this amendment are not by any stretch of imagination sporting firearms.

They are not weapons kept in private homes for family defense.

They are not weapons that I, as a lifelong Tennessean, see passed responsibly from generation to generation as honored emblems of family heritage.

These weapons are nothing but work tools for triggermen.

The names of these weapons are an ugly litany of violence: Uzi, Street Sweeper, Striker, you name it.

The Communist-designed AK-47 is the most widely used military assault

rifle in the world, and it has a gory history of massacring Americans, starting in Vietnam.

The AR-15 is the civilian version of the standard U.S. military rifle, and it has been serving soldiers of drug dealers, crime bosses, and armed cults equally well.

You will recall, Madam President, that more than 100 of these 2 weapons were uncovered at the Branch Davidian compound, and we know the terrible effect with which they were used.

Weapons restricted by this amendment are killer weapons intended only to kill people.

They do so with horrible firepower. They are murderous, bloody, and full of blame for the carnage that afflicts America.

Madam President, these guns have become weapons of mass destruction.

Their unchecked spread is an arms race in every sense.

It is a domestic arms race, and law enforcement authorities are losing it to drug dealers, drive-by shooters, gangs, carjackers, and crazies who have access to these weapons.

This amendment is a step away from terror on our streets and dread in our homes.

This amendment is a step toward assuring that the police who protect us are not outgunned by criminals.

That is why every major law enforcement organization in America supports this amendment.

I know—as does every Member of Congress—the concerns of law-abiding gunowners. I assure them that this amendment defines precisely the weapons affected by it.

The Senator from California, in her opening remarks, indicated that specifically some 650 to 700 weapons are exempted from the ban that is imposed herein.

The amendment is confined to weapons that have one purpose and that purpose is blowing human beings to bits. Our future is in doubt because we are slaughtering one another. We are a Nation of 250 million people with 250 million guns aimed at ourselves. We have a thousand Mogadishus in America and a thousand Bosnias. The American streets and neighborhoods have warlords and armed gangs and loan predators who do not need centuries-old hatred to justify the killing that is taking place everyday.

No feature of any weapon and no amount of firepower are too outlandish to be tolerated.

As any sports enthusiast will tell you, even the traditional 5-round shotgun must be plugged to fire no more than 3 rounds for most sporting purposes. No shotgun that can shoot 20 rounds can be considered a sporting weapon. Yet in my hometown of Nashville, TN, a company presently manufactures a 12-gauge semiautomatic shotgun fed by a 20-round drum. The

manufacturer calls it a combat shotgun. I call it a problem which we, as taxpayers, have to clean up.

An America in which children are slaughtered on public streets by the spray of automatic weapons is not a more perfect union. An America in which the police are outmanned and outgunned is not a nation that assures the general welfare. An America in which law-abiding men and women are trapped everyday in the crossfire is not a nation that knows domestic tranquility and the blessings of liberty. Yet that is precisely what is happening through the uncontrolled spread of these weapons.

Make no mistake about it, it is uncontrolled.

I support the right to own guns but not guns that are made and sold for the exclusive intent of killing people and not when those guns wind up in the hands of schoolchildren.

Let me quote testimony from a veteran police officer before a symposium on crime in America. It reads:

One day while sitting in my office * * * one of my officers * * * walked into the room and set upon my desk a fully loaded AK-47 with a banana clip which had been taken from a ten-year-old in one of the middle schools in the City of Detroit. * * * Visions of a classroom full of dead children raced through my head. * * * When I attempted to find out how those kids felt once they discovered this AK-47 was in their classroom * * * the children didn't think it was that big of a deal. That, ladies and gentlemen, is indicative of the illness that plagues our America.

Mr. President, I support the right to own guns, but not guns that are made and sold with the exclusive intent of killing people.

And not when those guns wind up in the hands of schoolchildren.

I support American police officers who call out to Congress for a fighting chance.

I support an America where playgrounds are not places of fear, where intersections are not killing fields, and where gun-toting thugs are not allowed to defame the second amendment rights of honest Americans.

That's why I have cosponsored this amendment, and that is why I urge every Member of this Senate to vote it into law.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam President, let me for a few moments this evening discuss the legislation that is before us, offered by the Senator from California, that I am extremely frustrated by—not the language of the legislation but what it may ultimately undo.

I was on the floor earlier today with my colleague from Wisconsin to propose to the Senate gun-limiting legislation, speaking to juvenile crime in this country. We got a unanimous, or near unanimous, vote in the Senate on that legislation. Why? Because it was compatible with the crime legislation that, in a very real and bipartisan way,

this Senate is now trying to pass and that I believe, and I think most of my colleagues believe, the country desperately wants and needs.

Does an assault weapon ban per se fit into the context of that legislation? For a few moments this evening, if we could do a bit of a reality check, I think what I am about to say will suggest that it probably does not fit. Politically, it is extremely popular.

What we have heard tonight on the floor of the Senate is the kind of political rhetoric that will make exciting headlines in tomorrow's newspapers and it will probably bring about a couple of excellent editorials on behalf of Senators who stand and talk about their brave and bold approach to changing the face of gun-owning America and removing from the streets of America all these dangerous weapons. We have heard the language tonight that these are weapons of choice by drug dealers, kingpins, criminals. Let us do some reality checks this evening for a few moments to see if all of those arguments really fit in the context of this important debate.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I indicated earlier I would about 9:30 or 9:35 move to table the amendment. I will be happy to wait until the Senator finishes his statement.

Mr. CRAIG. All right.

For a few moments this evening let us do some reality checking. The Senator from California, in her arguments tonight I must say, was somewhat typical of those who study the issue for the first time and then, in a very sincere and honest way—and I do not question that in any sense of the word—begin to make statements that I think are important for the record, that we establish the true context.

Earlier this evening Senator FEINSTEIN said that street sweeper shotguns can be purchased through the mail without any restriction at all.

That is simply not true. The Gun Control Act of 1968 banned all mail order sales of all firearms. If it is purchased through the mail today, it is an illegal act. And that is a fact.

The law also prohibited residents of one State from going into another State to obtain a firearm. Further, it is a \$5,000 fine and 5-year Federal felony for any person to transfer any firearm to anyone in one State from another State. And that is a fact of law.

The killer in those legal offices in San Francisco was able to obtain guns in Nevada only because he had identification showing him a resident of Nevada. There is a perfect case in point where that person by his act was already in violation of the law. But somehow the law did not stop it.

If we are going to pass a law, it ought to work. It ought to not be political window dressing that sounds awfully good, that might create a false illusion of security, but will not address the

problem of increased violence in America.

The only Supreme Court decision on the second amendment in this century, at which only one side was argued, indicated that it was particularly military-style firearms which are protected by the second amendment.

The most protected guns are the very ones which the Senator is trying to ban. Why? Because the Constitution does not speak to sporting purposes, does not speak to hunting, but in its context, speaks to self-defense and the defense of a nation. And it is not by accident that you might use a military gun for that purpose, or one of a military viewing.

The advocates of this legislation, I think, are inaccurate in distinguishing some of the arguments. Let me give another fact that is very frustrating to me in the whole of this debate.

The Senator from Tennessee just left the floor. He was talking about his plans to go hunting this weekend with shotguns, legal weapons. They are weapons to hunt with. But the Senator from California wants to ban those kinds of weapons that were used by James Huberty, in San Ysidro, CA.

Remember, he is the fellow who went into the McDonald's restaurant and killed 19 people. What did he go in there with?

He went in there with an Uzi—and she wants to ban those; a 9 mm carbine, conventional 9 mm pistol, and a 12-gauge model 12 shotgun. Where did the bulk of the killing come from? Eleven people were killed in the first minute and a half with the shotgun. Huberty used the shotgun first. He killed most of the people with the shotgun, that the Senator from Tennessee is going hunting with this weekend.

That is the reality check for tonight. She is banning the gun that was used second and third. Reality check says any gun, if the intent of those who hold it is to wreak havoc upon society, it can become an assault weapon. That is the whole of the text.

I could go on and often with these kinds of issues.

So the Senator from California needs to become a little more familiar with firearms and their deadly characteristics. I say that—

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Will the Senator yield for a point of personal privilege for a moment, please?

Mr. CRAIG. Yes, certainly.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. I am quite familiar with firearms. I became mayor as a product of assassination.

Mr. CRAIG. I am aware of that.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. They found my assassinated colleague and you could put a finger through the bullet hole. I proposed gun control legislation in San Francisco. I went through a recall on the basis of it. I was trained in the shooting of a firearm when I had terrorist attacks with a bomb at my

house when my husband was dying, when I had windows shot out. Senator, I know something about what firearms can do.

Mr. CRAIG. Senator, I am not accusing you of not knowing. What I am accusing you of is not framing the issue to understand the debate because what you just referenced in your tragic experiences, to my understanding, dealt with no assault weapons. That is reality. Your experience is a sad one. I hope I never have to go through that.

But it is legitimate to say in this debate that when you begin to ban assault weapons, you are not addressing the problem. The problem is not bound up in taking away guns. The problem is bound up in returning criminals to the streets and allowing them to repeat and repeat and repeat again.

Our colleague from Utah tonight made it very clear. This is an excellent crime bill. What did we do yesterday? Three strikes and you're out. That would have provided protection in the streets of San Francisco a great deal more than taking guns from law-abiding citizens. That is the issue at hand here.

There is no accusation, but it is darned important that we do a reality check, and a reality check says you get the criminals off the streets, you deal with it in a way that is important to not provide false security but to allow the American citizen to know that we are responding responsibly to a crime wave that is sweeping America, and that we deal with the criminal and not with the political pizzazz of the weapon.

Madam President, it might be helpful to have reality check on some of the statements made tonight.

The Senator from California is somewhat typical of those who want additional gun laws in that she does not understand current law.

Earlier this evening, Senator FEINSTEIN said that the Street Sweeper shotgun "can be purchased through the mail—without any restrictions at all."

That is simply not true. The Gun Control Act of 1968 banned all mail order sales of all firearms.

That law also prohibited residents of one State from going into another State to obtain a firearm.

Further, it is a \$5,000 fine and 5-year Federal felony for any person to transfer any firearm to anyone in another State or from another State.

The killer at those legal offices in San Francisco was able to obtain his guns in Nevada only because he had identification showing him as a resident of Nevada.

I am afraid that the Senator from California also does not have much familiarity with firearms. She said the guns on her list were selected on the basis of "deadly physical characteristics."

One of those "deadly physical characteristics" that she mentioned are bayonet lugs.

With all due respect, I have yet to hear of a single case of drug dealers making a bayonet charge.

The statement has also been made several times that these firearms are not used by marksmen. On the contrary, one of them, the Colt AR-15, is a standard rifle at the National Rifle Matches in Camp Perry, OH, and at hundreds of lesser competitions throughout the United States.

It has also been said tonight that this legislation does not affect second amendment rights, because these guns are not used for hunting. Again, that demonstrates a lack of understanding about the second amendment—which has nothing to do with hunting.

The second amendment was written to protect the rights of citizens to defend themselves and their communities.

The only Supreme Court decision on the second amendment in this century—at which only one side argued—indicated that it was particularly militia-style firearms which are protected by the second amendment. Those most-protected guns are the very ones that would be banned by this amendment.

Rather than get into a debate as to the meaning of the second amendment on this floor, I would refer my colleagues to an article in the December 1989 Yale Law Journal, written by constitutional scholar Sanford Levinson. It was entitled "The Embarrassing Second Amendment"—and he pointed out that the amendment is indeed an embarrassment to those who, like himself, would like to ban firearms.

The advocates of this legislation are carefully—though inaccurately—distinguishing between these guns and what they call conventional hunting guns. For instance the gentlelady from California referred to James Huberty, who killed 19 people at the MacDonald's in San Ysidro with, she said, "an Uzi."

In fact, Huberty was carrying three guns. A 9mm Uzi carbine, a conventional 9mm pistol and a 12-gauge model 12 shotgun. Eleven people were killed in the first 1½ minutes with that shotgun, before he switched to the other two guns. It is not known how many were killed with the Uzi or the conventional pistol, for both those guns use the identical 9mm cartridge.

The point is: It was Huberty who killed those people. The type of gun had nothing to do with it—except that the 12-gauge shotgun is far more lethal than the 9mm pistol.

That is not the conventional wisdom among this body, but that is a fact—and will be attested to by any firearms expert.

The statement by my friend from Arizona, that the "TEC-9 will shoot 1,000 bullets per minute, if modified" is in error. Firearms experts tell me that they know of no method of converting the TEC-9 to full automatic fire. If one were somehow converted, it would be a

violation of the existing 1934 and 1986 Federal laws.

And finally, no magazine-fed machinegun is capable of shooting a thousand rounds in 1 minute.

But that's mere quibble. I stoop to quibbling only because it corrects the record and I do believe this record should be accurate.

It is not correct, as my friend of New Jersey stated, that the guns on this list are "17 times more likely to be used in a crime than conventional guns." There is simply no reliable source for such a statement; my friend or his staff has been misled.

That statement is an interpolation of data from a study of BATF traces by the Atlanta Constitution. The data are incomplete because only 10 percent of guns coming to the attention of police are traced.

The fact is, all the available data show that very few crimes are committed with the guns that would be banned tonight.

I know that police often claim that these guns are "the choice of drug dealers" and similar flights of rhetoric. A couple of years ago a Baltimore police official made such a statement to a Maryland legislative body considering—and rejecting—legislation similar to that which we are debating.

One of the members of that committee, after hearing the assertion challenged by the Maryland State Rifle and Pistol Association spokesman, went to the Baltimore Police Department that very night and asked to see all those guns. There were only two—taken in a traffic stop, and not used in any known violent crime.

What has been ignored in tonight's debate is that these guns, though most are not used in hunting, are regularly used for self-defense—as many shopkeepers in the Los Angeles riots will testify.

A member of the committee, the late Congressman Larkin Smith, of Mississippi, a former sheriff who had had a long record of fighting drug gangs, said "I would."

No, the streetsweeper shotgun is not used for hunting or skeet shooting. But as Congressman Smith knew, it was a tremendously effective home defense gun. That factor of self-defense is being totally ignored in this debate.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by George Will entitled "Are We 'a Nation of Cowards'?" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE WE "A NATION OF COWARDS"?

(By George F. Will)

Jeffrey Snyder's timing is either perfect or perfectly awful. Just as there seems to be a coalescing consensus that the keys to controlling violent crime are more police and fewer guns, along comes Snyder to trouble the conscience of anyone who thinks so. In

his essay "A Nation of Cowards" in The Public Interest quarterly, he argues, with a potent blend of philosophy and fact as follows:

"Crime is rampant because the law-abiding, each of us, condone it, excuse it, permit it, submit to it. We permit and encourage it because we do not fight back immediately, then and there, where it happens . . . The defect is there, in our character. We are a nation of cowards and shirkers."

Strong words, those, but not stronger than his argument the gravamen of which is that the crime problem cannot be addressed without confronting the moral responsibility of the intended victim. Taking responsibility for one's life, family and community requires fighting back when threatened with violence. How? By possessing and mastering the means of resistance. He means an "equalizer"—a handgun. A responsible citizen, he says, "will be trained in the use of his weapon, and will defend himself when faced with lethal violence."

Before examining his argument for an armed citizenry, consider the freshest evidence of the nation's quickened concern about crime.

On Election Day voters in liberal Washington state gave emphatic (76 percent) approval to the "three strikes and you're out" initiative which mandates life imprisonment without parole for people convicted of three major felonies. California, although taxaphobic, nevertheless voted to make permanent an existing tax to provide \$1.5 billion for public safety—more police and firemen. (Arson has made fire a facet of California anxiety about crime.) Fiscally conservative Texas endorsed a \$1 billion bond issue to build more prisons and mental health facilities.

The day after the elections the House of Representatives, with a familiar mixture of posturing and false advertising, passed yet another crime bill, this one purporting to subsidize the hiring of 50,000 police officers. It probably would fund fewer. The Senate promptly pumped up the money. For 40 years Congress has passed a crime bill in every two-year session, except the last one. The criminal class has not been impressed.

The day after the elections the president held a ceremony to push the bill that would require a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a gun. The attention given to this "Brady bill" seems disproportionate, given that 93 percent of the guns obtained by violent criminals are not obtained through lawful transactions that are the focus of most gun control legislation.

More interesting, the day after the elections Sen. Pat Moynihan proposed whopping tax increases on various kinds of handgun ammunition. He even favors a 10,000 percent tax on the Winchester 9mm hollow-tipped Black Talon cartridge. ("Penetrates soft tissue like a throwing star—very nasty," boasts an advertisement.) That tax would make 20 cartridges cost about \$1,500. In large portions of Moynihan's New York City people are slain by stray—that's right, stray—bullets. Moynihan says: Guns do not kill people, bullets do. We have a 200-year supply of guns and a four-year supply of ammunition, so concentrate on the latter.

Snyder, an attorney in Washington, where the mayor begs for military help against crime, demurs, comprehensively. America, he says, is wrongly called an "armed society." He thinks we would be better off if it were. Most of the guns owned by law-abiding citizens are kept at home, but 87 percent of violent crimes occur outside the home. The constantly armed portion of the community

consists primarily of the police and violent criminals. Multiplying the former cannot make us safe from the latter.

Self-respect: It is, says Snyder, foolish and craven to expect police to perform as personal bodyguards. The existence of police does not relieve individuals of all responsibility for self-protection. That judgment has both prudential and moral dimensions. Gun owners like to say, "Call for a cop, call for an ambulance and call for a pizza. See which come first." The Department of Justice reports that in 1991, for all crimes of violence, only 28 percent of calls to the police were responded to within five minutes. And it is now more likely that an American will be injured by violent crime than that he will be injured in an auto accident.

Feminists, says Snyder, rightly insist that rape is not about sex but about domination. What is at issue in crime is not just property but dignity. Crime, he says, always violates the victim's dignity, which can hardly be said to exist if the victim does not deem it worth fighting for. Crime is "an act of enslavement" and a personal readiness to resist it should be regarded as a prerequisite of self-respect, properly understood. He notes that "self-respect," which implies standards by which one judges oneself, has been supplanted in public discourse by the locution "self-esteem," which simply means having warm feelings about oneself. Repeating the shibboleths of the gun control movement makes many people feel good about themselves. Snyder's argument should disturb their peace.

Much gun control advocacy is directed against normal citizens, who are depicted as at best benighted and at worst barbaric. Gun owners are routinely characterized as uneducated, intolerant, possibly paranoid rednecks—people urgently in need of re-education and "consciousness-raising" from the liberal agenda. In Mario Cuomo's depiction, gun owners are "hunters who drink beer, don't vote and lie to their wives about where they were all weekend." (Cuomo quickly recanted this. Gun owners do vote.) Actually, the gun-owning population is pretty much like the general population because approximately one of every two households has a gun.

Now, Snyder is right that the gun control movement often radiates distrust of average citizens, whose supposed mental and moral deficiencies are such that "only lack of immediate access to guns prevents the blood from flowing in the streets." Nevertheless, it is reasonable to wonder whether a nation whose citizens cannot program their VCRs and who increasingly will not respect stoplights (surely you have noticed the increasing lawlessness of drivers) is a nation whose citizens are insufficiently dexterous and too aggressive to be safely armed.

Snyder says the idea that only the police are qualified to use firearms is akin to saying that "only concert pianists may play the piano and only professional athletes may play sports." The flaw in Snyder's analogy is that if you play the piano unskillfully, you neither kill nor wound anyone. However, Snyder has evidence more powerful than his analogy.

In 13 states citizens who wish to carry arms may do so, having met certain requirements. Consider Florida, which in 1987 enacted a concealed-carry law guaranteeing a gun permit to any resident who is at least 21, has no record of crime, mental illness or drug or alcohol abuse, and who has completed a firearms safety course. Florida's homicide rate fell following the enactment

of this law, as did the rate in Oregon after the enactment of a similar law. Through June 1993, there had been 160,823 permits issued in Florida. Only 530, or 0.33 percent, of the applicants have been denied permits. This indicates that the law is serving the law abiding. Only 16 permits, less than 1/1000th of 1 percent, have been rescinded because of the commission, after issuance, of a crime involving a firearm.

Ninety percent of violent crimes are committed by persons not carrying handguns. This is one reason why the mere brandishing of a gun by a potential victim of violence often is a sufficient response to a would-be attacker. In most cases where a gun is used in self-defense, it is not fired. Can the average citizen be trusted to judge accurately when he or she is in jeopardy? Snyder answers that "rape, robbery and attempted murder are not typically actions rife with ambiguity or subtlety." Furthermore:

"Florida State University criminologist Gary Kleck, using surveys and other data, has determined that armed citizens defend their lives or property with firearms against criminals approximately 1 million times a year. In 98 percent of these instances, the citizen merely brandishes the weapon or fires a warning shot. Only in 2 percent of the cases do citizens actually shoot their assailants. In defending themselves with their firearms, armed citizens kill 2,000 to 3,000 criminals each year, three times the number killed by the police. A nationwide study by Don Kates, the constitutional lawyer and criminologist, found that only 2 percent of civilian shootings involved an innocent person mistakenly identified as a criminal. The 'error rate' for the police, however, was 11 percent, more than five times as high."

Concerning what we may call "the running of red lights syndrome" in contemporary America, I put the point to Snyder and he fired back a fax:

"Regarding your observation about our society's general level of aggressiveness and disregard for rules, you may wish to consider Robert Heinlein's famous dictum that 'An armed society is a polite society.' Knowing that one's fellow citizens are armed, greater care is naturally taken not to give offense. The proposition is, of course, difficult to prove, but you can find some support for it in English literature. Observe the polite formality with which strangers address each other in inns in, for example, Fielding's 'Tom Jones' or (with comedic exaggeration) in Dicken's 'Pickwick Papers.' While no doubt attributable in part to England's class structure and the education received by the aristocracy, I would hesitate to say that it had nothing to do with the fact that gentlemen generally were armed."

Or as is famously said in American literature, by the hero of Owen Wister's "The Virginian," "When you call me that, smile!" Such was politeness in the armed society of 19th-century Wyoming.

Finally, there is the matter of the Second Amendment. This Republic's Founders constitutionalized, which means they made fundamental, the right to possess firearms, and they did not do so unreflectively. They placed that right second in the Bill of Rights, yielding precedence only to rights pertaining to speech, worship and association, and they did that for philosophically serious reasons. The philosophy of classical republicanism recognizes a crucial relationship between personal liberty and possession of arms by a people prepared to use them. Snyder believes that the Second Amendment is as much a product of this philosophy as of

the Revolutionary War experience or the exigencies of frontier life: "To own firearms is to affirm that freedom is not a gift from government *** As the Founding Fathers knew well, a government that does not trust its honest, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens with the means of self-defense is not itself worthy of trust."

Yes, and yet *** no society can be called successful where violence is so prevalent and random that lawful citizens must go about prepared to dispense violence in self-defense. No one wants to live, raise children and grow old in such a society. But government is constituted to provide, first and foremost, domestic tranquility sufficient to make unnecessary the sort of personal measures that Snyder recommends. If such measures are becoming necessary, do not blame Snyder.

Snyder writes that "the association of personal disarmament with civilized behavior is one of the great unexamined beliefs of our time." Not anymore it isn't. His searching examination of it may not compel your assent—I remain unpersuaded—but it must shake some soothing assumptions regarding crime and civic responsibilities. I am among those whom Snyder faults, civilly but firmly, for insufficient rigor in reasoning about these matters. I find being reproved by him a bracing experience because it enlarges my understanding while subtracting from my certainties. I salute him and thank him.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam President, I yield back the remainder of my time for the purpose of the Republican leader moving to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I think we just had a little exchange that indicates why we should not be debating all these gun amendments on what started to be a pretty good crime bill. The very reason I will now move to table the underlying amendment, amendment No. 1151, in my view, is we have done some pretty good work in the past few days. Much of it has been bipartisan.

Now we are getting into an area where we have strong differences of opinion, some on each side of the aisle. I understand there are 20 or 25 gun amendments that may be offered since now we have sort of thrown down the gauntlet. Some of us would like to pass a tough crime bill. Some of us would like to finish work on it by tomorrow evening. We know that is impossible to even think about until we come back if we are going to continue to go through 20, 25 gun amendments.

So for all those reasons, I move to table and I ask for the yeas and nays. But before the vote, I ask that the Senator from Illinois have 2 minutes to summarize her statement. But I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I make this motion on behalf of myself and the distinguished manager, Senator HATCH. I ask unanimous consent that the vote

not start until the Senator from Illinois has 2 minutes to make a statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, first, I want to make crystal clear the issue before the Senate—a very simple choice, we can vote to keep these deadly, military-style assault weapons on the streets, where we know they have one purpose, and one purpose only: Killing other human beings. Or, we can vote to take these deadly military-style assault weapons off our streets. The choice is that simple.

The choice is that stark—stand with the NRA or stand with the overwhelming majority of the American people. Stand with the NRA or stand with the Nation's law enforcement officers.

The military-style assault weapons are not designed for hunting—for weapons like the Street Sweeper are meant to spray bullets from the hip; and they would leave any deer carcass mangled beyond recognition.

It has been more than 3 years since the Senate first passed Senator DECONCINI's legislation banning the manufacture and importation of 14 military-style assault weapons—on May 28, 1990, the Senate voted twice to defeat amendments to strip this legislation from the 1990 crime bill.

Later, the Senate acted again to support the ban on military-style assault weapons by passing the 1991 crime bill, including the DeConcini language, through the full Senate, 71-26.

The need for this action is as clear today, as it was when the Senate took action more than 2 years ago—for killer, military-style assault weapons have become the weapons of choice for drug dealers, violent juvenile gangs, and other dangerous criminals.

According to one study, an assault weapon is 20 times more likely to be used in a crime than a conventional firearm.

These military-style assault weapons have no legitimate hunting or sporting value. That is why President Bush banned the importation of 43 types of assault weapons in early 1989.

That is also why President Clinton added—in August—military-style assault pistols to the import ban.

In fact, 8 of the 18 firearms banned by the Feinstein-DeConcini-Metzenbaum bill are on the President Bush list of 43.

If these guns are so dangerous that an import ban is necessary, why not ban domestic-made assault weapons?

Recent events illustrate again—and with chilling vividness—the tragedy that results from the wide and easy availability of guns with firepower that overwhelms our police; or weapons that have no place in hunting or sport, whose only function is to kill human beings at a ferocious pace.

Earlier this year, on July 1, Mr. Gain Luigi Ferri fired more than 75 rounds

from two intratec TEC-D.C.-9 assault weapons in a San Francisco office tower—minutes after the shooting started, six innocent victims were dead, two more would die in San Francisco General Hospital, and six more were left wounded.

But, whatever year, whatever month you choose, examples of this kind of senseless, horrifying human carnage exists.

I would like to acknowledge the hard work of Senators DECONCINI, METZENBAUM, and FEINSTEIN in crafting this comprehensive bill to get these deadly weapons off our streets and out of the hands of criminals.

Over the past 4½ years, the Judiciary Committee has heard days of testimony, and reviewed reams of documentation. And, the record is clear—

According to all of the nation's leading law enforcement officials, military-style assault weapons are the "guns of choice" for the drug kingpins and violent street gangs;

In case after case of murderous rampages by disturbed and violent thugs, the ability of military-style assault weapons to kill and maim not just a few, but 8 or 10 or 14 or 35 in just minutes has been proven;

At a Judiciary Committee hearing convened in February 1989, we heard testimony from Ms. Lori Mackey, an elementary school teacher in Stockton, CA—and a firsthand witness to the killing of 5 children and wounding of 29 other children by Patrick Purdy; a killer able to bring such carnage in the space of just 5 minutes because he was armed with a semiautomatic AK-47.

Just a few months ago, in August, the Judiciary Committee heard testimony from two more Americans—both had lost loved ones in assault weapon attacks, and both will never be the same.

Four years passed between this testimony, and 4 years of obstruction by the NRA, kept our Nation at the mercy of these military-style assault weapons.

In addition, the committee has heard testimony from the Nation's leading hospital emergency room surgeons. They have pointed out—time after time—that these weapons of death leave bodies so shattered that even our best medical experts cannot save them.

The Nation's law enforcement officers are also united in their cry to get these deadly, military-style assault weapons off our streets. For these guns pose a particular danger to police officers. A senior official with the National Fraternal Order of Police [FOP]:

We know of numerous instances where police officers have been shot and in some cases killed by these assault weapons. * * *

The National Fraternal Order of Police voted overwhelmingly to endorse a ban on assault weapons in August at their annual meeting in Kentucky.

The assault weapons provisions would ban the domestic manufacture,

sale and importation of 18 types of military-style assault weapons—guns that were identified by law enforcement experts as most likely to be used in crime and that have little or no hunting or sporting value.

To avoid the so-called copycat problem—where manufacturers simply rename guns to avoid State assault weapons legislation—the amendment makes clear that replicas and duplicates of the listed firearms are covered as well.

In addition, to make clear that this ban applies only to military-style assault weapons, this ban would apply only to semiautomatic rifles and pistols that can accept detachable magazines that have at least two of the following characteristics: A grenade launcher; a flash suppressor; a bayonet mount; a folding stock; or a pistol grip.

Let me emphasize, even if a semiautomatic rifle or pistol that can accept clips of bullets has only one of these five characteristics—the weapon is not affected by this amendment.

But, if it has two or more—how can anyone argue with a straight face that this is a hunting rifle? How can anyone argue that these weapons belong on our streets?

In addition, this amendment expressly exempts more than 650 manual and semiautomatic guns from the ban—listing each of these weapons by name, and making it clear that they will not be subject to any of the restraints of this amendment.

And, this amendment includes a measure very similar to that of President Bush's 1991 crime bill (introduced by Senators, THURMOND, DOLE, SIMPSON, HATCH, D'AMATO, STEVENS, LUGAR, HELMS, DOMENICI, COATS, WARNER, NICKLES, MACK, LOTT, WALLOP, MCCAIN, MCCONNELL, GORTON, SMITH, BROWN, and CRAIG). That is, the Bush bill banned ammunition clips that hold 15 or more rounds. This amendment bans clips that hold 10 or more rounds.

Finally, this bill doubles the penalty for committing a crime with a military-style assault weapon—from 5 to 10 years.

It is important to know what the bill does not do:

It does not take guns away from legitimate owners; the ban applies only to future sales.

It does not require assault weapons owners to register their guns; it merely requires them to complete the same form that every other gun buyer must complete.

It does not give the Treasury Secretary authority to arbitrarily add guns to the list of banned weapons; only those weapons that fail the very specific test outlined in this legislation may be banned.

An assault weapons ban can work. Since the 1986 ban on the domestic manufacture of machine guns was passed, seizures of machine guns by Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials dropped dramatically in

1987, 1988, and 1989; the latest figures—from 1992 indicate that machine gun seizures have remained at less than one-half the pre-ban level.

Four years ago, it was clear to me that the Congress needed to take immediate action to get these deadly military-style assault weapons off our streets. And today, 4 years later, the case is clearer still—these weapons of death have taken the lives of too many Americans.

Now, it is time for all of us to choose—we can stand with the 500,000 law enforcement officers who have begged us to help protect them and vote to control these weapons of death, or we can stand with the NRA. It is just that simple.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise in strong opposition to the amendment offered by my colleague. At the outset, I want to express my compassion for the millions of honest law-abiding citizens victimized by crime in this Nation. In Utah, violent crime increased at a rate higher than the national average. We are here today debating how best to protect the safety of law-abiding citizens. They are why it is imperative that Congress pass a crime bill which will truly take steps to make our streets and neighborhoods safer.

The time for grand-standing and for feel-good measures which have no effect on controlling crime has long passed. The test by which our efforts here will be judged is whether law-abiding citizens will be safer in their homes and communities. Any provision which does not meet this goal has no place in this anti-crime legislation.

I admire and respect my colleague from California. But I must oppose her amendment, because like the proposals it attempts to bridge, it will do nothing to stem the tide of criminal violence in this country, and will do much damage to the rights of law-abiding citizens. In fact, in several key aspects, my colleague's amendment is the same as Senator METZENBAUM's bill, which is strongly opposed by many in the Congress.

The amendment offered by my colleague would prohibit the transfer or possession of semiautomatic assault weapons. However, it has not been adequately explained just what an assault weapon is. In the wrong hands, any weapon is an assault weapon. According to the FBI, in 1991 nearly 5 times as many individuals were murdered at the hands of criminals wielding knives, 3,405, than were murdered with rifles, 741. In fact, more people were murdered by criminals using blunt objects, such as hammers, 1,082. More people were murdered by criminals using their hands, fists, or feet, 1,189. Of the over 1.9 million violent crimes committed in 1992, less than 10,000 involved so-called assault weapons. (Florida State Study using 1992 FBI Uniform Crime Reports.) Yet, instead of centering its attention

on how Government can better apprehend and severely punish these heinous criminals, the Senate is considering an amendment which will, for the first time, ban the legal ownership of semiautomatic rifles. Yet, does anyone seriously doubt that criminals who wish to use such weapons will be able to do so? Instead of assaulting the criminal forces of society, this amendment assaults the rights of honest, law-abiding citizens.

Senator FEINSTEIN's legislation makes it unlawful to transfer or possess at least 20 firearms singled out by make and model. The fact is that the firearms this amendment targets are functionally the same as any other semiautomatic firearm. The only true distinction is their appearance. The characteristics which would define an assault weapon in my colleague's amendment are largely cosmetic characteristics which have no bearing on the weapons' function.

These characteristics include a folding or telescoping stock, a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon, a bayonet mount, and a flash suppressor. In the case of pistols, it also includes a barrel shroud. None of these characteristics has any demonstrable effect on the function of the weapon, or on its alleged popularity as a weapon for criminal activity. Moreover, none of these characteristics make the weapon any more lethal.

Mr. President, we already strictly limit the sale and possession of automatic firearms—firearms which shoot automatically more than one shot by a single pull of the trigger. A semiautomatic firearm, in contrast, fires only one shot for each pull of the trigger. Regardless of its appearance or any label of assault weapon placed on it, every semiautomatic fires one bullet for each pull of the trigger. Nor are these weapons more powerful than all others. Some sporting rifles—Remington semiautomatic 30.06—are more powerful than some so-called assault weapons.

The firearms this amendment would ban are not the weapon of choice of criminals. They rank behind handguns, shotguns, blunt objects, and knives. The vast majority of the semiautomatic firearms already owned around the country are used for legitimate lawful activities such as self-defense in the home, target shooting and competition, and collecting. Some are even used occasionally for hunting. In fact, millions of Americans own and use semiautomatic rifles and shotguns, and have for decades.

Banning these weapons will have no appreciable effect on the level of violent crime. There is simply no correlation between gun control laws and a reduction of crime. Police agree. The only scientific gun control survey ever conducted of law enforcement this past

June found that 65 percent of police felt that stricter gun control laws would be the least effective method of reducing violent crime. Only 1.1 percent cited guns and firearms as the most pressing cause of violent crime. [Southern States Police Benevolent Association, June 1993.] Despite the claims by this measure's proponents that law enforcement supports this measure, when the Judiciary Committee held hearings on this legislation in August, we learned that none of the law enforcement organizations which claim support for this bill has ever bothered to poll its members on this issue. To my knowledge, the June study I cited, which demonstrates little support for gun control among law enforcement is the only scientific survey on the subject.

Mr. President, what banning assault weapons will do, however, is do violence to the Constitution. Some will argue that the second amendment only grants to states a right to maintain a militia and confers on Congress the right to bar the ownership of guns which are not used for hunting purposes. I would simply note that the second amendment says nothing about limiting the use or ownership of firearms to hunting. Indeed, the history of the amendment clearly shows that the Drafters intended the second amendment as a personal liberty, and that it was seen as one of the cornerstones of our ability to resist tyranny.

Most of my colleagues justifiably take great pride in their zealous defense of individual liberties. Recently, we passed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, insuring that the free exercise of religion would continue to be protected in this country. Some of my colleagues are equally proud of their steadfast defense of the constitutional rights of accused, and convicted, criminals. I respect and admire their positions. Yet, when the second amendment rights of law-abiding citizens are at issue, their fervor for the rights of individuals wanes.

Mr. President, the Bill of Rights is not a menu of rights from which we can pick and choose those worthy of continued protection. Laws which diminish one of our rights diminish them all. Disregard for one of these rights is a dismissal of them all. The fact is that gun control strikes at the heart of our constitutionally protected right to keep and bear arms.

The proponents of this amendment claim that it will make our streets safe. This is not so. Banning the lawful ownership of semiautomatic weapons by law-abiding citizens will not keep weapons out of the hands of criminals. Nor will it prevent criminals from committing violent crimes. Benjamin Franklin said that "those who would give up essential liberty to purchase temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

In this case they would indeed get what they deserve. Our liberties would be greatly diminished, and both our liberty and our lives would be more endangered than before. I firmly believe our focus should be on crime control, not gun control. Let us create a credible criminal justice system, in which the criminals are behind bars. That is the only gun control that will make our neighborhoods safe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Madam President, my thanks to the Senator from Kansas for his graciousness.

Every major law enforcement organization in America supports this amendment and so do the American people. The public, which overwhelmingly supports a ban on assault weapons, understands that we are talking about banning instruments of mass destruction and we are talking about being proactive, instead of reactive, in our approach to crime. That is the reality check, whether or not we are going to get these weapons of destruction off the street before hundreds of people, thousands of people are killed or wait until the deaths have occurred, then talk about locking up the criminals.

These are guns that are designed exclusively to spray large groups of people with gunfire in a short period of time, guns that are designed not to fire precisely but to fire quickly. In other words, we are talking about guns that have no other purpose but to kill as many human beings as quickly as possible.

The testimony over the last couple days shows us very clearly that gun violence is tearing apart this society and assault weapons are one of the chief culprits. Semiautomatic weapons are disproportionately involved in crime. In fact, recent statistics show the semiautomatic weapon is 17 times more likely to be involved in a crime than a conventional firearm. And who in the society prefers these weapons, Madam President? The criminals who prey on us all.

In a survey of State prisoners conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, of all the inmates who admitted to owning a gun, more than 21 percent stated they had owned an assault weapon. In contrast, less than 1 percent of law-abiding gun owners possess these kinds of guns. It is time to stop the madness.

It may surprise some to know that in my youth in Illinois, I hunted small game and birds with my father and with my family. I would never favor gun control measures which would take guns away from hunters. I feel very strongly about protecting the second amendment. One thing I do know, Madam President, and that is you do not need an assault weapon or 70-shot magazine to hunt small game or even big game for that matter.

That is why Senator FEINSTEIN's amendment takes the right approach. It uses both a list of existing weapons and a set of functional characteristics to ban both those assault weapons which are on the street today and those which manufacturers may try to slip past us tomorrow.

And equally as important, to protect legitimate hunters and sports men and women, this amendment lists more than 600 rifles and sporting weapons that are explicitly exempted from the ban and also provides a set of functional characteristics to protect their successors.

It should always be legal in the United States to hunt game or enjoy target practice. But people are not targets, and we cannot continue to allow violent criminals to legally acquire the weapons to hunt people. It is time that we put an end to the slaughter. We talk about the need to disarm the so-called technicals in Somalia to preserve the peace in Mogadishu, yet on the streets of America we let every gangster or drug lord or grievance shooter walk around with weapons more deadly than those used by half of the armies in the world.

It just does not make sense.

All week long, we have been talking about crime. We have been talking about making the streets of this country safe for American citizens. I respectfully suggest, that there is no clearer test of our determination to do precisely that than whether we are willing to enact an assault weapons ban. I urge all of my colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to explain the amendment underlying the Feinstein amendment relating to the automated fingerprint identification systems which exist at the local, State, and Federal law enforcement levels. This amendment says that the FBI shall report to the Congress regarding the cost, benefit, and desirability of an improved automated fingerprint system which would make it more feasible for fingerprints found at the scene of a crime to be identified and used in the apprehension of suspects.

The automated fingerprint systems store the fingerprints of suspects and convicted felons in an automated file. These systems can be used to compare latent prints lifted at a crime scene against fingerprints of prior offenders already on file, and when comparing prints of a suspect against those of persons wanted, charged, or convicted for offenses committed in other jurisdictions.

The FBI is planning on fully automating its fingerprint identification and criminal history record system including implementation of a Federal-State-local partnership for maintaining and exchanging fingerprint and criminal history records.

The integrated system, known as IAFIS, permits law agencies to run far

more fingerprint checks than are feasible with manual processing. Many States and the FBI have made significant progress over the last decade in automating these systems. But the extent of automation and quality of records varies widely, and significant gaps in automation and record quality exists.

IAFIS emphasizes the electronic scanning, transmission, processing, and storage of fingerprints. The full transition from paper to electronic is expected to take years. Most record activity is within the home States because most criminals commit crimes near where they live. About 20 percent of State offenders have multi-State records. States face a major challenge as it is in maintaining high-quality criminal history records on their own. For IAFIS to work, each State would have to upgrade and automate its recordkeeping system and have systems that are compatible with the FBI system.

There are examples of the potentially high success rate of automated latent searches conducted at the State-regional-local level and many States report that old and/or difficult criminal cases have been solved due to latent matches that could not have been conducted manually.

California's system is one example. California has a statewide automated fingerprint identification system which provides automated fingerprint and criminal record services to local, county, and State law enforcement agencies. It searched over 7,000 crime scene fingerprints against the database yielding positive identifications in over 600 cases.

Each State's capabilities differ. The system is a tiered system where searches are first done at the local level—police departments, since most criminals live in the same locality where they commit crimes—and unmatched prints are sent to the State level, and finally to the FBI. The latent data is collected by caseload where there could be from 1-100 latent prints per case.

A fairly good automated fingerprint system could match 15-20 percent of latent print cases at the local level leading to the identification of a suspect in the crime. The State level could match another 5-15 percent of the latent cases sent there. Currently, approximately 15 percent of the latent cases sent to the FBI identify a suspect. For example, in 1992, there were about 13,000 latent cases sent to the FBI. Of that, about 2,000 of the cases identified suspects. That's a 15-percent success rate. In those 2,000 cases, a total of 2,427 suspects were identified because in some cases there are multiple suspects. And currently, most of the identification at the FBI level are not done through a modern automated system because the FBI does not currently have a very

good automated system. That is why this system needs to be improved.

If a totally automated system were developed where the FBI can access every State system, with the most advanced equipment, we'll see an appreciable percentage of increased matches leading to the identification of additional suspects. The increase could range as high as 30 percent more matches made, depending on how good the system is to start with on the local and State levels.

Using the 1991, 50 State latent case-loads as the base, I'll give you an example of what this might mean in raw numbers. In 1991, in the 50 State latent cases, there were 113,085 total cases of which 43,038 cases were submitted to States' automated systems and of that, 6,400 suspects were identified through those systems. That's a 15-percent match rate at the State level in 1991. An improvement of 30 percent over that base would mean roughly 13,000 more suspects would be identified.

The fight on crime has many battlegrounds. We need to consider whatever advanced technologies in fighting that battle. Improving the automated fingerprint system is one tool that we must explore. This amendment will help us do that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion to table amendment No. 1151 by the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, those in favor of the Feinstein amendment would vote no; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is not in a position to interpret the meaning of that particular amendment.

Mr. DOLE. Everybody ought to vote aye and then we can go on with the bill.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table amendment No. 1151. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 365 Leg.]

YEAS—49

Bennett	Dorgan	Lott
Bingaman	Durenberger	Lugar
Bond	Faircloth	Mack
Breaux	Gorton	McCaIn
Brown	Gramm	McConnell
Bryan	Grassley	Murkowski
Burns	Gregg	Nickles
Coats	Hatch	Packwood
Cochran	Heflin	Pressler
Cohen	Helms	Reid
Coverdell	Hollings	Sasser
Craig	Hutchinson	Shelby
D'Amato	Jeffords	Simpson
Dole	Johnston	
Domenici	Kempthorne	

Smith
Specter

Stevens
Thurmond

Wallop
Warner

NAYS—51

Akaka
Baucus
Biden
Boren
Boxer
Bradley
Bumpers
Byrd
Campbell
Chafee
Conrad
Danforth
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Feingold

Feinstein
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hatfield
Inouye
Kassebaum
Kennedy
Kerrey
Kerry
Kohl
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Lieberman
Mathews

Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moseley-Braun
Moynihan
Murray
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Robb
Rockefeller
Roth
Sarbanes
Simon
Wellstone
Wofford

So the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 1151) was rejected.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I move to lay that on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I think what we should do now is just pass this bill. We have heard speeches from everybody—Democrats, Republicans, and folks who are not categorized—saying how important and significant this bill is. The fact of the matter is, the assault weapons provision is now attached to the bill. I am asking to pass the amendment, to be more precise. Let us pass the amendment and get on with the business of the Senate.

Look, anybody who voted on this amendment tonight, the likelihood of those who voted for the amendment of the Senator from California—by voting "no", they voted for the Senator from California—are very unlikely in the near term to change their vote without running the risk of changing their address and location, in terms of whether or not they continue to serve in the United States Senate. So the likelihood of those who voted like I did, for the Senator from California, changing their vote is about zero.

Consequently, we know there are 51 votes for this measure, as there were 4 years ago when we passed a similar amendment on assault weapons—different but similar—by 51 votes. Now it is a simple proposition. My Republican friends can either acknowledge the inevitable or they can filibuster a bill they have all stood up and said—not

all, but many—is the most significant Federal effort to deal with violent crime in the history of the United States of America.

I cannot believe that, in the end, there will actually be a real live filibuster to bring this bill down. I find it incomprehensible that that will occur, although, some incomprehensible things have occurred in the Senate in the 20 years I have been here. I just think why do we not save everybody a lot of difficulty. I support this assault weapons provision. Let us pass it and go over and fight it out in the House. That is the next place they can fight it. Why bring down an entire crime bill because they lost? This is a little bit like "I lost, so I am taking my ball and I am going home."

Now, we can dither around here for a day, 2 days, 3 days, but we all know that there is no way to sustain in the end, 41 people to say we are not going to give the American people relief from crime. This is a \$21 billion relief package, with 100,000 police officers, \$6 billion for prisons, \$1.2 billion for drug courts, and, before this is over, probably \$1.1 billion for FBI agents and for help at the Federal level.

Are you all telling me that because you lost by two votes, you are going to deprive the American people of this bill? I do not think that is where we are going to end up. Why waste the time and try to prove to the world the Senate cannot act very well? Why not move forward? I asked my friend from Utah about that, and he said, "Let us just bring the whole bill down." Well, what an unusual position to take—as hard as he has worked to get much of what is in this bill for rural law enforcement, for help to local police, and all his work on violence against women with me and the majority leader and minority leader. That is what is in this bill. All of what everybody has said in every speech I have heard in the last few days, everybody is talking about how critical this is. It is critical.

So I really hope that we will just go ahead and vote on this thing and be done with it and fight it out in the House, fight it out in conference. But are you really going to bring this bill down? Are you really going to bring this crime bill down and do what you did for 2 years? In the last 2 years, everybody said the real reason why the Republicans filibustered the crime bill that in the last 2 years we passed in the conference was because of habeas corpus. Malarkey. It was about guns then; it is about guns now. The whole world sees it.

So why do we not just vote and give the distinguished Senator from California, who has done a masterful job—I do not know many freshmen who have come here and in this short a time put together such a significant vote. Why not lose gracefully? Why do you not lose gracefully and let the woman win?

She has the votes. Let us move on. Let us vote.

I yield the floor.

EXPLAINING VOTE AGAINST THE AMENDMENT CONCERNING PROSECUTION OF JUVENILES INTRODUCED BY SENATOR MOSELEY-BRAUN

Mr. DODD. Madam President, I rise to explain my vote against Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN's amendment which would require the prosecution as adults of juveniles aged 13 or older who are charged with certain Federal offenses. The amendment passed the Senate on November 5.

Clearly, the problem of juvenile crime has reached a crisis level. It seems that every day there is another story in the newspapers about a child committing a violent crime. Frequently, these crimes involve the use of a firearm or other weapon. Between 1987 and 1991, juvenile arrests for weapons violations increased by 62 percent.

In order to combat this crisis, I have been working on several measures that will help make our schools and streets safer for our children. The Safe Schools Act, which I introduced on behalf of the Clinton administration earlier this year, would provide grants so that schools could create a safe and secure environment for students. Additionally, my Police Partnership for Children Act would link police and child and family services agencies in an effort to help children deal with violence. Of course, I also support the provisions in the crime bill that will help local police crack down on gangs.

Although I support efforts to reduce juvenile crime, the Moseley-Braun amendment raised some serious concerns. As was pointed out by Senators BIDEN and SPECTER during the debate, the amendment would severely limit the discretion of prosecutors in cases involving juveniles. Certainly, there are some juveniles who commit horrible crimes, and they should be tried as adults. However, there will also be cases in which a Federal prosecutor will not want to try a juvenile as an adult, because there are circumstances warranting leniency. Under the Moseley-Braun amendment, Federal prosecutors will lose that discretion.

Furthermore, 13 is a very young age. Again, there are juveniles who commit crimes when they are very young. But is 13 really the best place to draw the line? The underlying Biden bill would provide grants to States to prosecute violent 16- and 17-year-olds as adults. We think of juveniles at those ages as being more responsible for their actions. But juveniles at that age are very close to what society generally considers to be adulthood—18. The logic for picking age 13 is not clear. If it is simply because juveniles at that age commit crimes, then the same logic would justify moving the age down to 12, 11, or even 10.

In short, I opposed the Moseley-Braun amendment because it would

take away an important tool for prosecutors in cases where circumstances argue against treating a juvenile as an adult; it undermines an important principle underlying the juvenile justice system—that some criminals are too young to give up on; and it draws a line concerning the age at which juveniles should be tried as adults that is based on fear as opposed to rational analysis. I will continue to fight, however, for measures that will help police officers put an end to juvenile violence.

AMENDMENT NO. 1140—THE DOLE AMENDMENT TO THE VIOLENT CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT

Mr. KERREY. Madam President, I was unavoidably detained in a meeting with the Speaker of the House and unable to vote for the Dole amendment to the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act today. Had I been present, I would have voted in favor of the amendment.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

Mr. DOLE. I object.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, and Members of the Senate, I have just concluded a meeting with Senator DOLE, Senator BIDEN, and Senator HATCH on how best to proceed with respect to the pending bill.

We had a very good, forthright, and good faith discussion. We considered a number of alternative ways to proceed, and feel it now appropriate that we consult with our respective colleagues to determine their reactions to some of these suggestions that were made during our meeting.

Therefore, I believe the best course of action for all concerned would be to discontinue this session of the Senate to give both sides the opportunity to engage in those consultations. I emphasize the good faith nature of the discussions, and there clearly is no desire on anyone's part to delay at this point, but rather it is appropriate, and indeed necessary, that we consult with our colleagues on both sides, get their reactions, and be in a position to attempt to bring this matter to a conclusion.

Therefore, there will be no further rollcall votes this evening. It is my intention immediately upon the conclusion of my remarks to invite the distinguished Republican leader to make such remarks as he may wish, and following that to conclude this session for today with the intention to resume tomorrow morning, at which time it is

my hope that after consultations I will be in a position to make my decision.

Mr. President, I therefore yield to the distinguished Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I think the majority leader has fairly stated our discussion. We had an earlier discussion with the Republicans, and we had discussions, as the majority leader has indicated, with myself, the majority leader, Senator HATCH, and Senator BIDEN, I think, frankly trying to find a way to expedite—not to slow up but to expedite—final passage, and what might be necessary to get there.

It is now my understanding that we will have discussions with Members on our side in the morning, and I assume discussions on that side with Members who may have amendments. I think our problem is setting aside the pending amendment. There are still, I think by actual count, a couple of hundred amendments. How do you complete action?

It seems, just speaking for this side, that there may be some way to accommodate some of the concerns raised so we can see the end.

We think we are going to complete action hopefully by midafternoon tomorrow. As the majority leader made clear, there is no one attempting to delay action, but just trying to determine if there is some way to expedite it.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FEINGOLD). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for morning business for up to 8 minutes, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, 2 weeks ago Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner delivered a very important and thoughtful speech to the Society of Environmental Journalists. In that speech she highlighted the unique opportunity we now have to make some fundamental and substantive changes to our environmental laws that will carry us into the next century.

Specifically, she called on Congress, industry, environmentalists and the

public to help make four fundamental changes to our environmental decision-making.

First, fix the process so we leave behind the gridlock, expensive litigation, redtape, mixed signals and inefficiencies of the past. Second, use common-sense solutions by focusing on pollution prevention. Third, move policy-making closer to the States and communities that are affected by it. And fourth, involve more people in environmental protection.

Mr. President, I couldn't agree more. Like Administrator Browner, I believe we now have a unique opportunity to make these changes—for we are on the verge of a renaissance—a rebirth of environmental policy. At the core of this renaissance, as at the core of the Renaissance in Europe hundreds of years ago, is better understanding. Clearly after 25 years of environmental policy we have a much better understanding of our problems and our ability to solve them. We must now use this accumulated knowledge to tackle today's, and tomorrow's environmental problems, which in the words of Senator Muskie are "more complex, subtle and politically challenging" than in the past.

The four principles outlined in Administrator Browner's speech—fixing the process, preventing pollution, getting the States more involved, and taking every opportunity to involve people in protecting their own environment—speaks to this new direction.

It speaks to using our resources more efficiently, setting clearly defined responsibilities for States, cities, and the EPA, and establishing priorities so we can tackle our most urgent problems first. Most importantly it speaks to reestablishing trust between all levels of government, business, and the public, so that more innovative, cutting edge solutions needed for today's and tomorrow's problems will be used.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to take the time to read Administrator Browner's remarks to the Society of Environmental Journalists and I ask unanimous consent to place Administrator Browner's remarks in the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY CAROL M. BROWNER, ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TO THE SOCIETY OF ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNALISTS, DURHAM, NC, OCTOBER 23, 1993

I'm glad to have this opportunity to talk with environmental journalists. I want to commend you for helping Americans to see the connections between environmental issues and their own lives. You've taken on the things that are too big to see, like global warming—and you've taken on the things that are too small to see, like microorganisms in our drinking water. When the issues are close and emotional, like the toxic dump in the backyard, you've helped give a larger perspective. When the issues seem far away,

like the hole in the ozone layer, you've drawn the connection with air conditioners, with aerosol cans—you've brought the story down to earth, into people's homes. In this way, you've played a vital role in shaping our nation's effort to understand and sort through difficult problems, protect our environment and promote public health.

EPA has an opportunity in the next three years to make fundamental and substantive changes that could well be felt for the next three generations. As you know, many of the laws that govern environmental protection are up for reauthorization, ready to be strengthened and refined so that they do a better job of protecting our health, our economy, and our children's future.

We have an opportunity to make change in four ways:

First, EPA has an opportunity to fix the process so that we're absolutely committed to the goal of protecting health, while incorporating a new measure of innovation and flexibility in how we reach that goal. We can leave behind the gridlock, expensive litigation, red tape, mixed signals, and inefficiencies of the past.

Second, EPA has an opportunity to use common sense for a change—to get Americans on board to prevent pollution, not just clean it up after it happens.

Third, EPA has an opportunity to move policy-making closer to the communities that are affected by it, by empowering state government to play a bigger role in environmental protection.

And finally, EPA has an opportunity to involve many, many more people in protecting their own environment.

My vision for EPA is that we take those opportunities and turn them into the most ambitious and aggressive agenda in the history of the Agency. I am going to walk you through a part of that agenda today. The laws we are about to reauthorize are the most significant and meaningful vehicles for change that will be available to us in the next decade.

One of the most important and most challenging is Superfund. When I came to Washington, it was immediately clear to me that the Superfund law needed not just cosmetic changes but a major overhaul. One in ten Americans lie within four miles of a Superfund site. After 12 years, we've carried out thousands of cleanups, we've spent billions of dollars and gotten billions more dollars committed to the cleanup effort, yet much more remains to be done. There may be thousands more sites that are nearly as serious as our National Priority List.

At both the federal and local levels, we need to act more swiftly, more fairly, more efficiently, and with more consistency. I put together an advisory council composed of state and local government representatives, private industry, environmental groups, community representatives, and university experts. I told them, leave your litigation hats at the door. Don't join this group if you're just interested in posturing. Join this group only if you're ready to take a fresh, and very intense look at what's wrong and what will really work for American communities. Over the past five months this group met and talked through what was working, what wasn't working, and what needed to be changed.

After months of serious discussion I am now looking at three areas that will be part of what we present to Congress this fall:

(1) Make the process more fair. Get the lawyers out of the process. Put fair procedures in place so we can focus on cleaning up the sites, not haggling about who owes what.

The Upjohn drug company was ordered to clean up a toxic landfill in Kalamazoo Michigan. They agreed to do it, but then they turned around and sent out letters to everyone they could find who had ever sent any trash to the landfill. They sent out 741 letters, saying: you're liable, and pay us now or we'll take you to court. They sent a letter to the phone company, the school district, the Little League, the Kalamazoo Symphony Society, and Charlie's Pizza. The company president's own mother received a bill for \$12,000.

Yes, the cost of the cleanup need to be shared, but this is ridiculous. Small business owners are coming in and telling us they've been driven almost to bankruptcy by the legal costs associated with Superfund. We can stop that. I want to put strict limits on the liability of people who have contributed only small amounts to these toxic sites—both to streamline the settlement process and also as a simple matter of fairness.

(2) We need to make the cleanup process more efficient and more consistent. Since Superfund was passed 12 years ago, we've learned a great deal about which remedies make sense in a given situation. Yet from place to place, the goals, the remedies, and the costs are not consistent. I want to develop national standards and presumptive remedies to help companies and communities spend less time studying how to clean up these sites, so they can be cleaned up as quickly as possible.

(3) We need to return these sites to productive community use as quickly as possible.

I've met with people who have lived with a contaminated site in the middle of their community for years. Even after the immediate danger has been removed, the problem isn't over. That land sits there, unused, while the neighborhood loses jobs, loses its tax base, loses hope. Developers won't touch the land because of their fear of liability. Banks won't touch it. And meanwhile, development goes on outside the city, in places never developed before—forests, fields—which leads to more driving and more pollution out in the suburbs and the countryside.

Right now, the Superfund law can get in the way of reusing these old industrial sites. I say change it. People who want to buy a piece of contaminated land and redevelop and reuse it should not be liable for past contamination caused by a previous owner. We must change the law to remove the barriers to economic redevelopment that currently exist in cities across the country.

I am convinced it is crucial to bring the community into the process much earlier—instead of simply letting them comment in the last phases of the cleanup. EPA needs to listen to the community right from the start about how the land should be used in the future. That will help us determine the remedy. Where an industrial plant is going to move in, it may not make sense to clean up every trace of contamination—but if you're planning to build a school or a home or a playground on that site, that's a different story.

We need to move toward what happened in the town of Kellogg, Idaho, where a lead smelter closed down and left behind dangerous levels of lead in the ground. The recommended remedy in such cases is encapsulation—capping the dirt. The community of Kellogg came up with a solution. They successfully encapsulated the lead, painted yellow lines on the concrete and called it a parking lot, and built a ski lift on the adjacent hill. Now that land no longer poses a threat to the community, and it is generating jobs and contributing to the tax base.

Very soon we'll be sitting down with people on Capitol Hill to discuss these ideas in detail. By early in 1994, I expect to see a bill come forward with substantial support from the Hill, from community groups and from industry.

I think everyone realizes the need to reauthorize this bill next year. If we don't, we'll have a situation like what happened in the mid-80's, where we had temporary reauthorizations month by month. That merely freezes the law at the status quo and does nothing to solve the problems. And it basically brings cleanup to a halt—because we can't plan ahead; we can't contract for the multi-year cleanup that is necessary at virtually every site.

My sense is that the will exists to get Superfund reauthorized by next fall. And that's a testament to the fact that we've brought all the parties into the process, listened to their problems, and worked hard to find solutions that work.

This same process is going on all over EPA. We're bringing people together to hash out the issues, figure out the problems, propose solutions, and get moving after years or gridlock and paralysis.

Let me quickly mention a couple of other areas where change is underway.

First, food safety. As you know, last month we presented to Congress a proposal for reforming our food safety laws—the first realistic proposal in decades. We're proposing to bring the pesticide laws up to date and protect public health with a single health-based standard. We're proposing to reform our antiquated regulatory system, which had the perverse effect of keeping dangerous pesticides on the market and creating barriers to getting safer pesticides developed. And because our plan was developed with the full participation of the Agriculture Department, we've been able to sit down with American farmers and plan how they can reduce the use of pesticides altogether—and let me assure you, American farmers are very much interested in reducing pesticide use.

We have broken the logjam in the executive branch and I am confident that we have given the Congress a blueprint it can finally work with. For the first time in years, the Congressional people who come at this issue from the farm standpoint are really talking to the people who come at this from the public health standpoint. We're seeing a greater degree of cooperation than we've seen in years. Within the next three or four weeks we expect mark-up to begin in the Agriculture Committee.

Water pollution, just briefly, is another area where we're proposing to strengthen the law. Two laws are up for reauthorization. Both in the Clean Water Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act, we're proposing to build pollution prevention, technological innovation, and community participation right into law. These are new areas of lawmaking that will help our public policies catch up with public opinion—to give Americans the active role in environmental protection that they are ready and asking for. They're concerned about safe drinking water and they want fishable, swimmable rivers, lakes and streams.

Congress is currently considering both the Clean Water Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act. By Thanksgiving, we expect we may have the Clean Water Act reauthorization bill voted out of the Senate committee—and we may have the Safe Drinking Water Act bill out by then as well.

We also must move forward the one vital vehicle that uses international law to pro-

tect both health and the environment—NAFTA. NAFTA would launch a new era of environmental protection and environmental planning among the three nations, on a scale never seen before anywhere in the world. NAFTA is the first trade agreement ever to acknowledge the importance of environmental protection. It's the first trade agreement ever to require enforcement of environmental laws. And it gives us an opportunity to clean up the U.S.-Mexico border—currently a disaster area that desperately needs funding for safe drinking water projects, wastewater projects and other efforts to stop water pollution and air pollution. NAFTA will also create a tremendous market for American environmental technology—and that means more American jobs.

Superfund, food safety, water quality, NAFTA—in each one of these areas, EPA's aggressive agenda will bring about change. Each part of our agenda will reflect the four basic principles I mentioned earlier—fixing the process, preventing pollution, getting the states more involved, and taking every opportunity to involve people in protecting their own environment.

For those of you who have covering us for a long time, that means you'll be seeing an Environmental Protection Agency that won't just be imposing rules or operating in the same old way. The changes our agenda will bring about will require everyone to change the way we work together to protect our environment. And so, today, I'm calling for the Congress, industry, environmentalists, and the American people to make those changes along with us—to make those changes fair, to make them work, and to make them stick. Nothing less than the health of our families, the health of our economy, the health of our environment, and the health of our nation are at stake.

Thank you.

IRRESPONSIBLE CONGRESS? HERE IS TODAY'S BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of business yesterday, November 8, the Federal debt stood at \$4,427,227,098,976.32, meaning that on a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$17,236.02 as his or her share of that debt.

KRISTALLNACHT: NEVER FORGET

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, today marks the 4th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. It also marks the 55th anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Night of the Broken Glass. Both of these events were turning points in world history, yet no two events could be more different.

The fall of the Berlin Wall was a triumph of the human spirit, a key victory in mankind's age-old battle for freedom and dignity. It signaled the beginning of a new era—what we now call the post-cold war world.

Kristallnacht also ushered in a new period—what might well be called the darkest days of mankind. During the late night and early morning of November 9, and 10, 1938, the Gestapo methodically orchestrated an orgy of violence in Germany and Austria which resulted in the destruction of 7,500 Jew-

ish businesses and 275 synagogues, the arrest and deportation of 30,000 Jewish men to concentration camps, and the loss of nearly 100 Jewish lives. In short, Kristallnacht signaled the beginning of the Holocaust.

As we stand on the threshold of a new era—one that we very much hope will have prosperity, peace, and growth as its hallmarks—it is fitting that we recall the lessons of this earlier, darker time. And the great lesson of Kristallnacht is this: We must resolve, always and everywhere, to resist bigotry and oppression in any form, lest the smallest spark engulf us all in flame. Only if we learn this lesson well, and act on it, will the great promise of the future be fulfilled.

VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, Thursday is Veterans Day, a day set aside on the Nation's calendar to honor those who have served and sacrificed for our country.

Each year, there are ceremonies and speeches all across the country to recognize the service of veterans. Each year, our hearts leap with gratitude for what they have done.

This year, a different kind of event will be added to our national program of remembrance as a new statue is dedicated on The Mall. The Vietnam Women's Memorial will be unveiled on Thursday afternoon, acknowledging the service of 11,000 women who went to Vietnam. The eight women who did not return are listed on the Wall. The thousands who did come back to us returned to a country which was bitter and divided. They are now receiving the official regard they so richly deserve.

Under the able leadership of Diane Carlson Evans, a nurse who served with great distinction in Vietnam, this memorial project will be completed with Thursday's dedication. It will be a reminder of those who served so well.

As a New Mexican, I am especially honored that Glenna Goodacre, a Santa Fe sculptor, was chosen to re-create in bronze the hope, fear, courage, and devotion of those women. Her grouping of three women tending a wounded soldier tells a story full of suspense and compassion. It is a memorial to those who bravely and lovingly did their duty.

To Ms. Evans and the memorial project, to Ms. Goodacre for the sculpture, but mostly to those here honored, I say, thank you and well done.

TRIBUTE TO MATTHEW PELCZYNSKI

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Matthew Pelczynski, who passed away in Cheektowaga, NY on November 4, 1993, at the age of 82. The contributions of Matthew Pelczynski to the Polish-

American community of western New York are vast and worthy of our recognition.

Matthew Pelczynski was born in Buffalo, NY. He was educated at St. Stanislaus Grammar School, Mastern Park High School, Bryant & Stratton Business Institute and the State University of New York at Buffalo. After his graduation, he began his career in the newspaper industry. From 1933 to 1958, Matthew Pelczynski was employed by Everybody's Publishing Co., publisher of Everybody's Daily and later became the general manager. In 1958 he started the Buffalo Standard Printing Corp. and became the president. He also became owner and publisher of the weekly newspaper, Am-Pol Eagle.

During the course of his life, Matthew Pelczynski was a leader in the Polish-American community of western New York. He served as president of the General Pulaski Association of the Niagara Frontier. During his tenure, he built the Pulaski Day Parade into an event that attracts 150,000 people annually. He was a past director of the Polish Singing Circle and the Bailey-Delavan Businessmen's and Taxpayers Association. He was a member of the Chopin Singing Society, Knights of Columbus, Polish Union of America, and the Polish-American Congress. He was one of the leading fundraisers for a statue of Pope John Paul II that was dedicated in June 1987 in the western New York area. Among Matthew Pelczynski's honors were being named Citizen of the Year by the Cheektowaga Chamber of Commerce and Man of the Year by the Polish-American Solidarity Club of western New York. Matthew Pelczynski will be sadly missed in the Buffalo area and especially in the Polish-American community.

REGARDING INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION BILL

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, for the information of my colleagues, I have absolutely no objection to the majority leader or any other Senator bringing legislation to reauthorize the independent counsel before the Senate at any time and I have not taken any action that would prevent consideration of this issue.

As is my right, I intend to seek to amend the independent counsel reauthorization so as to make it a better bill. I believe my right, and the right of others to do so, must be preserved. Further, in my capacity as an individual Senator, I am more than happy to sit down with the majority leader or any other Senator to discuss entering into time agreements regarding any amendments that I may offer.

When the independent counsel bill was being considered by the Governmental Affairs Committee, of which I

am a member, I stated for the record that I would seek to offer on the floor of the Senate an amendment to fully include Congress under the provisions of the bill.

I believe the issue of the act's coverage of Members of Congress must be addressed.

Currently the Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act places approximately 50 top executive branch officials in the mandatory coverage section of the bill. These officials include members of the Cabinet, individuals working in the executive branch compensated at a rate of pay at, or above, level III of the Executive Schedule under section 5314 of title V, and the Directors of the CIA, FBI, and IRS. Although the legislation specifically authorizes the Attorney General to appoint an independent counsel to investigate a Member of Congress, it does not make such appointment mandatory as it does for the above noted individuals.

This is yet another disturbing and egregious example of the Congress imposing one standard on the executive branch and creating a separate, lesser standard for itself. There is no justification for this unequal standard, and I intend to correct this inequity.

Mr. President, I hope this issue is now clarified.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I rise to commend and congratulate the Institute for Justice on its announcement today of a lawsuit by minority businesses and public housing residents to strike down the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931 as unconstitutional on the basis of racial discrimination.

Davis-Bacon is an outdated law that hurts minorities, and women, employees, and employers. It was enacted with clear discriminatory intent and it produces discriminatory results. It is perhaps the last Federal Jim Crow law still on the books.

Like so many discriminatory laws before it, the oft-stated purpose of Davis-Bacon sounds benign. On its face, it requires the application of locally prevailing labor standards when contracts are let on Federal public works projects. The purpose, we are told, is to prevent local economies from being disrupted, and local workers and contractors from being displaced, by unscrupulous, fly-by-night contractors who might undercut the bids of local firms.

As we know all too well from history, a prevailing practice is not necessarily a just one. Davis-Bacon is even more insidious: It says prevailing but it means exclusionary.

One of the very few cases ever cited to justify the act concerned a group of African-American laborers from the

South being brought into New York Representative Robert Bacon's district to build a veterans hospital. With a wink and a nod on the House floor, one southern supporter of the bill sympathized with Bacon's concern about "labor of that sort that is in competition with white labor throughout the country."

The act requires Federal construction projects to apply 1930's-style union work rules and craft distinctions that are out of touch with today's construction industry. It is so arbitrary in its standards, so incredibly complicated in its operation, and so cumbersome to comply with, that it discourages small and minority-owned firms from even bidding on Federal work.

As a result, Federal contracts are reserved for a closed club of a few large contractors who specialize in milking the Federal procurement systems, and who go so far as to move work crews around the country, taking work away from local, small, and minority contractors.

The open marketplace rewards quality, initiative, and value; it is totally blind to color, creed and gender. Likewise, government contracts should be awarded on the basis of competency and value and should reflect market competition.

For these reasons, I have sponsored legislation in the past to repeal Davis-Bacon altogether. In this Congress, along with Representative CHARLES STENHOLM and others, I have introduced S. 916/H.R. 2042, the bipartisan Davis-Bacon Reform Act. Our bill would remove the discriminatory effects of Davis-Bacon by replacing its rigid, arbitrary, and outdated rules with market-based standards. I encourage my colleagues to cosponsor this bill.

The Institute for Justice is to be commended for its diligent legal research, and the minority employer plaintiffs in this case ought to be recognized for their courage, in bringing this case. This suit strikes a blow for equal opportunity and for the constitution principle of equal protection under the law.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD a Litigation Backgrounder prepared by the Institute for Justice which explains in detail the suit being brought by the plaintiffs in *Brazier Construction, et al., versus Reich, et al.* I also ask consent to insert an article written for the *Wall Street Journal* sometime back that remains one of the best, most succinct expositions on this aspect of the Davis-Bacon Act.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *Wall Street Journal*, June 25, 1990]

DAVIS-BACON: RACIST THEN, RACIST NOW

(By Scott Alan Hodge)

Two years before the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, local construction unions in

Washington, D.C., prevented black electricians from working on one of the capital's premiere building projects: the Rayburn House Office Building. This week in that very same building the House Subcommittee on Labor Standards will be working on legislation that will perpetuate discrimination in the construction industry. Instead, that legislation should be repealed, once and for all.

At issue is the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act. Davis-Bacon requires contractors to pay all workers on federally funded construction projects valued at more than \$2,000 the "prevailing wage" for the type of work, as determined by the U.S. Department of Labor. In practice, the Labor Department uses local union wage scales as a proxy for the "prevailing wage." Thus, any laborer who does not have the skills to command union scale is frozen out of these jobs. Typically, those frozen out are black or Hispanic.

The original supporters of the law could not have hoped for more—because, as the historical record shows, Davis-Bacon was written to prevent black workers, mostly from the South, from competing with the Northern construction trades.

So far, debate on Davis-Bacon has focused primarily on its costs, the estimated \$1.5 billion it costs U.S. taxpayers to pay union scale when qualified workers are available at lower rates. But that complaint avoids the real evil of Davis-Bacon: discrimination against black Americans.

The original Davis-Bacon Act was drafted in 1927 by New York Rep. Robert Bacon after an Alabama contractor won the bid to build a federal hospital in Bacon's district. As Bacon reported at the first hearing on his bill, "The bid . . . was let to a firm from Alabama who brought some thousand non-union laborers from Alabama into Long Island, N.Y., into my congressional district." What he meant, of course is that many of the workers were black—and willing to work for less than local building tradesmen.

Bacon's complaints brought a knowing smile from Georgia Rep. William Upshaw, who commented: "You will not think that a southern man is more than human if he smiles over the fact of your reaction to that real problem you are confronted with in any community with a superabundance or large aggregation of Negro labor."

Four years later during the floor debate on the bill, Alabama Rep. Miles Allgood echoed Upshaw's sentiments: "That contractor has cheap colored labor. . . and it is labor of that sort that is in competition with white labor. . . This bill has merit . . . it is very important that we enact this measure."

There was little difference between the language of Reps. Upshaw and Allgood and the language of an 1857 petition from white tradesman to the Atlanta city council. "We, the undersigned, would respectfully represent . . . that there exists in the city of Atlanta a number of men who . . . are of no benefit to the city. We refer to Negro mechanics [who] . . . can afford to underbid the regular resident mechanics . . . to their great injury. . . We most respectfully request [the council] afford such protection to the resident mechanics."

Blacks dominated the skilled trades in the South after emancipation: In some trades there were five times as many black workers as whites, according to one estimate. In response, white workers used every political tool available to restrain black competition. In some cases, officially sanctioned licensing boards were established to "ensure the quality of local tradesmen." In other cases, whites sought to outlaw blacks from practicing

specific trades, and even passed laws to prevent the recruitment of black laborers by Northern employers.

But, until the passage of Davis-Bacon, the federal government's policy of accepting the lowest bid on construction projects allowed black laborers to compete freely for federal work. Many blacks traveled great distances and endured harsh conditions for the chance to work, as Rep. Bacon discovered. The Davis-Bacon Act put a sudden end to this. Following enactment of Davis-Bacon, black tradesmen were shut out of many federal construction projects. Of the 4,100 workers on the Boulder Dam project in 1932, only 30 were black.

Blacks were also shut out of the massive public housing projects sponsored by President Roosevelt's Public Works Administration. Roosevelt sent representatives to Chicago to institute a quota system which required that a minimum percentage of a project's payroll be directed toward black tradesmen. The result: The blacks got all the low-pay, unskilled positions.

Despite all the civil rights laws on the books today, little has changed. According to Ralph C. Thomas III, executive director of the National Association of Minority Contractors, "The law in its current form is poison to minority contractors [and to] minority employment in general. . . The law stifles the minority contractors efforts to not only hire as many minority workers as possible, but it also hinders minority contractor efforts to introduce new workers to the construction field."

Mary Nelson, director of Bethel New Life Inc., a church-affiliated social service organization in Chicago, has found that Davis-Bacon adds as much as 25% to her total budget and often prevents her from using the local unskilled poor to help refurbish the projects they themselves live in. Robert Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, reports that public housing residents who want to help refurbish their own apartments often are forced to "volunteer" half a day's work in order to avoid Davis-Bacon requirements.

Davis-Bacon was intended to discriminate against blacks, and that is precisely what it has done. It's time for Washington to bid good-bye to Jim Crow.

[Institute for Justice, Litigation Backgrounder]

REMOVING BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY: A CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGE TO THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

On November 9, 1993, the Institute for Justice filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the Davis-Bacon Act. A relic of an era when laws were passed to prevent blacks from competing for economic opportunities, the Davis-Bacon Act has racist origins and continues today to have a devastating impact on economic outsiders. If successful, the Institute's lawsuit will open employment opportunities for thousands of workers and save taxpayers billions of dollars in unnecessary spending.

The Davis-Bacon Act passed by Congress in 1931, requires private contractors to pay "prevailing wages" to employees on all federally funded construction projects over \$2000. Most often, the "prevailing wage" corresponds directly to the union wage. This is especially true in urban areas, where union membership tends to be higher.

The Davis-Bacon Act covers a significant portion of the projects undertaken by the construction industry. Approximately 20 percent of all construction projects in the U.S.

are covered by the Act, affecting more than 25 percent of all construction workers in the nation at any given time.

The Act was passed with the specific intent of preventing non-unionized black and immigrant laborers from competing with unionized white workers for scarce jobs during the Depression. This invidious law continues to have devastating discriminatory effects, as minorities tend to be vastly under-represented in highly unionized skilled trades, and over-represented in the pool of unskilled workers who would benefit, if the prevailing wage laws were abolished.

Davis-Bacon restricts both contracting and employment opportunities for minorities. Most minority-owned firms are small and non-unionized. Davis-Bacon mandates inflated wage rates (e.g., \$40,000 a year ditch digger and \$60,000 a year carpenter) and creates rigid job classifications and procedures which, though standard operating procedure for unions, are anathema to small non-unionized firms. Such firms literally have to become less-efficient in order to compete for Davis-Bacon contracts. Workers who perform a variety of tasks must be paid at the highest applicable skilled journeyman rate (e.g., a general laborer who hammers a nail must be paid as a "carpenter," at perhaps three times the company's regular wage rate). Unskilled workers can be employed only if the company can afford to pay high wages, and training can be provided only through limited and heavily regulated apprenticeship programs. Paperwork is voluminous, complex, and cumbersome, accompanied by the constant threat of fines or litigation from government officials or unions. Not surprisingly, small minority-owned companies are often placed at a serious disadvantage in competing for Davis-Bacon contracts and are often discouraged from doing so, which was, of course, the motivation for the law in the first place. And entry-level employment and training opportunities are lost by the tens of thousands in an industry where such opportunities otherwise would be plentiful.

THE INSTITUTE'S LAWSUIT

The Institute for Justice is committed to a program of litigation that will help restore judicial protection of "economic liberty"—the basic right of every American to pursue a business or profession free from arbitrary or excessive government regulation. The Institute is especially concerned with the way that government actions affect those with relatively fewer economic opportunities. The challenge to the Davis-Bacon Act is the Institute's most ambitious undertaking to date in support of these goals.

The minority contractors challenging the constitutionality of the Davis-Bacon Act in this lawsuit have been business opportunities lost and their ability to hire minority workers from their communities greatly restricted because of the requirements of the Act. From 1984 to 1990, Tyrone Dash of Seattle, Washington, owned and operated his own company, T&S Construction, and hired as many as 25 employees for work on highway jobs installing guardrails and other safety items. For a small, new company, the prevailing wage requirements and administrative costs of the Davis-Bacon Act had a particularly devastating effect on the ability to successfully compete for federal contracts. The Act required that Dash pay his workers almost \$19 an hour, regardless of their experience or skill levels. Because the company could not afford adequate administrative help, Mr. Dash, even after a long day on the construction site, would often do the work himself in order to meet the burdensome paperwork requirements of the Act. Finally, in

1990, his company went bankrupt due to its inability to control labor costs. Today, Dash is out of the construction business and his workers are out of jobs. Dash would go back into business immediately paying his employees competitive wages, if the Davis-Bacon Act were eliminated.

Other minority-owned contractors in this lawsuit have had similar experiences with the Davis-Bacon Act. Martin and Nona Brazier own a recycling company and a construction firm. Their construction business has mostly been inoperative due to unsuccessful bids on federal contracts. Again, the wage requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act have made their company uncompetitive with larger, more established (and usually non-minority) construction firms. In addition to lost business opportunities, Art Pearson Electric & General Contracting Co., Square C Construction, and John B. Cruz Construction Co., Inc., three other companies challenging the constitutionality of the Davis-Bacon Act, have found that the Act severely limits their ability to hire and train minority youths from their communities. Smaller construction companies simply cannot afford to train their workers at close to \$20 an hour. The approved union and federal apprenticeship programs under Davis-Bacon do not allow Messrs. Pearson and Cruz and Mr. Ellis of Square C, to go into their own communities or local schools to recruit young people and train them in various construction skills in company-sponsored apprenticeship programs.

Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corporation has been a model for other resident initiatives in public housing throughout the country. Kenilworth-Parkside in Washington, D.C., was once a community rife with crime, drugs, and deteriorating housing conditions. The residents, led by activist Kimi Gray, gained management and power of the development from the public housing authority and thereby regained control over their community, improving the quality of life for the residents. However, the Davis-Bacon Act has proved over the years a major impediment to introducing public housing residents into rebuilding programs at their developments.

In the late 1980s, Kenilworth-Parkside secured an \$18 million grant for a rehabilitation and modernization program, but due to Davis-Bacon workplace rules, not one of the construction jobs was filled by a public housing resident. Public housing resident groups in developments throughout the country have experienced similar difficulty introducing residents into construction projects. Because of their desire to empower residents of public housing and remove impediments to residents working on construction projects in their own communities, the National Association of Resident Management Corporations has also joined as a plaintiff in the lawsuit to overturn the Davis-Bacon Act.

The defendants in this lawsuit are officials of the Department of Labor charged with implementing and enforcing the Davis-Bacon Act, including Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, Acting Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards John Fraser, and the Administrator of the Department's Wage and Hour Division, Maria Echaveste.

THE HISTORY OF THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

Prior to the enactment of the Davis-Bacon Act, the construction industry afforded tremendous opportunities to blacks, especially in the South. In at least six southern cities, more than 80 percent of unskilled construction workers were black.¹ Blacks also represented

a disproportionate number of unskilled construction workers in the North and constituted a sizable portion of the skilled labor force throughout the country.²

This was so despite the fact that most of the major unions that represented construction workers excluded blacks, and that blacks faced widespread discrimination in occupational licensing and vocational training.³ These unions felt seriously threatened by the competition from blacks, and favored any attempt to restrict such competition.⁴

The co-author of the Davis-Bacon Act, Representative Robert Bacon, represented a congressional district in Long Island. Bacon's opinions on issues like immigration demonstrate the extent to which his views were patently racist. For example, in 1927, the same year he introduced the Davis-Bacon Act, he submitted the following statement from 34 university professors concerning a new immigration law into the Congressional Record:

"We urge the extension of the quota system to all countries of North and South America from which we have substantial immigration and in which the population is not predominantly of the white race. * * * Only by this method can that large proportion of our population which is descended from the colonists * * * have their proper racial representation. * * * Congress wisely concluded that only by such a system of proportional representation * * * could the racial status quo be maintained."⁵

In 1927, Bacon submitted H.R. 17069, "A Bill to Require Contractors and Subcontractors Engaged on Public Works of the United States to Comply With State Laws Relating to Hours of Labor and Wages of Employees on State Public Works."⁶ This action was a response to the building of a Veterans' Bureau Hospital in Bacon's district by a contractor from Alabama, who employed only black laborers.

Representative William Upshaw, understanding the racial implications of Bacon's proposal, stated: "You will not think that a southern man is more than human if he smiles over the fact that your reaction to that real problem you are confronted with in any community with a superabundance or large aggregation of Negro labor."⁷

In the course of the next four years, Bacon submitted 13 more bills to regulate labor on federal public works contracts.⁸ Finally, the bill submitted by Bacon and Senator James Davis was passed in 1931, at the height of the Depression, with the support of the American Federation of Labor. The Act required that contractors working on federally funded public works projects over \$5000 pay their employees the "prevailing wage."

The Act was amended in 1935, reducing the minimum to \$2000 and delegating the power of determining the "prevailing wage" to the Department of Labor. The Department of Labor responded by promulgating regulations governing the determination of wages that remained basically unchanged until 1983. Under these regulations, the prevailing wage was equated with the union wage in any area that was at least 30 percent unionized. In practice, however, the "prevailing wage" was almost universally determined to be the same as the union wage.⁹

The comments made by various congressmen during the debate over the different bills submitted by Bacon betrayed the racial animus that motivated the passage of the law. Representative John Cochran stated, "I have received numerous complaints in recent months about southern contractors employing low-paid colored mechanics getting work

and bringing the employees from the South."¹⁰ Representative Clayton Allgood similarly complained, "That contractor has cheap colored labor that he transports, and he puts them in cabins, and it is labor of that sort that is in competition with white labor throughout the country."¹¹

Other derogatory comments were made about the use of "cheap labor," "cheap, imported labor," "transient labor," and "unattached migratory workmen."¹² Thus, while the sponsors and supporters of the Act also intended it to disadvantage immigrant workers of other races, these thinly veiled references make it clear that the Act was primarily intended to discriminate against blacks.¹³

The statements made by many Congressmen during the debates over the various prevailing wage bills were also replete with anti-capitalist rhetoric, with the representatives railing against "unfair contractors." In reality, such contractors wanted only to establish a national market in labor and pay their workers the actual market value of their services. Representative McCormack said of Davis-Bacon, "It will force the contractor who heretofore has used cheap, imported labor to submit bids based upon the 'prevailing wage scale' to those employed. It compels the unfair competitor to enter into the field of fair competition."¹⁴

Two important modifications have been made in the way that the Davis-Bacon Act is enforced in the past decade. In 1982, the Department of Labor altered the basis for determining the prevailing wage in a given area, by only equating the union wage with the "prevailing wage" in places where the construction industry was 50 percent unionized. This change had little effect on minority-owned firms' ability to secure contracts covered by Davis-Bacon, because union membership tends to be much higher in urban areas, where large minority populations reside.¹⁵

The Department of Labor has also attempted to alter its regulations to allow contractors to hire a limited number of unskilled "helpers" to work on Davis-Bacon projects for less than the prevailing wage. If implemented, this change would diminish some of the discriminatory effects of the Act. Despite the fact that this new rule went into effect on February 4, 1991, thus far Congress has prevented the Department of Labor from enforcing it.¹⁶ Labor unions began pressuring Congress and the Clinton Administration to repeal the changes, and on October 21, 1993, the Labor Department officially suspended implementation of the helper regulations.¹⁷

The provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act were suspended by President Bush in South Florida, coastal Louisiana, and Hawaii in October, 1992, following Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki. These emergency waivers were granted in order to expedite the clean up efforts in those areas.¹⁸ Bush's policy of suspending Davis-Bacon in the hurricane-damaged areas was reversed by President Clinton upon entering office.

Legislation sponsored by Senator Hank Brown (R-Colorado) which would repeal the Davis-Bacon Act was introduced in the Senate on July 14, 1993. A similar bill was introduced in the House of Representatives Tom DeLay on June 14, 1993, and is still pending before the House Education and Labor Committee.¹⁹ Both bills have attracted congressional co-sponsors, but have not attained majority support.

EFFECTS OF THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

Enforcements of the Davis-Bacon Act imposes tremendous economic and social costs.

Footnotes at end of article.

Repealing the Act would save the federal government \$1 billion on construction costs²⁰ and \$100 million in administrative costs each year.²¹ Costs of compliance with the Act for the construction industry total nearly \$190 million per year.²² The Act's repeal would also result in the creation of an estimated 31,000 new construction jobs, most of which would go to members of minority groups.²³

Over the past six decades, the Davis-Bacon Act has had a devastating impact on the ability of minorities to find work in the construction industry. As was stated earlier, blacks tend to be disproportionately represented among the ranks of unskilled or low-skilled laborers. This has been true since the time of the passage of the Act.

The initial set of regulations promulgated by the Department of Labor relating to Davis-Bacon's enforcement did not recognize categories of unskilled workers except for union apprentices.²⁴ As a result of this failure, the regulations required a contractor to pay an unskilled worker who was not part of a union apprenticeship program the same wage paid to a skilled laborer. Given that blacks were poorly represented in the unions and their apprenticeship programs, unskilled minority workers were almost completely excluded from working on Davis-Bacon projects.²⁵ This exclusion effectively foreclosed the only means by which unskilled blacks could learn the necessary skills to become skilled workers.²⁶

This claim is borne out by the available statistical evidence. Prior to the passage of the Davis-Bacon Act, blacks suffered from unemployment at approximately the same rate as the general population. After Davis-Bacon became law, the rate of minority unemployment began to deviate from that of whites.²⁷ This problem persists today. In the first quarter of 1992, the rate of unemployment among blacks was 14.2 percent, even though the overall national unemployment rate was only 7.9 percent.²⁸

The difference in unemployment rates between blacks and whites is especially pronounced in the construction industry. According to a recent study by the National Urban League, in the fourth quarter of 1992, 26.8 percent of all blacks involved in the construction industry were unemployed, compared to only 12.6 percent of white construction workers.²⁹

Barriers to entry spawned by Davis-Bacon at the time of its passage remain today. According to a study conducted by the American Enterprise Institute in 1980, union apprenticeship programs, even if it is assumed that they no longer discriminate, strictly limit the number of enrollees and impose arbitrary educational requirements on potential applicants. Thus, the most disadvantaged workers remain excluded from such programs.³⁰

Davis-Bacon's requirements also make it extremely difficult for minority, open-shop contractors to employ and train unskilled minority workers. Given that unskilled workers must be paid the same wage as a skilled worker, there exists no incentive to hire the unskilled worker. Ralph C. Thomas, executive director of the National Association of Minority Contractors, stated that a minority contractor who acquires a Davis-Bacon contract has "no choice but to hire skilled tradesmen, the majority of which are of the majority. This defeats a major purpose in the encouragement of minority enterprise development—the creating of jobs for minorities. *** Davis-Bacon *** closes the door in such activity in an industry most ca-

pable of employing the largest numbers of minorities."³¹

The evidence supports Thomas' claim. The Department of Labor frequently sets wages at unreasonably high levels, forcing the contractor to pay laborers considerably more than the market value of their work. For example, in Philadelphia, electricians working on projects covered by the Davis-Bacon Act must be paid \$37.97 per hour in wages and fringe benefits.³² The average wage of electricians working for private contractors on non-Davis-Bacon projects is \$15.76 per hour, with some laborers working for \$10.50 per hour.³³ Similarly, in Chicago, electricians working on projects subject to Davis-Bacon must be paid \$31.32 per hour,³⁴ where workers employed on projects not covered by Davis-Bacon are paid on average \$18.72 per hour, with some workers earning \$11.00 per hour.³⁵

The amount of paperwork that a contractor is required to fill out as a result of regulations governing Davis-Bacon also prevents small, minority-owned firms from seeking Davis-Bacon projects. Many small firms do not have available personnel with the necessary expertise to complete the myriad forms and reports the regulations require.³⁶ This provides a great advantage to the larger (and usually highly unionized) firms who have more resources to devote to complying with the Act's requirements.

One of the most severe problems with the current way the Davis-Bacon Act is administered is that it destroys the ability of rural and inner-city laborers and contractors to work on projects in their own communities. This is especially ironic since this is one of the difficulties Davis-Bacon was intended to prevent. Representative Bacon said during the debate over the Act, "Members of Congress have been flooded with protests from all over the country that certain Federal contractors on current jobs are bringing into local communities outside labor, cheap labor *** and giving rise to the complaint by local labor that the government is in league with contract practices that make it possible to further demoralize local labor conditions."³⁷

Such a claim could easily be made today by inner-city and rural contractors. A 1982 Oregon State University Study found that the Davis-Bacon Act drove up construction costs in rural areas by 26 to 37 percent.³⁸ Yale Brozen, an economist at the University of Chicago found that the "prevailing wage" set by the Department of Labor for the Appalachian region of Western Pennsylvania is set at the same level as that of Pittsburgh, a city with a high concentration of union workers. This is so despite the fact that the wages normally paid by the rural contractors are only half of what union contractors in Pittsburgh tend to pay.³⁹ The same is true of the inner cities, where small, minority owned open-shop firms are forced to pay union wages when working on Davis-Bacon projects, because of the high concentration of unionized workers in other parts of the city.⁴⁰

The result of these inflated wage rates is two-fold. First, inner-city and rural contractors are deterred from seeking Davis-Bacon contracts because they cannot afford to pay the higher wages to their employees.⁴¹ Second, larger and more highly unionized firms that are able to pay the higher wages are given an incentive to seek out such contracts.⁴² The result makes it clear that the government is in fact "in league with contract practices" that "demoralize local labor conditions," only now at the expense of minorities rather than whites.

The results of this practice were clearly demonstrated in Los Angeles after the riots. In the parts of the city where the riots occurred, the rate of unemployment for black workers is 27.6 percent.⁴³ Despite the fact that there is an ample supply of local labor to help with the rebuilding of the city, Davis-Bacon has and continues to freeze out local unskilled minority workers from those available jobs.⁴⁴ This provides a stark contrast to the situation in South Florida and coastal Louisiana, where the Davis-Bacon Act was suspended by President Bush in the wake of Hurricane Andrew. In those areas, the suspension of Davis-Bacon was responsible for the creation of 5,000 to 11,000 jobs.⁴⁵

In addition to this statistical evidence, many individuals tired directly to the construction and renovation of low-cost public housing in the inner-cities have testified to the disastrous effects of the Davis-Bacon Act. Ralph L. Jones is the president of a company that manages housing projects for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. When his company gained control of a pair of dilapidated 200-unit buildings in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Jones intended to hire many of the building's unemployed residents to tear out the unsalvageable part of the structures and then assist skilled craftsmen in restoring the property. He planned to pay the workers \$5 per hour, in hopes of helping them to acquire some skills in the building trades. The Davis-Bacon Act prevented him from pursuing this plan, as it required him to pay everyone working on the project \$14 per hour. Jones was forced to hire only skilled laborers, very few of whom were minorities or residents of the developments.⁴⁶

Mary Nelson, director of Bethel New Life Inc., a social service organization located in Chicago, has found that the Davis-Bacon Act adds up to 25 percent to her total costs and frequently prevents her from hiring unskilled low-income workers to work on projects renovating the public housing that they themselves live in.⁴⁷

Elsie Higginbottom, builder of low-income housing in Chicago's South Side, has complained of the same problems. Davis-Bacon requires him to pay carpenters (defined by the Act as someone who hammers in a nail) \$23 per hour. For obvious reasons, Higginbottom is prevented from hiring unskilled minority workers from the community. He stated, "I've got to start out a guy at \$16 per hour to find out if he knows how to dig a hole. I can't do that."⁴⁸

These examples illustrate perhaps the most pernicious of Davis-Bacon's effects: the imposition of arbitrary barriers to the empowerment of low-income people. By ruling Davis-Bacon unconstitutional, the courts will open opportunities to thousands of individuals to gain greater control over their destinies as productive members of society.

LITIGATION STRATEGY

The constitutional challenge to Davis-Bacon is a cornerstone of the Institute for Justice's program to restore economic liberty as a fundamental civil right. The Institute for Justice challenges the Davis-Bacon Act on the grounds that it is racially discriminatory. The Act was passed with a specific intent to discriminate against blacks and immigrants, and as a result, it violates the equal protection guarantee of the Fifth Amendment. If the courts determine that racial discrimination was among a law's purposes, it will be declared unconstitutional, even if it appears to be racially neutral on its face.

In order to make this determination, the courts can look to the legislative and administrative history of the law.⁴⁹ In the case of

Davis-Bacon, such records are replete with both explicitly and implicitly racist statements. Consequently, the Act should be rendered unconstitutional. As the Supreme Court stated in *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation*, "Where there is proof that a discriminatory purpose has been a motivating factor in the decision . . . judicial deference [to the legislature] is no longer justified."⁵⁰ The Institute will also demonstrate to the court that the law continues to have lingering discriminatory effects.

The Davis-Bacon Act also imposes on the right of individuals to pursue employment opportunities and thus violates guarantees of the Fifth Amendment's due process clause. The Act prevents individuals from freely bargaining for employment opportunities, by setting the terms of such contracts at a rate beyond the means of those who would employ them, with no rational basis for doing so.

CONCLUSION

The Davis-Bacon Act has undermined the efforts of economic outsiders to find employment in the construction industry for more than six decades. Borne of racial animus, the law continues to disrupt the efforts of blacks and other minorities to gain precious employment and contracting opportunities and to establish for themselves more prosperous communities. Given the influence that the labor unions exercise over Congress and the Clinton administration, it is highly unlikely that either of these branches of government will repeal or substantially modify the Davis-Bacon Act. The only avenue that remains is litigation. If successful, the Institute for Justice's efforts will constitute a tremendous victory for the cause of economic liberty and individual empowerment.

(Prepared for the Institute for Justice by Scott Bullock and John Frantz.)

FOOTNOTES

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² *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

³ David Bernstein, *The Davis-Bacon Act: Let's Bring Jim Crow to an End*, Cato Institute Briefing Paper, Number 17, January 18, 1993, pp. 4-5.

⁴ Johnson, "Negro Workers and the Unions," *The Survey*, April 15, 1928.

⁵ *Congressional Record*, January 18, 1927, Vol. 68, Part 2, p. 1904.

⁶ *Hours of Labor and Wages on Public Works*, Hearings Before the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, February 28, 1927, pp. 2-4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸ Stuart Schulman, "The Case Against the Davis-Bacon Act," *Government-Union Review*, Winter 1983, p. 23.

⁹ Richard Weaver, *Negro Labor: A National Problem*, (Port Washington, NY, Kennikat Press, 1948), p. 12.

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¹¹ *Rates of Wages for Laborers and Mechanics on Public Buildings of the United States*, 74 *Congressional Record* 6504, 6513 (1931).

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 6515-6520.

¹³ Bernstein, p. 3.

¹⁴ *Employment of Labor on Federal Construction Work*, 6516.

¹⁵ Bernstein, p. 8.

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¹⁷ Herbert Northrup, "The Helper Controversy in the Construction Industry," *Journey of Labor Research*, Fall, 1992, p. 421.

¹⁸ "Asides: Hurricane Relief," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1992.

¹⁹ "Sen. Brown Introduces Bill to Repeal Davis-Bacon Act," *Current Developments*, the Bureau of National Affairs, July 15, 1993, p. A7.

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²¹ Shawn Miller, "Volunteers Need Not Apply," *Insight on the News*, December 14, 1992, p. 12.

²² Patrick Barry, "Congress's Deconstruction Theory," *The Washington Monthly*, January, 1990, p. 12.

²³ "Davis-Bacon Meets Jim Crow," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 22, 1992, p. A10.

²⁴ Bernstein, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁷ Richard Vedder and Lowell Galloway, *Racial Dimensions of the Davis-Bacon Act*, prepared for the Heritage Foundation, November, 1990, presently unpublished.

²⁸ National Urban League, *Quarterly Report on the African American Worker*, First Quarter 1992, No. 32, p. 1.

²⁹ National Urban League, *Quarterly Economic Report on the African American Worker*, Fourth Quarter, 1992, Table 7 (presently unpublished).

³⁰ John Gould and George Billingsmeyer, *The Economics of the Davis-Bacon Act*, (Washington, DC, American Enterprise Institute, 1980), p. 62.

³¹ Testimony by National Association of Minority Contractors before House Subcommittee on Labor Standards of the Committee on Education and Labor, September 30, 1986, p. 3.

³² Government Printing Office, *General Wage Determinations Issued Under Davis-Bacon and Related Acts*, Volume 1, East Region, Philadelphia County.

³³ Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Occupational Pay and Employee Benefits, *Occupational Compensation Survey*, November 1992, p. 15.

³⁴ Government Printing Office, *General Wage Determinations Issued Under Davis-Bacon and Related Acts*, Volume 1, Cook County.

³⁵ *Occupational Compensation Survey*, p. 15.

³⁶ Barry, pp. 12-13.

³⁷ *Employment of Labor on Federal Construction Work*, p. 6511.

³⁸ Barry, p. 10.

³⁹ Miller, p. 16-17.

⁴⁰ Bernstein, p. 8.

⁴¹ Barry, p. 13.

⁴² Miller, p. 17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁴ "Davis-Bacon Meets Jim Crow," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 22, 1992, p. A10.

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⁴⁶ Steven Chapman, "Loss for Public Housing Tenants," *The Washington Times*, July 24, 1990, Commentary, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Scott Hodge, "Davis-Bacon, Racist Then, Racist Now," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 25, 1990, p. A14.

⁴⁸ Barry, p. 11.

⁴⁹ *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation*, 429 U.S. 252, 266 (1977).

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ON THE RANGELAND PROVISIONS OF H.R. 2520, THE INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise to state my support for Chairman BYRD's decision to remove from this bill provisions relating to rangeland reform. As you know, I strongly opposed these provisions because they had not gone through the proper legislative process.

I agree with the Secretary of the Interior that the Federal Government should promote wise stewardship policies that are fair to the rancher and to the general public. I and other western Senators did not oppose these provisions because they would increase grazing fees or for fear of changing our Nation's rangeland policy, but rather that it had not gone through the proper legislation process, and the people affected by it were not given the opportunity to help shape it.

The so-called compromise considered by this body contained legislation which would have drastically affected Federal lands, including water rights. If you include Indian Trust lands. Sev-

enty percent of Arizona is under the direct control of the Federal Government that would be affected by this measure. In my opinion, policy changes affecting this much of my home State and other western States must be closely scrutinized. Clearly, these proposals were not carefully reviewed and many people have expressed serious concerns about it.

I have heard from Arizona Governor, Fife Symington, the Arizona Department of Water Resources, and many of the country officials of my State expressing their concerns about the proposed reforms. Additionally, thousands of rural Arizonans have contracted me for fear that their livelihoods and communities might be destroyed. In light of all of these concerns, I believe it would be reckless and unwise for us to go forward and enact a measure without having even one congressional hearing on it.

My colleagues are well aware that normally when legislation is passed by this body, hearings are held, changes are made by committees, and all Members have the opportunity to offer amendments on the Senate floor before it is voted on.

This proposal was not considered by the appropriate committee, no hearings were held and Members could not offer amendments to modify it. Supporters of this provision have argued that the general topic has been the subject to many studies and hearings, therefore, we should move forward and enact this so-called reform. I do not agree.

My colleagues know that this legislation has not been the subject of congressional hearings nor has it been thoroughly examined. It was crafted and adopted by a few Members of this body during a conference with the House of Representatives. This is not how important public policy should be decided.

Mr. President, now that this issue has been resolved in relation to the Interior appropriations bill, I hope that it will not lose our attention. I urge the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee to take up this matter and begin hearings that can lead to reform which will protect both the precious natural resources in our western States and the economies of western rural communities.

As result of this provision being stripped out of the conference report, Secretary Babbitt can proceed administratively with rangeland reform. I continue to believe that these important public policy issues should be decided by Congress. However, it is my hope and expectation that he will hold public hearings and carefully consider the views of all interested parties.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO USE THE LINE-ITEM VETO

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have long supported a line-veto for the President. I have proposed constitutional amendments to grant the President such authority, and I have supported statutory enhanced rescission authority.

As these measures have failed, after extensive legal research and analysis, I now urge the President to exercise the line-item veto without further legislative action. I do so because I believe, after a careful review of the historical record, that the President already has the authority under the Constitution to veto individual items of appropriation in an appropriations bill and that neither an amendment to the Constitution nor legislation granting enhanced rescission authority is necessary.

The line-item veto would be effective in helping to reduce the huge deficit that now burdens our country. While alone it is no panacea, its use would enable the President to veto specific items of appropriation in large spending bills, thereby restraining some of the pork barrel or purely local projects that creep into every appropriations bill. With the broad national interest rather than purely local concerns at work, the President's use of the line-item veto would cut significant amounts of this type of spending.

The line-item veto would also have a salutary effect on Members of Congress. Knowing that their attempts to insert items into appropriations bills will be subjected to presidential scrutiny, Members are likely to become more reluctant to seek special favors for the home district at the expense of the Nation at large. While such discretionary programs and earmarks do not account for a large part of Federal spending, getting control over them will improve the authorization and appropriations process. The President could use the veto to eliminate funding for unauthorized programs. Such a message would motivate Congress to reauthorize programs with regularity, improving our oversight and the effectiveness of the government.

The line-item veto is not a partisan issue. It is a good government issue. Many Democrats support the line-item veto; some Republicans oppose it. As a candidate in 1992, Bill Clinton firmly embraced the line-item veto. As President, he has the opportunity to make effective use of it to help control in some small measure the deficits we accumulate. By exercising this option, the President can provide a check on unfettered spending and carve away many of the pork-barrel projects contained in both versions of the budget that serve primarily private, not national interests.

Beyond the specific savings, the presence and use of the line-item veto by

the President could give the public assurances that tax dollars were not being wasted. Each year the media reports many instances of congressional expenditures which border, if in fact they do not pass, the frivolous. Those expenditures are made because of the impracticality of having the President veto an entire appropriations bill or sometimes a continuing resolution. That creates a general impression that public funds are routinely wasted by the Congress.

The line-item veto could eliminate such waste and help to dispel that notion. The resentment to taxes is obviously much less when the public does not feel the monies are being wasted. Notwithstanding the so called taxpayers' revolts in some states, there is still a willingness by the citizenry to approve taxes for specific items where the taxpayers believe their funds are being spent for a useful purpose. The line-item veto could be a significant factor in improving such public confidence in governmental spending even beyond the specific savings.

I now turn to the basis for my position that the President already has authority under the Constitution to exercise the line-item veto, without a need for additional constitutional or statutory legislation.

The constitutional basis for the President's exercise of a line-item veto is found in article I, section 7, clause 3 of the Constitution. Clause 2 of article I, section 7 provides the executive the authority to veto bills in their entirety. The question of conferring on the President the power to veto specific items within a bill appears not to have been discussed at the Constitutional Convention. During the drafting of the Constitution, however, James Madison expressed his concern that Congress might try to get around the President's veto power by labeling "bills" by some other term. In response to Madison's concern, Edmund Randolph proposed and the Convention adopted the third clause of article I, section 7, whose language was taken directly from a provision of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.

Clause 3 of article I, section 7 provides that in addition to bills (the veto of which is set forth in clause 2),

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the case of a Bill.

While the clause does not explicitly set out the executive authority to veto individual items of appropriation, the context and practice are evidence that that was its purpose. According to noted historian Professor Forrest

McDonald of the University of Alabama, the clause was taken directly from a provision of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. In his article entitled "The Framers' Conception of the Veto Power," published in the monograph *Pork Barrels and Principles: The Politics of the Presidential Veto 1-7* (1988), Professor McDonald explains that the provision dates back to the state's fundamental charter of 1733 and was implemented specifically to give the royal Governor a check, on the unbridled spending of the colonial legislature, which had put the colony in serious debt by avoiding the governor's veto power by appointing money through "votes" rather than through legislation.

Professor McDonald also points out that the time of the Constitution's ratification process, anti-Federalist pamphleteers opposed the proposed Constitution and in particular clause 3 of article I, section 7, precisely because it "made too strong a line-item veto in the hands of the President."

Federalists, on the other hand, saw clause 3 and the power to veto individual items of appropriation as an important executive privilege—one that was essential in assuring fiscal responsibility while also comporting with the delicate balance of power they were seeking to achieve. For example, during his state's ratifying convention, James Bowdoin, the Federalist governor of Massachusetts, argued that the veto power conferred to the President in the Federal Constitution was to be read in light of the Massachusetts experience under which, as I have already noted, the governor had enjoyed the right to veto or reduce by line-item since 1733.

In the Federalist No. 69, Alexander Hamilton, a member of the Constitutional Convention who was soon to become the first Secretary of the Treasury, wrote that the constitutional veto power "tallies exactly with the revisionary authority of the council of revision" in New York, which, according to Professor McDonald, had the power to revise appropriations bills, not merely accept or reject legislation enactment in their entirety. This power was not unique to New York, as the Governors of Massachusetts, Georgia, and Vermont—soon to be the first new State admitted to the new union—also enjoyed revisionary authority over legislative appropriations.

As many of my colleagues know, our distinguished colleague from West Virginia, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has made a serious of speeches on the Senate floor drawing on his vast knowledge about the historical underpinnings of our republican form of government and on the Framers' rationale for the checks and balances they created. His review of Roman history is apt, because, as he knows, the Framers were acutely

aware of Roman history. This awareness helped them develop their government of limited powers and of checks and balances. The Framers knew that the vice of faction, the desire to pursue one's private interest at the expense of the public interest, had helped bring on the downfall of the Roman Republic. Madison and others were convinced that by diffusing power and balancing it off in different branches of government, we might avoid to the fullest extent possible, the defects of faction.

In another sense, however, the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, overlooks the fundamental differences between Rome's ancient government and ours. In ours, the people have a direct say. In Rome's the male citizens had a limited, indirect say, but mostly the ruling class was hereditary or was based on wealth. We have a democracy; Rome did not.

This fundamental difference between our Nation and ancient Rome means that there are more factions with which our Government must contend. With so many different factions, or interest groups as we call them today, it is much easier for one of them to capture a single Member of Congress to advance its cause and to fund it. Each Representative has a much narrower focus than a Senator, each of whom has a much narrower focus than the President. Thus, Congress is more susceptible to pressure from factions, as one Member who wants a favor for a particular faction trades his or her support for another Member's preferred faction. We all know that this appropriations log-rolling occurs. Ultimately, the President is presented with one large spending bill, much of which reflects the political horse-trading that occurs.

The line-item veto sheds light on the power of private interests that seek to use the appropriations process for their own private benefit. By excising line items and making Congress vote on them individually in an effort to override the veto, the President can shed light directly on these private interests and force Members to be more accountable to their constituents by voting on the projects identified by the President as unnecessary and wasteful.

Some, like the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, contend that the line-item veto would result in an intolerable shift of power from Congress to the Executive. To this argument, I have two responses. The first is that, as I believe I show, the framers of the Constitution intended that the President have the authority to veto individual items of appropriations. Thus, in their concept, the line-item veto does not offend the balance of powers.

The second response is related to the entire structure of the Government. The Constitution places the power of the purse in the hands of Congress. It is

a peculiarly legislative function to decide how much money to spend and how to allocate these expenditures. In this regard, however, spending is no different than any other legislative function. Thus, there is no reason to consider the line-item veto any more of an infringement of the separation of powers than the President's ability to veto bills at all. Hamilton recognized the structural importance of the veto in the Federalist 73, when he wrote that the veto provides "an additional security against the enactment of improper laws * * * to guard the community against the effects of faction, precipitancy, or of any impulse unfriendly to the public good, which may happen to influence a majority of [the legislative] body" from time to time. The framers were acutely aware that it is the legislative branch that is most susceptible to factional influence. Thus, they understood that the veto served a critical role.

But, opponents of the line-item veto argue, Hamilton's point went to bills as a whole, and not simply pieces of them. The legislative process necessarily relies on horse-trading to get things done, and nowhere is such trading more important than in the appropriations process. This response, while acknowledging the reality, is an answer that directly contradicts the framers' intent and leads to bad government, for it accepts the premise that factions and the prominent Members of Congress who support their causes much be bought off with goodies in appropriations bills. But that is precisely the evil that the framers sought to insulate against with the veto.

Given the role of factions in the appropriation process, the use of the line-item veto is completely consistent with the framers' conception of the veto power. Indeed, that is not surprising, as the framers believed they had granted the President a line-item veto. Despite the arguments of the distinguished Chairman of the Appropriations Committee to the contrary, the line-item veto was not only intended by the Framers but is an appropriate limitation on congressional authority to combat the force of faction.

This process would not surprise the framers of the Constitution. Madison and the others who met in Philadelphia in 1787 were not just knowledgeable about history. They were practical men of affairs and politics who understood human nature. They knew the dangers of faction and the likelihood that faction would influence Congress more so than the President, who is responsible to the entire Nation, not a single district or State.

Thus, it is only to be expected that the framers provided Congress with the power to appropriate funds, tempered with executive authority to line-item veto as a means of expunging special interest spending was their resolution,

and history bears this out. The line-item veto is entirely consistent with the framers' conception of government and the dangers of faction.

Shortly after the new federal Constitution was ratified, several states, including Georgia, Vermont, Kentucky, and my home state of Pennsylvania, rewrote their constitutions to conform with the federal one and specifically incorporated language to give to their executives the authority to exercise a line-item veto. These states were in addition to the states like Massachusetts and New York, where the governor's power to revise items of appropriation was well-established. For example, article II, section 10 of the Georgia Constitution of 1789 gave the governor the power of revision of all bills subject to a two-thirds vote of the general assembly. Section 16 of chapter II of the Vermont Constitution of 1793 vested in the governor and council the right to revise legislation or to propose amendments to the legislature, which would have to adopt the proposed amendments if the bill were to be enacted. Article I of the Kentucky Constitution of 1792 and section 23 of article I of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1792 and section 23 of article I of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 tracked the language of article I, section 7, clause 3 of the new United States Constitution.

The chief executives of both the State and new Federal governments immediately employed the line-item veto. On the national level, the early practice was one in which the President viewed appropriations as permissive rather than mandatory. President Washington and his Treasury Secretary Hamilton assumed the authority to shift appropriated funds from one account to another. Although his party had at one time opposed such transfers, once he became President, Republican Thomas Jefferson also embraced the practice, and at least on two occasions, he refused to spend money that the Congress had appropriated.

The practice continued. As late as 1830, President Andrew Jackson declined to enforce provisions of a congressional enactment. Likewise in 1842, President John Tyler signed a bill that he refused to execute in full. It was not until after the Civil War that a President assumed he did not already have the authority to veto individual items of appropriation, when President Grant urged the Congress to grant him such authority.

But President Grant's view was anomalous. The framers' understanding and their original intent was that the Constitution did provide the authority to veto or impound specific items of appropriation. The states understood that to be the case, and many in fact embraced the federal model as a means of providing their own executives this same authority.

I believe that the evidence strongly supports the position that under the

Constitution the President has the authority to employ the line-item veto. At the very least, the President's use of the line-item veto will almost certainly engender a court challenge if the veto is not overridden. The courts will then decide whether the Constitution authorizes the line-item veto. If they find it does, then the matter will be settled. If they find it does not, then Congress may revisit the issue and decide whether to amend the Constitution or grant statutory enhanced reversion authority to the President.

In conclusion, I urge the President to employ the line-item veto if he is seriously committed to deficit reduction. As I have argued here today, the authority to exercise this power is not dependent on the adoption of a constitutional amendment or any additional legislation; it already exists. The framers' intent and the historical practice of the first Presidents serve as ample evidence that the Constitution confers to the executive the authority to line-item veto. Given President Clinton's use of the line-item veto as governor and his support of it as a candidate, I urge him to act on that authority consistent with his rightful power to do so.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of a memorandum I have prepared summarizing my research into the Framers' intent to establish a line-item veto and the early national practice be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor. There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM—PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY TO EXERCISE A LINE-ITEM VETO

The President currently enjoys the authority under the Constitution to exercise a line-item veto without any additional constitutional or statutory authority. The constitutional basis for the President's exercise of a line-item veto is to be found in article I, section 7, clause 3 of the Constitution.

The first article of the Constitution vests legislative authority in the two Houses of Congress established thereunder. Clause 2 of section 7 of the first article provides the presidential authority and procedure to veto "bills." This is the basis for the President's clearly established authority to veto legislation. The provision also established the procedure under which Congress may override the President's veto.

The question of conferring authority on the President to veto specific items within a bill was not discussed at the Constitutional Convention. During the drafting of the Constitution in 1787, however, James Madison noted in his subsequently published diary that he had expressed his concern that Congress might try to get around the President's veto power by labeling "bills" by some other term. In response to Madison's concern and in order to guard the President's veto authority from encroachment or being undermined and preserve the careful balance of power it sought to establish, Edmund Randolph of Virginia proposed and the Convention adopted language from the Massachusetts Constitution which became article I, section 7, clause 3.

This clause requires that in addition to bills:

"Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrent of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill" [these being set forth in article I, section 7, clause 2].

In combination with the preceding clause 2 of section 7, this third clause gives the President the authority to veto any legislative adoption of Congress, subject to congressional override.

The historical context of its adoption supports the position that clause 3 vests the President with authority to veto individual items of appropriation.

According to the noted historian Professor Forrest McDonald in his paper "The Framers' Conception of the Veto Power," published in "Pork Barrels and Principles: The Politics of the Presidential Veto" 1-7 (1988), clause 3 was taken directly from a provision of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. This provision set in the State's fundamental charter Massachusetts law dating to 1733 first implemented to give the Royal Governor a check on unbridled spending by the colonial legislature, which had put the colony in serious debt by avoiding the governor's veto power by appropriating money through "votes" rather than legislation. Professor McDonald has also noted in an oped article published in the Wall Street Journal, that the agents of the King of England could disapprove or alter colonial legislative enactments "in any part thereof."

Discussion and debate at the Constitutional Convention over the meaning of clause 3 was scant. In his notes of the proceedings of the Convention, our main source for the intent of the Framers of our fundamental Charter, Madison noted only that Roger Sherman of Connecticut "thought [article I, section 7, clause 3] unnecessary, except as to votes taking money out of the Treasury." No other member of the Convention appears to have discussed the clause. Sherman's comment was important, as it demonstrates the context in which the Framers saw the newly added provision: it was needed only insofar as it pertained to votes appropriating money from the Treasury. Perhaps discussion was so scant because the meaning of the clause was clear to the Framers.

In his 1988 article, Professor McDonald notes that two Anti-Federalist pamphleteers opposed the proposed Constitution in part because article I, section 7, clause 3 "made too strong a line-item veto in the hands of the President." The Federalist Governor of Massachusetts, James Bowdoin, argued during the Massachusetts ratifying convention that the veto power was to be read in light of the Massachusetts experience in which, as noted, the line-item veto was exercised by the governor. In The Federalist No. 69, Alexander Hamilton wrote that the constitutional veto power "tallies exactly with the revisionary authority of the council of revision" in New York, which, according to Professor McDonald, had the power to revise appropriations bills, not merely turn down the entire legislative enactment. Massachusetts, Georgia, and Vermont also gave their executives revisionary authority over legislative appropriations.

Roger Sherman's comment was prescient, as he focused on the issue confronting us over 200 years later. The language of clause 3 has proven to be redundant, as Congress has not attempted to avoid the strictures of the second clause. But clause 3 is not superfluous as regards, in Sherman's language, "votes taking money out of the Treasury." In order to give effect to this provision, the President must have the authority to separate out different items from a single appropriation bill and veto one or more of those individual items.

This reading is consistent with the early national practice, under which Presidents viewed appropriations as permissive rather than mandatory. President Washington and his Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, assumed that the President had the authority to shift appropriated funds from one account to another. The former Anti-Federalists, having become the Republican party, objected to these transfers. Once a Republican, Thomas Jefferson, became President, however, he too considered appropriations bills to be permissive and refused on at least two occasions to spend money that had been appropriated by Congress.

Professor McDonald points out in his 1988 article that shortly after the new Federal Constitution was ratified, several of the States rewrote their constitutions to conform their basic charters to the new Federal one. The contemporaneous experience of these States is highly relevant to the Framers' understanding of the text they had devised. Several States adopted new constitutions in 1789 or the early 1790's. Of these, Georgia and Pennsylvania, and the new States of Vermont and Kentucky all adopted constitutions that included the phrasing of article I, section 7 to enable their governors to exercise the line-item veto.

According to a 1984 report of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives, "The Line-Item Veto: An Appraisal," the practice at the national level of the President's exercise of a line-item veto continued. President Andrew Jackson declined, over congressional objection, to enforce provisions of a congressional enactment in 1830. In 1842, President John Tyler signed a bill that he refused to execute in full. Instead, he advised Congress that he had deposited with the Secretary of State "an exposition of my reasons for giving [in bill] my sanction." Congress issued a report challenging the legality of the President's action.

Professor McDonald noted that between 1844 and 1859, three northern States, responding to fiscal problems, adopted constitutions explicitly providing their governors with power to veto individual items of appropriation. Building on this history, the provisional Constitution of the Confederate States of America also made explicit that the President of the Confederacy had line-item veto authority.

It was only after the Civil War that President Grant suggested that he did not already enjoy the authority to veto individual items of appropriation and other specific riders to legislation and urged that he be granted such authority. President Grant's position that he did not enjoy a line-item veto under the Constitution was directly contradictory to the original understanding of the Constitution, a position endorsed by Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Tyler through usage. It ignored the original understanding of the Framers of the Constitution and the historical context in which that document was drafted. Proposals for a Federal line-item veto have been made intermittently since the Grant Administration.

An alternative argument based on the language of article I, section 7, clause 2, but consistent with the original understanding of the veto power, has also been made to support the President's exercise of a line-item veto. In discussing why the issue of a line-item veto was not raised during the Constitutional Convention, Professor Russell Ross of the University of Iowa and former United States Representative Fred Schwengel wrote in an article "An Item Veto for the President?", 12 *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 66 (1982), "[i]t is at least possible that this subject was not raised because those attending the Convention gave the term 'bill' a much narrower construction than has since been applied to the term. It may have been envisioned that a bill would be concerned with only one specific subject and that subject would be clearly stated in the title."

Professor Ross and Mr. Schwengel quote at length the former Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Hatton W. Sumners, who defended this view in a 1937 letter to the Speaker of the House that was reprinted in the Congressional Record on February 27, 1942. Chairman Sumners was of the view that the term "bill" as used in clause 2 of section 7 of the first article was intended to be applied narrowly to refer to "items which might have been the subject matter of separate bills." This reading he thought most consistent with the purpose and plan of the Constitution. Thus, Chairman Sumners believed that clause 2, as originally intended, could also be relied upon to vest line-item veto authority in the President.

Chairman Sumners's reading is also consistent with the practice in some of the colonies. Professor McDonald cites to the Maryland constitution of 1776, which expressly provided that any enacted bill could have only one subject. Several other States followed Maryland during the succeeding decades and limited legislative enactments to a single subject.

A review of the contemporary understanding of the veto provisions of the Constitution when drafted supports the view that the President currently enjoys line-item veto authority, which several Presidents have exercised.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Edwin R. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT RELATIVE TO THE CONTINUED BLOCKING OF PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT ASSETS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 69

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message

from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report on April 21, 1993, concerning the continued blocking of Panamanian government assets. This report is submitted pursuant to section 207(d) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

On April 5, 1990, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12710, terminating the national emergency declared on April 8, 1988, with respect to Panama. While this order terminated the sanctions imposed pursuant to that declaration, the blocking of Panamanian government assets in the United States was continued in order to permit completion of the orderly unblocking and transfer of funds that the President directed on December 20, 1989, and to foster the resolution of claims of U.S. creditors involving Panama, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(a). The termination of the national emergency did not affect the continuation of compliance audits and enforcement actions with respect to activities taking place during the sanctions period, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1622(a).

Since the last report, \$400,000 has been unblocked by specific license. Of the approximately \$5.9 million remaining blocked at this time, some \$5.3 million is held in escrow by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York at the request of the Government of Panama. Additionally, approximately \$600,000 is held in commercial bank accounts for which the Government of Panama has not requested unblocking. A small residual in blocked reserve accounts established under section 565.509 of the Panamanian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR 565.509, remains on the books of U.S. firms pending the final reconciliation of accounting records involving claims and counterclaims between the firms and the Government of Panama.

I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on the exercise of authorities to prohibit transactions involving property in which the Government of Panama has an interest, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, November 9, 1993.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:07 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills and joint resolution, each without amendment:

S. 836. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to provide for a study of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (The Royal

Road of the Interior Lands), and for other purposes.

S. 983. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to study the El Camino Real Para Los Texas for potential addition to the National Trails System, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 139. Joint resolution to designate the third Sunday in November of 1993 as "National Children's Day."

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 457. An act to provide for the conveyance of lands to certain individuals in Butte County, California.

H.R. 2440. An act to amend the Independent Safety Board Act of 1974 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1994, 1995, and 1996, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2722. An act to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 with respect to State and local firefighters and law enforcement officers; and to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Amendments of 1986 to prevent the repeal of the exemption for certain bona fide hiring and retirement plans applicable to State and local firefighters and law enforcement officers.

H.R. 3161. An act to make technical amendments necessitated by the enactment of the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1992, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3197. An act to redesignate the postal facility located at 2100 North 13th Street in Reading, Pennsylvania, as the "Gus Yatron Postal Facility."

H.R. 3285. An act to redesignate the postal facility located at 1401 West Fort Street, Detroit, Michigan, as the "George W. Young Post Office."

H.J. Res. 75. Joint resolution designating January 16, 1994, as "National Good Teen Day."

H.J. Res. 79. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the week beginning on November 21, 1993, and November 20, 1994, as "National Family Week."

The message further announced that the House has passed the following bill, with an amendment, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 654. An act to amend the Indian Environmental General Assistance Program Act of 1992 to extend the authorization of appropriations.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 88. Concurrent resolution recognizing and commending American airmen held as prisoners of war at the Buchenwald concentration camp during World War II for their service, bravery, and fortitude.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 836. An Act to amend the national Trails system Act to provide for a study of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (The Royal Road of the Interior Lands), and for other purposes.

S. 983. An Act to amend the National Trails System Act to direct the Secretary of

the Interior to study the El Camino Real Para Los Texas for potential addition to the National Trails System, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 139. Joint Resolution to designate the third Sunday in November of 1993 as "National Children's Day."

At 6:57 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House recedes from its amendment to the amendment of the Senate number 123 to the bill (H.R. 2520) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes, and agrees to the action of the Senate on the aforesaid amendment.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2639. An act to authorize appropriations for the promotion and development of the United States national telecommunications and information infrastructure, the construction and planning of public broadcasting facilities, and for other purposes.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following measures were read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 457. An act to provide for the conveyance of lands to certain individuals in Butte County, California; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 2440. An act to amend the Independent Safety Board Act of 1974 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1994, 1995, and 1996, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

H.R. 2639. An act to authorize appropriations for the promotion and development of the United States national telecommunications and information infrastructure, the construction and planning of public broadcasting facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

H.R. 2722. An act to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 with respect to State and local firefighters and law enforcement officers; and to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Amendments of 1986 to prevent the repeal of the exemption for certain bona fide hiring and retirement plans applicable to State and local firefighters and law enforcement officers; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

H.R. 3197. An act to redesignate the postal facility located at 2100 North 13th Street in Reading, Pennsylvania, as the "Gus Yatron Postal Facility"; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

H.R. 3285. An act to redesignate the postal facility located at 1401 West Fort Street, Detroit, Michigan, as the George W. Young Post Office; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

H.J. Res. 75. Joint resolution designating January 16, 1994, as "National Good Teen Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The following measure was read and referred as indicated:

H. Con. Res. 88. Concurrent resolution recognizing and commending American airmen

held as prisoners of war at the Buchenwald concentration camp during World War II for their service, bravery, and fortitude; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. RIEGLE, from the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute: S. 1299. A bill to reform requirements for the disposition of multifamily property owned by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, enhance program flexibility, authorize a program to combat crime, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 103-174).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BAUCUS, from the Committee on Environment and Public Works:

Jonathan Z. Cannon, of Virginia, to be Chief Financial Officer, Environmental Protection Agency.

By Mr. HOLLINGS, from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

Robert T. Watson, of Virginia, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy;

Jane M. Wales, of New York, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy;

Mary Rita Cooke Greenwood, of California, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy; and

the following officers of the U.S. Coast Guard for appointment to the grade of rear admiral (lower half) Douglas H. Teeson, II, Edward J. Barrett, Robert C. North, and Timothy W. Josiah.

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed, subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 839

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] was added as a cosponsor of S. 839, a bill to establish a program to facilitate development of high-speed rail transportation in the United States, and for other purposes.

S. 1268

At the request of Mr. WOFFORD, the name of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1268, a bill to amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 with respect to rules governing litigation contesting termination or reduction of retiree health benefits.

S. 1329

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES] and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI] were added as

cosponsors of S. 1329, a bill to provide for an investigation of the whereabouts of the United States citizens and others who have been missing from Cyprus since 1974.

S. 1425

At the request of Mr. CONRAD, the name of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1425, a bill to establish a National Appeals Division of the Department of Agriculture to hear appeals of adverse decisions made by certain agencies of the Department, and for other purposes.

S. 1450

At the request of Mrs. FEINSTEIN, the name of the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1450, a bill respecting the relationship between the workers' compensation benefits and the benefits available under the Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act.

S. 1491

At the request of Mr. FORD, the name of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. EXON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1491, a bill to amend the Airport and Airway Improvement Act of 1982 to authorize appropriations, and for other purposes.

S. 1495

At the request of Mr. INOUE, the names of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. KEMPTHORNE] were added as cosponsors of S. 1495, a bill to repeal the reduction in the deductible portion of expenses for business meals and entertainment.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 41

At the request of Mr. SIMON, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 41, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to require a balanced budget.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 47

At the request of Mr. JOHNSTON, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. WOFFORD], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. KEMPTHORNE], the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MATHEWS], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 47, a joint resolution to designate the week beginning on November 21, 1993, and the week beginning on November 20, 1994, each as "National Family Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 52

At the request of Mr. PACKWOOD, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 52, a joint resolution to designate the month of November 1993 and 1994 as "National Hospice Month."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 139

At the request of Mr. WOFFORD, his name was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 139, a joint resolution to designate the third Sunday in November of 1993 as "National Children's Day."

SENATE RESOLUTION 128

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. WOFFORD] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 128, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the protection to be accorded United States copyright-based industries under agreements entered into pursuant to the Uruguay round of trade negotiations.

AMENDMENT NO. 1130

At the request of Mr. SMITH his name was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1130 proposed to S. 1607, a bill to control and prevent crime.

AMENDMENT NO. 1140

At the request of Mr. BRYAN his name was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1140 proposed to S. 1607, a bill to control and prevent crime.

At the request of Mr. THURMOND his name was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1140 proposed to S. 1607, supra.

AMENDMENT NO. 1141

At the request of Mr. LIEBERMAN the names of the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER] were added as cosponsors of amendment No. 1141 proposed to S. 1607, a bill to control and prevent crime.

At the request of Mr. THURMOND his name was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1141 proposed to S. 1607, supra.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL
LEGISLATIONMOSELEY-BRAUN AMENDMENT NO.
1146

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN submitted the following amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill (S. 1607) to control and prevent crime, as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following:

SEC. . PROVISION OF FIREARM OR AMMUNITION
TO JUVENILE HAVING REASONABLE
CAUSE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE
USED TO COMMIT A CRIME.

(a) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(s) It shall be unlawful for a person over the age of 18 to provide a firearm or ammunition to a person who he knows or has reasonable cause to believe is under the age of 18 if the person who provides it has reasonable cause to believe that the person is acquiring the firearm or ammunition with the intent that it will be used to commit a crime."

(b) PENALTY.—Section 924(e) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(5) A person who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both."

D'AMATO (AND OTHERS)
AMENDMENT NO. 1147

Mr. D'AMATO (for himself, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. DOLE, Mr. HATCH, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. SMITH, Mr. GORTON, and Mr. GRAMM) proposed an amendment to amendment No. 1130 proposed by Mr. GRAMM to the bill S. 1607, supra, as follows:

In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted, insert the following:

Subtitle B—Mandatory Minimum Sentence
GuidelinesSEC. 2911. FLEXIBILITY IN APPLICATION OF MAN-
DATORY MINIMUM SENTENCE PRO-
VISIONS IN CERTAIN CIR-
CUMSTANCES.

(a) AMENDMENT OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—Section 3553 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCE PROVISIONS.—

"(1) SENTENCING UNDER THIS SECTION.—In the case of an offense described in paragraph (2), the court shall, notwithstanding the requirement of a mandatory minimum sentence in that section, impose a sentence in accordance with this section and the sentencing guidelines and any pertinent policy statement issued by the United States Sentencing Commission.

"(2) OFFENSES.—An offense is described in this paragraph if—

"(A) the defendant is subject to a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment under section 401 or 402 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841 and 844) or section 1010 of the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21 U.S.C. 960);

"(B) the defendant does not have—

"(i) more than 0 criminal history point under the sentencing guidelines; or

"(ii) any prior conviction, foreign or domestic, for a crime of violence against the person or drug trafficking offense that resulted in a sentence of imprisonment (or an adjudication as a juvenile delinquent for an act that, if committed by an adult, would constitute a crime of violence against the person or drug trafficking offense);

"(C) the offense did not result in death or serious bodily injury (as defined in section 1365) to any person—

"(i) as a result of the act of any person during the course of the offense; or

"(ii) as a result of the use by any person of a controlled substance that was involved in the offense;

"(D) the defendant did not carry or otherwise have possession of a firearm (as defined in section 921) or other dangerous weapon during the course of the offense and did not direct another person who possessed a firearm to do so and the defendant had no knowledge of any other conspirator involved possessing a firearm;

"(E) the defendant was not an organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor of others (as defined or determined under the sentencing guidelines) in the offense; and

"(F) the defendant was nonviolent in that the defendant did not use, attempt to use, or make a credible threat to use physical force against the person of another during the course of the offense."

"(G) The defendant did not own the drugs, finance any part of the offense, or sell the drugs.

(b) HARMONIZATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The United States Sentencing Commission—

(A) may make such amendments as it deems necessary and appropriate to harmonize the sentencing guidelines and policy statements with section 3553(f) of title 18, United States Code, as added by subsection (a), and promulgate policy statements to assist the courts in interpreting that provision; and

(B) shall amend the sentencing guidelines, if necessary, to assign to an offense under section 401 or 402 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841 and 844) or section 1010 of the Controlled Substances Import and Export Act (21 U.S.C. 960) to which a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment applies a guideline level that will result in the imposition of a term of imprisonment at least equal to the mandatory term of imprisonment that is currently applicable unless a downward adjustment is authorized under section 3553(f) of title 18, United States Code, as added by subsection (a).

(2) If the Commission determines that an expedited procedure is necessary in order for amendments made pursuant to paragraph (1) to become effective on the effective date specified in subsection (c), the Commission may promulgate such amendments as emergency amendments under the procedures set forth in section 21(a) of the Sentencing Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-182; 101 Stat. 1271), as though the authority under that section had not expired.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) and any amendments to the sentencing guidelines made by the United States Sentencing Commission pursuant to subsection (b) shall apply with respect to sentences imposed for offenses committed on or after the date that is 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any defendant who has been sentenced pursuant to 3553 (f) who is subsequently convicted to a violation of the Controlled Substances Act or any crime of violence for which imposition of a mandatory minimum term of imprisonment is required, he or she shall be sentenced to an additional 5 years imprisonment.

SEC. . MANDATORY PRISON TERMS FOR USE,
POSSESSION, OR CARRYING OF A
FIREARM OR DESTRUCTIVE DEVICE
DURING A STATE CRIME OF VIO-
LENCE OR STATE DRUG TRAFFICK-
ING CRIME.

Section 924(c) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(4)(A) A person who, during and in relation to a crime of violence or drug trafficking crime (including a crime of violence or drug trafficking crime that provides for an

enhanced punishment if committed by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon or device) for which the person may be prosecuted in a court of any State—

“(I) in the case of a first conviction of such a crime, in addition to the sentence imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime—

“(I) knowingly possesses a firearm shall be imprisoned not less than 10 years;

“(II) discharges a firearm with intent to injure another person shall be imprisoned not less than 20 years; or

“(III) knowingly possesses a firearm that is a machinegun or destructive device or is equipped with a firearm silencer or firearm muffler shall be imprisoned not less than 30 years;

“(II) in the case of a second conviction of such a crime, in addition to the sentence imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime—

“(I) shall be imprisoned not less than 20 years if the person was in possession of a firearm during and in relation to the violence or drug trafficking crime;

“(II) shall be imprisoned not less than 30 years if the person discharged a firearm during and in relation to the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime; or

“(III) if the person discharges a firearm that is a machinegun or a destructive device or is equipped with a firearm silencer or firearm muffler, shall be imprisoned for life; and

“(III) in the case of a third or subsequent conviction of such a crime, shall be imprisoned for life.

“(B)(i) Notwithstanding any other law, a court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person convicted of a violation of this subsection, nor shall a term of imprisonment imposed under this subsection run concurrently with any other term of imprisonment including that imposed for the crime of violence or drug trafficking crime in which the firearm was used.

“(ii) No person sentenced under this subsection shall be released for any reason whatsoever during a term of imprisonment imposed under this paragraph.

“(C) For the purposes of paragraph (A), a person shall be considered to be in possession of a firearm if—

“(i) in the case of a crime of violence, the person touches a firearm at the scene of the crime at any time during the commission of the crime; and

“(ii) in the case of a drug trafficking crime, the person has a firearm readily available at the scene of the crime.

“(D) Except in the case of a person who engaged in or participated in criminal conduct that gave rise to the occasion for the person's use of a firearm, this paragraph has no application to a person who may be found to have committed a criminal act while acting in defense of person or property during the course of a crime being committed by another person (including the arrest or attempted arrest of the offender during or immediately after the commission of the crime).

“(E) In this paragraph—

“‘crime of violence’ means an offense that is punishable by imprisonment for more than 1 year and—

“(I) has as an element the use, attempted use, or threatened use of physical force against the person or property of another; or

“(II) by its nature involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used during the course of the offense.

“‘drug trafficking crime’ means a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than 1

year involving the manufacture, distribution, possession, cultivation, sale, or transfer of a controlled substance, controlled substance analogue immediate precursor, or listed chemical (as those terms are defined in section 102 of the Controlled Substance Act (21 U.S.C. 802)), or an attempt or conspiracy to commit such a crime.

“(F) It is the intent of Congress that—

“(i) this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the effort of State and local prosecutors in prosecuting crimes of violence and drug trafficking crimes that could be prosecuted under State law; and

“(ii) the Attorney General shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

“(G) This paragraph does not create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any manner, civil or criminal, nor does it place any limitations on otherwise lawful prerogatives of the Attorney General.

“(H) There is a Federal jurisdiction over an offense under this paragraph if a firearm involved in the offense has moved at any time in interstate or foreign commerce.”

SEC. . MURDER INVOLVING FIREARM.

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section 540(a), is amended by adding at the end the following section:

“§ 1122. Murder involving firearm

“(a) OFFENSE.—A person who has been found guilty of causing, through the use of a firearm, as defined in section 921 of this title, the death of another person, intentionally, knowingly, or through recklessness manifesting extreme indifference to human life, or through the intentional infliction of serious bodily injury, shall be punished by death or imprisoned for any term of years or for life. Whenever the government seeks a sentence of death under this section, the procedures set forth in title 18, chapter 228, shall apply.

“(b) JURISDICTION.—There is Federal jurisdiction over an offense under this section if—

“(1) the conduct of the offender occurred in the course of an offense against the United States; or

“(2) a firearm involved in the offense has moved at any time in interstate or foreign commerce.”

“(C) It is the intent of Congress that—

“(1) this paragraph shall be used to supplement but not supplant the efforts of State and local prosecutors in prosecuting murders involving firearms that have moved in interstate or foreign commerce that could be prosecuted under State law; and

“(2) the Attorney General shall give due deference to the interest that a State or local prosecutor has in prosecuting a person under State law.

“(d) This paragraph does not create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any manner, civil or criminal, nor does it place any limitations on otherwise lawful prerogatives of the Attorney General.

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.—The chapter analysis for chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section 504(b), is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 1122. Murder involving firearm.”

SEC. . MANDATORY MINIMUM PRISON SENTENCES FOR THOSE WHO SELL ILLEGAL DRUGS TO MINORS OR WHO USE MINORS IN DRUG TRAFFICKING ACTIVITIES.

(a) DISTRIBUTION TO PERSONS UNDER AGE 18.—Section 418 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 859) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a) (first offense) by inserting after the second sentence “Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided by section 401(b), a term of imprisonment under this subsection in a case involving distribution to a person under 18 years of age by a person 21 or more years of age shall be not less than 10 years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence.”; and

(2) in subsection (b) (second offense) by inserting after the second sentence “Except to the extent a greater sentence is otherwise authorized by section 401(b), a term of imprisonment under this subsection in a case involving distribution to a person under 18 years of age by a person 21 or more years of age shall be a mandatory term of life imprisonment. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence.”

(b) EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE.—Section 420 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 861) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b) by adding at the end of the following: “Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided, a term of imprisonment of a person 21 or more years of age convicted under this subsection shall be not less than 10 years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence.”; and

(2) in subsection (c) (penalty for second offenses) by inserting after the second sentence the following: “Except to the extent a greater minimum sentence is otherwise provided, a term of imprisonment of a person 21 or more years of age convicted under this subsection shall be a mandatory term of life imprisonment. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the court shall not place on probation or suspend the sentence of any person sentenced under the preceding sentence.”

SEC. . LIFE IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT RELEASE FOR DRUG FELONS AND VIOLENT CRIMINALS CONVICTED A THIRD TIME.

Section 401(b)(1)(A) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 841(b)(1)(A)) is amended by striking “If any person commits a violation of this subparagraph or of section 418, 419, or 420 after two or more prior convictions for a felony drug offense have become final, such person shall be sentenced to a mandatory term of life imprisonment without release and fined in accordance with the preceding sentence” and inserting “If any person commits a violation of this subparagraph or of section 418, 419, or 420 (21 U.S.C. 859, 860, and 861) or a crime of violence after 2 or more prior convictions for a felony drug offense or crime of violence or for any combination thereof have become final, such person shall be sentenced to not less than a mandatory term of life imprisonment without release and fined in accordance with the preceding sentence. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘crime of violence’ means an offense that is a felony punishable by a maximum term of imprisonment of 10 years or more and has as an element the use, attempted use, or threatened use of physical force against the person or property of another, or by its nature involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used in the course of committing the offense.”

KOHL (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 1148

Mr. KOHL (for himself, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. THURMOND, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. SIMON, Mr. SIMPSON, Mrs. BOXER, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. PELL, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. GRAHAM, and Mr. DOLE) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1607, supra; as follows:

On page 127, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following:

Subtitle D—Youth Handgun Safety

SEC. 631. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a pervasive, nationwide problem.

(2) Problems with crime at the local level are exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs.

(3) Firearms and ammunition, and handguns in particular, move easily in interstate commerce, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

(4) In fact, even before the sale of a handgun, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce.

(5) While criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to the concern that violent crime is not under control, and foreigners may decline to travel in the United States for the same reason.

(6) Just as the hardened drug kingpins begin their life in the illicit drug culture by exposure to drugs at a young age, violent criminals often start their criminal careers on streets where the ready availability of guns to young people results in the acceptability of their random use.

(7) Violent crime and the use of illicit drugs go hand-in-hand, and attempts to control one without controlling the other may be fruitless.

(8) Individual States and localities find it impossible to handle the problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their effort unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures.

(9) Inasmuch as illicit drug activity and related violent crime overflow State lines and national boundaries, the Congress has power, under the interstate commerce clause and other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to combat these problems.

(10) The Congress finds that it is necessary and appropriate to assist the States in controlling crime by stopping the commerce in handguns with juveniles nationwide, and allowing the possession of handguns by juveniles only when handguns are possessed and used for legitimate purposes under appropriate conditions.

SEC. 632. PROHIBITION OF THE POSSESSION OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION BY, OR THE PRIVATE TRANSFER OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION TO, A JUVENILE.

(a) DEFINITION.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(29) The term ‘handgun’ means—

“(A) a firearm that has a short stock and is designed to be held and fired by the use of a single hand; and

“(B) any combination of parts from which a firearm described in subparagraph (A) can be assembled.”.

(b) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(s)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a juvenile, or to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(3) This subsection does not apply to—

“(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile or to the possession or use of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile if the handgun and ammunition are possessed and used by the juvenile—

“(i) in the course of employment, in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch), target practice, hunting, or a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a handgun;

“(ii) under the personal supervision of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm, except—

“(I) during transportation by the juvenile of an unloaded handgun in a locked container directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (1) is to take place and transportation by the juvenile of that handgun, unloaded and in a locked container, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor; or

“(II) with respect to ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun or ammunition with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian and at the direction of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State or local law from possessing a firearm.

“(iii) with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian; and

“(iv) in accordance with State and local law;

“(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun in the line of duty;

“(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile; or

“(D) the possession of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile taken in defense of the juvenile or other persons against an intruder into the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

“(4) A handgun or ammunition, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of

the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned to the lawful owner when such handgun or ammunition is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘juvenile’ means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

“(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

“(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

“(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown.”.

(c) PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking “paragraph (2) or (3) of”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5)(A)(i) A juvenile who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except that a juvenile described in clause (ii) shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation.

“(ii) A juvenile is described in this clause if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun or ammunition in violation of section 922(s)(2); and

“(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense under section 922(s) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense.

“(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(s)—

“(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 13 months, or both; and

“(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun or ammunition in the commission of a crime of violence, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.”.

(d) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROVISIONS IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—

(1) SECTION 5031.—Section 5031 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting “or a violation by such a person of section 922(s)” before the period at the end.

(2) SECTION 5032.—Section 5032 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph by inserting “or (s)” after “922(p)”; and

(B) in the fourth undesignated paragraph by inserting “or section 922(s) of this title,” before “criminal prosecution on the basis”.

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1974.—Section 223(a)(12)(A) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5633(a)(12)(A)) is amended by striking “which do not constitute violations of valid court orders” and inserting “(other than an offense that constitutes a violation of a valid court order or a violation of section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, or a similar State law).”.

(f) MODEL LAW.—The Attorney General, acting through the Director of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, shall—

(1) evaluate existing and proposed juvenile handgun legislation in each State;

(2) develop model juvenile handgun legislation that is constitutional and enforceable;

(3) prepare and disseminate to State authorities the findings made as the result of the evaluation; and

(4) report to Congress by December 31, 1994, findings and recommendations concerning the need or appropriateness of further action by the Federal Government.

MITCHELL (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 1149

Mr. MITCHELL, (for himself, Mr. KOHL, Mr. THURMOND, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. SIMON, and Mr. SIMPSON) proposed an amendment to amendment No. 1148 proposed by Mr. KOHL to the bill S. 1607, *supra*; as follows:

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

Youth Handgun Safety

SEC. 631. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) Crime, particularly crime involving drugs and guns, is a pervasive, nationwide problem.

(2) Problems with crime at the local level are exacerbated by the interstate movement of drugs, guns, and criminal gangs.

(3) Firearms and ammunition, and handguns in particular, move easily in interstate commerce, as documented in numerous hearings in both the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

(4) In fact, even before the sale of a handgun, the gun, its component parts, ammunition, and the raw materials from which they are made have considerably moved in interstate commerce.

(5) While criminals freely move from State to State, ordinary citizens may fear to travel to or through certain parts of the country due to the concern that violent crime is not under control, and foreigners may decline to travel in the United States for the same reason.

(6) Just as the hardened drug kingpins begin their life in the illicit drug culture by exposure to drugs at a young age, violent criminals often start their criminal careers on streets where the ready availability of guns to young people results in the acceptability of their random use.

(7) Violent crime and the use of illicit drugs go hand-in-hand, and attempts to control one without controlling the other may be fruitless.

(8) Individual States and localities find it impossible to handle the problem by themselves; even States and localities that have made a strong effort to prevent, detect, and punish crime find their effort unavailing due in part to the failure or inability of other States and localities to take strong measures.

(9) Inasmuch as illicit drug activity and related violent crime overflow State lines and national boundaries, the Congress has power, under the interstate commerce clause and

other provisions of the Constitution, to enact measures to combat these problems.

(10) The Congress finds that it is necessary and appropriate to assist the States in controlling crime by stopping the commerce in handguns with juveniles nationwide, and allowing the possession of handguns by juveniles only when handguns are possessed and used for legitimate purposes under appropriate conditions.

SEC. 632. PROHIBITION OF THE POSSESSION OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION BY, OR THE PRIVATE TRANSFER OF A HANDGUN OR AMMUNITION TO, A JUVENILE.

(a) DEFINITION.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(29) The term ‘handgun’ means—

“(A) a firearm that has a short stock and is designed to be held and fired by the use of a single hand; and

“(B) any combination of parts from which a firearm described in subparagraph (A) can be assembled.”.

(b) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(s)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, deliver, or otherwise transfer to a juvenile, or to a person who the transferor knows or has reasonable cause to believe is a juvenile—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(2) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a juvenile to knowingly possess—

“(A) a handgun; or

“(B) ammunition that is suitable for use only in a handgun.

“(3) This subsection does not apply to—

“(A) a temporary transfer of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile or to the possession or use of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile if the handgun and ammunition are possessed and used by the juvenile—

“(i) in the course of employment, in the course of ranching or farming related to activities at the residence of the juvenile (or on property used for ranching or farming at which the juvenile, with the permission of the property owner or lessee, is performing activities related to the operation of the farm or ranch), target practice, hunting, or a course of instruction in the safe and lawful use of a handgun;

“(ii) under the personal supervision of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State, or local law from possessing a firearm, except—

“(i) during transportation by the juvenile of an unloaded handgun in a locked container directly from the place of transfer to a place at which an activity described in clause (i) is to take place and transportation by the juvenile of that handgun, unloaded and in a locked container, directly from the place at which such an activity took place to the transferor; or

“(ii) with respect to ranching or farming activities as described in clause (i), a juvenile may possess and use a handgun or ammunition with the prior written approval of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian and at the direction of an adult who is not prohibited by Federal, State or local law from possessing a firearm.

“(iii) with the permission of the juvenile's parent or legal guardian; and

“(iv) in accordance with State and local law;

“(B) a juvenile who is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States or the

National Guard who possesses or is armed with a handgun in the line of duty;

“(C) a transfer by inheritance of title (but not possession) of a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile; or

“(D) the possession of a handgun or ammunition by a juvenile taken in defense of the juvenile or other persons against an intruder into the residence of the juvenile or a residence in which the juvenile is an invited guest.

“(4) A handgun or ammunition, the possession of which is transferred to a juvenile in circumstances in which the transferor is not in violation of this subsection shall not be subject to permanent confiscation by the Government if its possession by the juvenile subsequently becomes unlawful because of the conduct of the juvenile, but shall be returned to the lawful owner when such handgun or ammunition is no longer required by the Government for the purposes of investigation or prosecution.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘juvenile’ means a person who is less than 18 years of age.

“(6)(A) In a prosecution of a violation of this subsection, the court shall require the presence of a juvenile defendant's parent or legal guardian at all proceedings.

“(B) The court may use the contempt power to enforce subparagraph (A).

“(C) The court may excuse attendance of a parent or legal guardian of a juvenile defendant at a proceeding in a prosecution of a violation of this subsection for good cause shown.”.

(c) PENALTIES.—Section 924(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking “paragraph (2) or (3) of”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5)(A)(i) A juvenile who violates section 922(s) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, except that a juvenile described in clause (ii) shall be sentenced to probation on appropriate conditions and shall not be incarcerated unless the juvenile fails to comply with a condition of probation.

“(ii) A juvenile is described in this clause if—

“(I) the offense of which the juvenile is charged is possession of a handgun or ammunition in violation of section 922(s)(2); and

“(II) the juvenile has not been convicted in any court of an offense (including an offense under section 922(s) or a similar State law, but not including any other offense consisting of conduct that if engaged in by an adult would not constitute an offense) or adjudicated as a juvenile delinquent for conduct that if engaged in by an adult would constitute an offense.

“(B) A person other than a juvenile who knowingly violates section 922(s)—

“(i) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both; and

“(ii) if the person sold, delivered, or otherwise transferred a handgun or ammunition to a juvenile knowing or having reasonable cause to know that the juvenile intended to carry or otherwise possess or discharge or otherwise use the handgun or ammunition in the commission of a crime of violence, shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.”.

(d) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROVISIONS IN TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE.—

(1) SECTION 5031.—Section 5031 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting “or a violation by such a person of section 922(s)” before the period at the end.

(2) SECTION 5032.—Section 5032 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in the first undesignated paragraph by inserting "or (s)" after "922(p)"; and

(B) in the fourth undesignated paragraph by inserting "or section 922(s) of this title," before "criminal prosecution on the basis".

(e) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1974.—Section 223(a)(12)(A) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5633(a)(12)(A)) is amended by striking "which do not constitute violations of valid court orders" and inserting "(other than an offense that constitutes a violation of a valid court order or a violation of section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, or a similar State law)."

(f) MODEL LAW.—The Attorney General, acting through the Director of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, shall—

(1) evaluate existing and proposed juvenile handgun legislation in each State;

(2) develop model juvenile handgun legislation that is constitutional and enforceable;

(3) prepare and disseminate to State authorities the findings made as the result of the evaluation; and

(4) report to Congress by December 31, 1994, findings and recommendations concerning the need or appropriateness of further action by the Federal Government.

ROTH AMENDMENT NO. 1150

Mr. ROTH proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1607, supra; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.

(a) STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION.—Notwithstanding any law, ordinance or regulation of any State or subdivision thereof to the contrary, officials of any State or local government or agency, upon the request of any duly authorized official of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, shall provide information regarding the identification, location, arrest, prosecution, detention, and deportation of an alien or aliens who are not lawfully present in the United States.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General, in concert with the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, shall report to the Congress and the President on the extent to which State and local governments are not cooperating with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. This report shall identify any State or local governments that have adopted laws, policies or practices of non-cooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the specific nature of those laws, policies or practices, and their impact on the enforcement of the immigration laws.

(c) FUNDING BASED ON COOPERATION.—No State or local government or agency which has been identified in the Attorney General's report required by the preceding paragraph, which has a policy or practice of refusing to cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service regarding the identification, location, arrest, prosecution, detention, or deportation of aliens who are not lawfully present in the United States, shall be eligible for any Federal funds from appropriations made pursuant to a provision of this Act or of an amendment made by this Act authoriz-

ing appropriations, as long as such policy or practice remains in effect.

LEVIN AMENDMENT NO. 1151

Mr. LEVIN proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1607, supra; as follows:

In the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

SEC. . TO IMPROVE FEDERAL AND STATE AUTOMATED FINGERPRINT SYSTEMS TO IDENTIFY MORE CRIMINAL SUSPECTS.

The FBI shall report by June 1994 to the Congress regarding how it can accelerate and improve automatic fingerprint systems at the State and Federal level in order to use fingerprints found at the scene of a crime to identify more criminal suspects more quickly and effectively.

FEINSTEIN (AND OTHERS)

AMENDMENT NO. 1152

Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. PELL, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. KENNEDY, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. EXON, Mr. BOREN, and Mr. BRADLEY) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1607, supra; as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following:

TITLE—SEMI-AUTOMATIC ASSAULT WEAPONS

SEC. 01. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "Public Safety and Recreational Firearms Use Protection Act".

SEC. 02. RESTRICTION ON MANUFACTURE, TRANSFER, AND POSSESSION OF CERTAIN SEMIAUTOMATIC ASSAULT WEAPONS.

(a) RESTRICTION.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(s) It shall be unlawful for a person to manufacture, transfer, or possess a semi-automatic assault weapon."

(b) DEFINITION OF SEMIAUTOMATIC ASSAULT WEAPON.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(29) The term 'semiautomatic assault weapon' means—

"(A) any of the firearms, or types, replicas, or duplicates in any caliber of the firearms, known as—

"(i) Norinco, Mitchell, and Poly Technologies Avtomat Kalashnikovs (all models);

"(ii) Action Arms Israeli Military Industries UZI and Galil;

"(iii) Beretta AR-70 (SC-70);

"(iv) Colt AR-15;

"(v) Fabrique Nationale FN/FAL, FN/LAR, and FNC;

"(vi) SWD M-10, M-11, M-11/9, and M12;

"(vii) Steyr AUG;

"(viii) INTRATEC TEC-9, TEC-DC9 and TEC-22; and

"(ix) any shotgun which contains its ammunition in a revolving cylinder, such as (but not limited to) the Street Sweeper and Striker 12;

"(B) a semiautomatic rifle that has an ability to accept a detachable magazine and has at least 2 of—

"(i) a folding or telescoping stock;

"(ii) a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon;

"(iii) a bayonet mount;

"(iv) a flash suppressor or barrel having a threaded muzzle; and

"(v) a grenade launcher;

"(C) a semiautomatic pistol that has an ability to accept a detachable magazine and has at least 2 of—

"(i) an ammunition magazine that attaches to the pistol outside of the pistol grip;

"(ii) a barrel having a threaded muzzle;

"(iii) a shroud that is attached to, or partially or completely encircles, the barrel and that permits the shooter to hold the firearm with the non-trigger hand without being burned;

"(iv) a manufactured weight of 50 ounces or more when the pistol is unloaded; and

"(v) a semiautomatic version of an automatic firearm; and

"(D) a semiautomatic shotgun that has at least 2 of—

"(i) a folding or telescoping stock;

"(ii) a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon;

"(iii) a fixed magazine capacity in excess of 5 rounds; and

"(iv) an ability to accept a detachable magazine.

(c) PENALTIES.—

(1) VIOLATION OF SECTION 922(s).—Section 924(a)(1)(B) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "or (q) of section 922" and inserting "(q), or (s) of section 922".

(2) USE OR POSSESSION DURING CRIME OF VIOLENCE OR DRUG TRAFFICKING CRIME.—Section 924(c)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended in the first sentence by inserting "or semiautomatic assault weapon" after "short-barreled shotgun."

(d) IDENTIFICATION MARKINGS FOR SEMIAUTOMATIC ASSAULT WEAPONS.—Section 923(i) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "The serial number of any semiautomatic assault weapon manufactured after the date of enactment of this section shall clearly show the date on which the weapon was manufactured."

SEC. 03. EXEMPTION FOR FIREARMS LAWFULLY POSSESSED PRIOR TO DATE OF ENACTMENT.

Section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, as added by section—02(a), is amended by adding at the end the following paragraph:

"(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the transfer or possession of any firearm that was lawfully possessed before the effective date of this subsection."

SEC. 04. EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN HUNTING AND SPORTING FIREARMS.

Section 922 of title 18, as amended by section—03, is amended by adding at the end the following paragraph:

"(3) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to—

"(A) any of the firearms, or replicas or duplicates of the firearms, specified in Appendix A to this section, as such firearms were manufactured on October 1, 1993;

"(B) any firearm that—

"(i) is manually operated by bolt, pump, lever, or slide action;

"(ii) is an 'unserviceable firearm'; or

"(iii) is an antique firearm;

"(C) any semiautomatic rifle that cannot accept a detachable magazine that holds more than 5 rounds of ammunition; or

"(D) any semiautomatic shotgun that cannot hold more than 5 rounds of ammunition in a fixed or detachable magazine."

SEC. 05. EXEMPTIONS FOR GOVERNMENTAL AND EXPERIMENTAL USE.

Section 922(s) of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—04, is amended by adding the following paragraph:

"(4) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to—

"(A) the United States or a department or agency of the United States or a State or a department, agency, or political subdivision of a State; or

"(B) the manufacture, transfer, or possession of any firearm by a licensed manufacturer or licensed importer for the purposes of testing or experimentation authorized by the Secretary, or for exportation."

SEC. 06. RECORDKEEPING REQUIREMENTS AND RELATED RESTRICTIONS.

(a) OFFENSE.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—05, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(t)(1) It shall be unlawful for a person to sell, ship, or deliver an assault weapon to a person who does not fill out a form 4473 in connection with the purchase of the assault weapon.

"(2) It shall be unlawful for a person to purchase, possess, or accept delivery of an assault weapon unless the person has filled out a form 4473 in connection with the purchase of the assault weapon.

"(3) If a person purchases an assault weapon from anyone other than a licensed dealer, both the purchaser and the seller shall maintain a record of the sale on the seller's original copy of form 4473.

"(4) An owner of an assault weapon on the effective date of this subsection who requires retention of form 4473 under this subsection shall, within 90 days after publication of regulations by the Secretary under paragraph (5), request a copy of form 4473 from a licensed dealer in accordance with those regulations.

"(5) The Secretary shall, within 90 days after the date of enactment of this subsection, prescribe regulations for the request and delivery of form 4473 under paragraph (4)."

(b) PENALTY.—Section 924 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(1) A person who knowingly violates section 922(t) shall be fined not more than \$1,000 (in accordance with section 3571(e)), imprisoned not more than 6 months, or both."

(c) DISABILITY.—Section 922(g)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "or a violation of section 922(t)" before the semicolon at the end.

SEC. 07. BAN OF LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICES.

(a) PROHIBITION.—Section 922 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—06, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(u)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), it shall be unlawful for a person to transfer or possess a large capacity ammunition feeding device.

"(2) This subsection does not apply to—

"(A) a transfer to or by, or possession by or under the authority of, the United States or any department or agency of the United States or a State, or a department, agency, or political subdivision of a State;

"(B) the lawful transfer or lawful possession of a large capacity ammunition feeding device that was lawfully possessed before the effective date of this subsection; or

"(C) the transfer or possession of a large capacity ammunition feeding device by a licensed manufacturer or licensed importer for the purposes of testing or experimentation authorized by the Secretary."

(b) DEFINITION OF LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICE.—Section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—02(b), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(30) The term 'large capacity ammunition feeding device'—

"(A) means—

"(i) a magazine, belt, drum, feed strip, or similar device that has a capacity of, or that can be readily restored or converted to accept, more than 10 rounds of ammunition; and

"(ii) any combination of parts from which a device described in clause (i) can be assembled; but

"(B) does not include an attached tubular device designed to accept, and capable of operating only with, .22 caliber rimfire ammunition."

(c) LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICES TREATED AS FIREARMS.—Section 921(a)(3) of title 18, United States Code, is amended in the first sentence—

(1) by striking "or (D) any destructive device"; and

(2) by inserting "(D) any destructive device; or (E) any large capacity ammunition feeding device."

(d) PENALTY.—Section 924(a)(1)(B) of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—02(c), is amended by striking "or (s)" and inserting "(s), or (u)".

(e) IDENTIFICATION MARKINGS FOR LARGE CAPACITY AMMUNITION FEEDING DEVICES.—Section 923(i) of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section—02(d), is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "A large capacity ammunition feeding device manufactured after the date of enactment of this sentence shall be identified by a serial number that clearly shows that the device was manufactured or imported after the effective date of this subsection, and such other identification as the Secretary may by regulation prescribe."

SEC. 08. STUDY BY ATTORNEY GENERAL.

(a) STUDY.—The Attorney General shall investigate and study the effect of this title and the amendments made by this title, and in particular shall determine their impact, if any, on violent and drug trafficking crime. The study shall be conducted over a period of 18 months, commencing 78 months after the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall prepare and submit to Congress a report setting forth in detail the findings and determinations made in the study under subsection (a).

SEC. 09. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This title and the amendments made by this title—

(1) shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act; and

(2) are repealed effective as of the date that is 10 years after that date.

SEC. 10. APPENDIX A TO SECTION 922 OF TITLE 18.

Section 922 of title 18, United States code, is amended by adding at the end the following appendix:

"APPENDIX A

Centerfire Rifles—Autoleaders

Browning BAR Mark II Safari Semi-Auto Rifle.

Browning BAR Mark II Safari Magnum Rifle.

Browning High-Power Rifle.

Heckler & Koch Model 300 Rifle.

Iver Johnson M-1 Carbine.

Iver Johnson 50th Anniversary M-1 Carbine.

Marlin Model 9 Camp Carbine.

Marlin Model 45 Carbine.

Remington Nylon 66 Auto-Loading Rifle.

Remington Model 7400 Auto Rifle.

Remington Model 7400 Rifle.

Remington Model 7400 Special Purpose Auto Rifle.

Ruger Mini-14 Autoloading Rifle (w/o folding stock).

Ruger Mini Thirty Rifle.

Centerfire Rifles—Lever & Slide

Browning Model 81 BLR Lever-Action Rifle.

Browning Model 81 Long Action BLR.

Browning Model 1886 Lever-Action Carbine.

Browning Model 1886 High Grade Carbine.

Cimarron 1860 Henry Replica.

Cimarron 1866 Winchester Replicas.

Cimarron 1873 Short Rifle.

Cimarron 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Cimarron 1873 30" Express Rifle.

Dixie Engraved 1873 Rifle.

E.M.F. 1866 Yellowboy Lever Actions.

E.M.F. 1860 Henry Rifle.

E.M.F. Model 73 Lever-Action Rifle.

Marlin Model 336CS Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 444SS Lever-Action Sporter.

Marlin Model 1894S Lever-Action Carbine.

Marlin Model 1894CS Carbine.

Marlin Model 1894CL Classic.

Marlin Model 1895SS Lever-Action Rifle.

Mitchell 1858 Henry Replica.

Mitchell 1866 Winchester Replica.

Mitchell 1873 Winchester Replica.

Navy Arms Military Henry Rifle.

Navy Arms Henry Trapper.

Navy Arms Iron Frame Henry.

Navy Arms Henry Carbine.

Navy Arms 1866 Yellowboy Rifle.

Navy Arms 1873 Winchester-Style Rifle.

Navy Arms 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Remington 7600 Slide Action.

Remington Model 7600 Special Purpose

Slide Action.

Rossi M92 SRC Saddle-Ring Carbine.

Rossi M92 SRS Short Carbine.

Savage 99C Lever-Action Rifle.

Uberti Henry Rifle.

Uberti 1866 Sporting Rifle.

Uberti 1873 Sporting Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Side Eject Lever-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Trapper Side Eject.

Winchester Model 94 Big Bore Side Eject.

Winchester Model 94 Ranger Side Eject

Lever-Action Rifle.

Winchester Model 94 Wrangler Side Eject.

Centerfire Rifles—Bolt Action

Alpine Bolt-Action Rifle.

A-Square Caesar Bolt-Action Rifle.

A-Square Hannibal Bolt-Action Rifle.

Anschutz 1700D Classic Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Custom Rifles.

Anschutz 1700D Bavarian Bolt-Action

Rifle.

Anschutz 1733D Mannlicher Rifle.

Barret Model 90 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Beeman/HW 60J Bolt-Action Rifle.

Blaser R84 Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO 537 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO ZKB 527 Fox Bolt-Action Rifle.

BRNO ZKK 600, 601, 602 Bolt-Action Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Stainless Stalker.

Browning A-Bolt Left Hand.

Browning A-Bolt Short Action.

Browning Euro-Bolt Rifle.

Browning A-Bolt Gold Medallion.

Browning A-Bolt Micro Medallion.

Century Centurion 14 Sporter.

Century Enfield Sporter #4.

Century Swedish Sporter #38.

Century Mauser 98 Sporter.

Cooper Model 38 Centerfire Sporter.

Dakota 22 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.

Dakota 76 Classic Bolt-Action Rifle.

Dakota 76 Short Action Rifles.

- Dakota 76 Safari Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Dakota 416 Rigby African.
 E.A.A./Sabatti Rover 870 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Auguste Francotte Bolt-Action Rifles.
 Carl Gustaf 2000 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Heym Magnum Express Series Rifle.
 Howa Lightning Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Howa Realtree Camo Rifle.
 Interarms Mark X Viscount Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Interarms Mini-Mark X Rifle.
 Interarms Mark X Whitworth Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Interarms Whitworth Express Rifle.
 Iver Johnson Model 5100A1 Long-Ranger Rifle.
 KDF K15 American Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Krico Model 600 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Krico Model 700 Bolt-Action Rifles.
 Mauser Model 66 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Mauser Model 99 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 McMillan Signature Classic Sporter.
 McMillan Signature Super Varminter.
 McMillan Signature Alaskan.
 McMillan Signature Titanium Mountain Rifle.
 McMillan Classic Stainless Sporter.
 McMillan Talon Safari Rifle.
 McMillan Talon Sporter Rifle.
 Midland 1500S Survivor Rifle.
 Navy Arms TU-33/40 Carbine.
 Parker-Hale Model 81 Classic Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 81 Classic African Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 1000 Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 1100M African Magnum.
 Parker-Hale Model 1100 Lightweight Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 1200 Super Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 1200 Super Clip Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 1300C Scout Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 2100 Midland Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 2700 Lightweight Rifle.
 Parker-Hale Model 2800 Midland Rifle.
 Remington Model Seven Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington Model Seven Youth Rifle.
 Remington Model Seven Custom KS.
 Remington Model Seven Custom MS Rifle.
 Remington 700 ADL Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington 700 BDL Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington 700 BDL Varmint Special.
 Remington 700 BDL European Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington 700 Varmint Synthetic Rifle.
 Remington 700 BDL SS Rifle.
 Remington 700 Stainless Synthetic Rifle.
 Remington 700 MTRSS Rifle.
 Remington 700 BDL Left Hand.
 Remington 700 Camo Synthetic Rifle.
 Remington 700 Safari.
 Remington 700 Mountain Rifle.
 Remington 700 Custom KS Mountain Rifle.
 Remington 700 Classic Rifle.
 Ruger M77 Mark II Rifle.
 Ruger M77 Mark II Magnum Rifle.
 Ruger M77RL Ultra Light.
 Ruger M77 Mark II All-Weather Stainless Rifle.
 Ruger M77 RSI International Carbine.
 Ruger M77 Mark II Express Rifle.
 Ruger M77VT Target Rifle.
 Sako Hunter Rifle.
 Sako Fiberclass Sporter.
 Sako Safari Grade Bolt Action.
 Sako Hunter Left-Hand Rifle.
 Sako Classic Bolt Action.
 Sako Hunter LS Rifle.
 Sako Deluxe Lightweight.
 Sako Super Deluxe Sporter.
 Sako Mannlicher-Style Carbine.
 Sako Varmint Heavy Barrel.
 Sako TRG-S Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Sauer 90 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage 110G Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage 110CY Youth/Ladies Rifle.
 Savage 110WLE One of One Thousand Limited Edition Rifle.
 Savage 110GXP3 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage 110F Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage 110FXP3 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage 110GV Varmint Rifle.
 Savage 112FV Varmint Rifle.
 Savage Model 112FVS Varmint Rifle.
 Savage Model 112BV Heavy Barrel Varmint Rifle.
 Savage 116FSS Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Savage model 116FSK Kodiak Rifle.
 Savage 110FP Police Rifle.
 Steyr-Mannlicher Sporter Models SL, L, M, S, S/T.
 Steyr-Mannlicher Luxus Model L, M, S.
 Steyr-Mannlicher Model M Professional Rifle.
 Tikka Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Tikka Premium Grade Rifles.
 Tikka Varmint/Continental Rifle.
 Tikka Whitetail/Battue Rifle.
 Ultra Light Arms Model 20 Rifle.
 Ultra Light Arms Model 28, Model 40 Rifles.
 Voere VEC 91 Lightning Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Voere Model 2165 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Voere Model 2155, 2150 Bolt-Action Rifles.
 Weatherby Mark V Deluxe Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Weatherby Lasermark V Rifle.
 Weatherby Mark V Crown Custom Rifles.
 Weatherby Mark V Sporter Rifle.
 Weatherby Mark V Safari Grade Custom Rifles.
 Weatherby Weathermark Rifle.
 Weatherby Weathermark Alaskan Rifle.
 Weatherby Classicmark No. 1 Rifle.
 Weatherby Weatherguard Alaskan Rifle.
 Weatherby Vanguard VGX Deluxe Rifle.
 Weatherby Vanguard Classic Rifle.
 Weatherby Vanguard Classic No. 1 Rifle.
 Weatherby Vanguard Weatherguard Rifle.
 Wichita Classic Rifle.
 Wichita Varmint Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 Sporter.
 Winchester Model 70 Sporter WinTuff.
 Winchester Model 70 SM Sporter.
 Winchester Model 70 Stainless Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 Varmint.
 Winchester Model 70 Synthetic Heavy Varmint Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 DBM Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 DBM-S Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 Featherweight.
 Winchester Model 70 Featherweight WinTuff.
 Winchester Model 70 Featherweight Classic.
 Winchester Model 70 Lightweight Rifle.
 Winchester Ranger Rifle.
 Winchester Model 70 Super Express Magnum.
 Winchester Model 70 Super Grade.
 Winchester Model 70 Custom Sharpshooter.
 Winchester Model 70 Custom Sporting Sharpshooter Rifle.
 Centerfire Rifles—Single Shot
 Armsport 1866 Sharps Rifle, Carbine.
 Brown Model One Single Shot Rifle.
 Browning Model 1885 Single Shot Rifle.
 Dakota Single Shot Rifle.
 Desert Industries G-90 Single Shot Rifle.
 Harrington & Richardson Ultra Varmint Rifle.
 Model 1885 High Wall Rifle.
 Navy Arms Rolling Block Buffalo Rifle.
 Navy Arms #2 Creedmoor Rifle.
 Navy Arms Sharps Cavalry Carbine.
 Navy Arms Sharps Plains Rifle.
 New England Firearms Handi-Rifle.
 Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 5 Pacific.
 Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 1.5 Hunting Rifle.
 Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 8 Union Hill Rifle.
 Red Willow Armory Ballard No. 4.5 Target Rifle.
 Remington-Style Rolling Block Carbine.
 Ruger No. 1B Single Shot.
 Ruger No. 1A Light Sporter.
 Ruger No. 1H Tropical Rifle.
 Ruger No. 1S Medium Sporter.
 Ruger No. 1 RSI International.
 Ruger No. 1V Special Varminter.
 C. Sharps Arms New Model 1874 Old Reliable.
 C. Sharps Arms New Model 1875 Rifle.
 C. Sharps Arms 1875 Classic Sharps.
 C. Sharps Arms New Model 1875 Target & Long Range.
 Shiloh Sharps 1874 Long Range Express.
 Shiloh Sharps 1874 Montana Roughrider.
 Shiloh Sharps 1874 Military Carbine.
 Shiloh Sharps 1874 Business Rifle.
 Shiloh Sharps 1874 Military Rifle.
 Sharps 1874 Old Reliable.
 Thompson/Center Contender Carbine.
 Thompson/Center Stainless Contender Carbine.
 Thompson/Center Contender Carbine Survival System.
 Thompson/Center Contender Carbine Youth Model.
 Thompson/Center TCR '87 Single Shot Rifle.
 Uberti Rolling Block Baby Carbine.
 Drillings, Combination Guns, Double Rifles
 Baretta Express SSO O/U Double Rifles.
 Baretta Model 455 SxS Express Rifle.
 Chapuis RGExpress Double Rifle.
 Auguste Francotte Sidelock Double Rifles.
 Auguste Francotte Boxlock Double Rifle.
 Heym Model 55B O/U Double Rifle.
 Heym Model 55FW O/U Combo Gun.
 Heym Model 88b Side-by-Side Double Rifle.
 Kodiak Mk. IV Double Rifle.
 Kreighoff Teck O/U Combination Gun.
 Kreighoff Trumpf Drilling.
 Merkel Over/Under Combination Guns.
 Merkel Drillings.
 Merkel Model 160 Side-by-Side Double Rifles.
 Merkel Over/Under Double Rifles.
 Savage 24F O/U Combination Gun.
 Savage 24F-12T Turkey Gun.
 Springfield Inc. M6 Scout Rifle/Shotgun.
 Tikka Model 412s Combination Gun.
 Tikka Model 412S Double Fire.
 A. Zoli Rifle-Shotgun O/U Combo.
 Rimfire Rifles—Autoloaders
 AMT Lightning 25/22 Rifle.
 AMT Lightning Small-Game Hunting Rifle II.
 AMT Magnum Hunter Auto Rifle.
 Anschütz 525 Deluxe Auto.
 Armscor Model 20P Auto Rifle.
 Browning Auto-22 Rifle.
 Browning Auto-22 Grade VI.
 Krico Model 260 Auto Rifle.
 Lakefield Arms Model 64B Auto Rifle.
 Marlin Model 60 Self-Loading Rifle.
 Marlin Model 60ss Self-Loading Rifle.
 Marlin Model 70 HC Auto.
 Marlin Model 9901 Self-Loading Rifle.
 Marlin Model 70P Papoose.
 Marlin Model 922 Magnum Self-Loading Rifle.
 Marlin Model 995 Self-Loading Rifle.
 Norinco Model 22 ATD Rifle.
 Remington Model 522 Viper Autoloading Rifle.
 Remington 552BDL Speedmaster Rifle.
 Ruger 10/22 Autoloading Carbine (w/o folding stock).
 Survival Arms AR-7 Explorer Rifle.
 Texas Remington Revolving Carbine.
 Voere Model 2115 Auto Rifle.
 Rimfire Rifles—Lever & Slide Action
 Browning BL-22 Lever-Action Rifle.

Marlin 39TDS Carbine.
 Marlin Model 39AS Golden Lever-Action Rifle.
 Remington 572BDL Fieldmaster Pump Rifle.
 Norinco EM-321 Pump Rifle.
 Rossi Model 62 SA Pump Rifle.
 Rossi Model 62 SAC Carbine.
 Winchester Model 9422 Lever-Action Rifle.
 Winchester Model 9422 Magnum Lever-Action Rifle.
Rimfire Rifles—Bolt Actions & Single Shots
 Anschütz Achiever Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Anschütz 1416D/1516D Classic Rifles.
 Anschütz 1418D/1518D Mannlicher rifles.
 Anschütz 1700D Classic Rifles.
 Anschütz 1700D Custom Rifles.
 Anschütz 1700 FWT Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Anschütz 1700D Graphite Custom Rifle.
 Anschütz 1700D Bavarian Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Armscor Model 14P Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Armscor Model 1500 Rifle.
 BRNO ZKM-452 Deluxe Bolt-Action Rifle.
 BRNO ZKM 452 Deluxe.
 Beeman/HW 60-J-ST Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Browning A-Bolt 22 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Browning A-Bolt Gold Medallion.
 Cabanas Phaser Rifle.
 Cabanas Master Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Cabanas Espronceda IV Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Cabanas Leyre Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Chipmunk Single Shot Rifle.
 Cooper Arms Model 36S Sporter Rifle.
 Dakota 22 Sporter Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Krico Model 300 Bolt-Action Rifles.
 Lakefield Arms Mark II Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Lakefield Arms Mark I Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Magtech Model MT-22C Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 880 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 881 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 882 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 883 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 883SS Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 25MN Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Marlin Model 25N Bolt-Action Repeater.
 Marlin Model 15YN "Little Buckaroo".
 Mauser Model 107 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Mauser Model 201 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Navy Arms TU-KKW Training Rifle.
 Navy Arms TU-KKW Sniper Trainer.
 Norinco JW-27 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Norinco JW-15 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington 541-T.
 Remington 40-XR Rimfire Custom sporter.
 Remington 541-T HB Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Remington 581-S Sportsman Rifle.
 Ruger 77/22 Rimfire Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Ruger K77/22 Varmint Rifle.
 Ultra Light arms Model 20 RF Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Winchester Model 52B Sporting Rifle.
Competition Rifles—Centerfire & Rimfire
 Anschütz 64-MS Left Silhouette.
 Anschütz 1808D RT Super Match 54 Target.
 Anschütz 1827B Biathlon Rifle.
 Anschütz 1903D Match Rifle.
 Anschütz 1803D Intermediate Match.
 Anschütz 1911 Match Rifle.
 Anschütz 54.18MS REP Deluxe Silhouette Rifle.
 Anschütz 1913 Super Match Rifle.
 Anschütz 1907 Match Rifle.
 Anschütz 1910 Super Match II.
 Anschütz 54.18MS Silhouette Rifle.
 Anschütz Super Match 54 Target Model 2013.
 Anschütz Super Match 54 Target Model 2007.
 Beeman/Feinwerkbau 2600 Target Rifle.
 Cooper Arms Model TRP-1 ISU Standard Rifle.

E.A.A./Weihrauch HW 60 Target Rifle.
 E.A.A./HW 660 Match Rifle.
 Finnish Lion Standard Target Rifle.
 Krico Model 360 S2 Biathlon Rifle.
 Krico Model 400 Match Rifle.
 Krico Model 360S Biathlon Rifle.
 Krico Model 500 Kricotronic Match Rifle.
 Krico Model 600 Sniper Rifle.
 Krico Model 600 Match Rifle.
 Lakefield Arms Model 90B Target Rifle.
 Lakefield Arms Model 91T Target Rifle.
 Lakefield Arms Model 92S Silhouette Rifle.
 Marlin Model 2000 Target Rifle.
 Mauser Model 86-SR Specialty Rifle.
 McMillan M-86 Sniper Rifle.
 McMillan Combo M-87/M-88 50-Caliber Rifle.
 McMillan 300 Phoenix Long Range Rifle.
 McMillan M-89 Sniper Rifle.
 McMillan National Match Rifle.
 McMillan Long Range Rifle.
 Parker-Hale M-87 Target Rifle.
 Parker-Hale M-85 Sniper Rifle.
 Remington 40-XB Rangemaster Target Centerfire.
 Remington 40-XR KS Rimfire Position Rifle.
 Remington 40-XBBR KS.
 Remington 40-XC KS National Match Course Rifle.
 Sako TRG-21 Bolt-Action Rifle.
 Steyr-Mannlicher Match SPG-UIT Rifle.
 Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-I Rifle.
 Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-III Rifle.
 Steyr-Mannlicher SSG P-IV Rifle.
 Tanner Standard UIT Rifle.
 Tanner 50 Meter Free Rifle.
 Tanner 300 Meter Free Rifle.
 Wichita Silhouette Rifle.

Shotguns—Autoloaders

American Arms/Franchi Black Magic 48/AL.
 Benelli Super Black Eagle Shotgun.
 Benelli Super Black Eagle Slug Gun.
 Benelli M1 Super 90 Field Auto Shotgun.
 Benelli Montefeltro Super 90 20-Gauge Shotgun.
 Benelli Montefeltro Super 90 Shotgun.
 Benelli M1 Sporting Special Auto Shotgun.
 Benelli Black Eagle Competition Auto Shotgun.
 Beretta A-303 Auto Shotgun.
 Beretta 390 Field Auto Shotgun.
 Beretta 390 Super Trap, Super Skeet Shotguns.
 Beretta Vittoria Auto Shotgun.
 Beretta Model 1201F Auto Shotgun.
 Browning BSA 10 Auto Shotgun.
 Browning Bsa 10 Stalker Auto Shotgun.
 Browning A-500R Auto Shotgun.
 Browning A-500G Auto Shotgun.
 Browning A-500G Sporting Clays.
 Browning Auto-5 Light 12 and 20.
 Browning Auto-5 Stalker.
 Browning Auto-5 Magnum 20.
 Browning Auto-5 Magnum 12.
 Churchill Turkey Automatic Shotgun.
 Cosmi Automatic Shotgun.
 Maverick Model 60 Auto Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 5500 Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 9200 Regal Semi-Auto Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 9200 USST Auto Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 9200 Camo Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 6000 Auto Shotgun.
 Remington Model 1100 Shotgun.
 Remington 11-87 Premier shotgun.
 Remington 11-87 Sporting Clays.
 Remington 11-87 Premier Skeet.
 Remington 11-87 Premier Trap.
 Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Magnum.
 Remington 11-87 SPS-T Camo Auto Shotgun.
 Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Deer Gun.

Remington 11-87 SPS-BG-Camo Deer/Turkey Shotgun.
 Remington 11-87 SPS-Deer Shotgun.
 Remington 11-87 Special Purpose Synthetic Camo.
 Remington SP-10 Magnum-Camo Auto Shotgun.
 Remington SP-10 Magnum Auto Shotgun.
 Remington SP-10 Magnum Turkey Combo.
 Remington 1100 LT-20 Auto.
 Remington 1100 Special Field.
 Remington 1100 20-Gauge Deer Gun.
 Remington 1100 LT-20 Tournament Skeet.
 Winchester Model 1400 Semi-Auto Shotgun.

Shotguns—Slide Actions

Browning Model 42 Pump Shotgun.
 Browning BPS Pump Shotgun.
 Browning BPS Stalker Pump Shotgun.
 Browning BPS Pigeon Grade Pump Shotgun.
 Browning BPS pump Shotgun (Ladies and Youth Model).
 Browning BPS Game Gun Turkey Special.
 Browning BPS Game Gun Deer Special.
 Ithaca Model 87 Supreme Pump Shotgun.
 Ithaca Model 87 Deerslayer Shotgun.
 Ithaca Deerslayer II Rifled Shotgun.
 Ithaca Model 87 Turkey Gun.
 Ithaca Model 87 Deluxe Pump Shotgun.
 Magtech Model 586-VR Pump Shotgun.
 Maverick Models 88, 91 Pump Shotguns.
 Mossberg Model 500 Sporting Pump.
 Mossberg Model 500 Camo Pump.
 Mossberg Model 500 Muzzleloader Combo.
 Mossberg Model 500 Trophy Slugster.
 Mossberg Turkey Model 500 Pump.
 Mossberg Model 500 Bantam Pump.
 Mossberg Field Grade Model 835 Pump Shotgun.
 Mossberg Model 835 Regal Ulti-Mag Pump.
 Remington 870 Wingmaster.
 Remington 870 Special Purpose Deer Gun.
 Remington 870 SPS-BG-Camo Deer/Turkey Shotgun.
 Remington 870 SPS-Deer Shotgun.
 Remington 870 Marine Magnum.
 Remington 870 TC Trap.
 Remington 870 Special Purpose Synthetic Camo.
 Remington 870 Wingmaster Small Gauges.
 Remington 870 Express Rifle Sighted Deer Gun.
 Remington 879 SPS Special Purpose Magnum.
 Remington 870 SPS-T Camo Pump Shotgun.
 Remington 870 Special Field.
 Remington 870 Express Turkey.
 Remington 870 High Grades.
 Remington 870 Express.
 Remington Model 870 Express Youth Gun.
 Winchester Model 12 Pump Shotgun.
 Winchester Model 42 High Grade Shotgun.
 Winchester Model 1300 Walnut Pump.
 Winchester Model 1300 Slug Hunter Deer Gun.
 Winchester Model 1300 Ranger Pump Gun Combo & Deer Gun.
 Winchester Model 1300 Turkey Gun.
 Winchester Model 1300 Ranger Pump Gun.
Shotguns—Over/Unders
 American Arms/Franchi Falconet 2000 O/U.
 American Arms Silver I O/U.
 American Arms Silver II Shotgun.
 American Arms Silver Skeet O/U.
 American Arms/Franchi Sporting 2000 O/U.
 American Arms Silver Sporting O/U.
 American Arms Silver Trap O/U.
 American Arms WS/OU 12, TS/OU 12 Shotguns.
 American Arms WT/OU 10 Shotgun.
 Armsport 2700 O/U Goose Gun.
 Armsport 2700 Series O/U.

Armsport 2900 Tri-Barrel Shotgun.
 Baby Bretton Over/Under Shotgun.
 Beretta Model 686 Ultralight O/U.
 Beretta ASE 90 Competition O/U Shotgun.
 Beretta Over/Under Field Shotguns.
 Beretta Onyx Hunter Sport O/U Shotgun.
 Beretta Model SO5, SO6, SO9 Shotguns.
 Beretta Sporting Clay Shotguns.
 Beretta 687EL Sporting O/U.
 Beretta 682 Super Sporting O/U.
 Beretta Series 682 Competition Over/Unders.
 Browning Citori O/U Shotgun.
 Browning Superlight Citori Over/Under.
 Browning Lightning Sporting Clays.
 Browning Micro Citori Lightning.
 Browning Citori Plus Trap Combo.
 Browning Citori Plus Trap Gun.
 Browning Citori O/U Skeet Models.
 Browning Citori O/U Trap Models.
 Browning Special Sporting Clays.
 Browning Citori GTI Sporting Clays.
 Browning 325 Sporting Clays.
 Centurion Over/Under Shotgun.
 Chapuis Over/Under Shotgun.
 Connecticut Valley Classics Classic Sporter O/U.
 Connecticut Valley Classics Classic Field Waterfowler.
 Charles Daly Field Grade O/U.
 Charles Daly Lux Over/Under.
 E.A.A./Sabatti Sporting Clays Pro-Gold O/U.
 E.A.A./Sabatti Falcon-Mon Over/Under.
 Kassnar Grade I O/U Shotgun.
 Krieghoff K-80 Sporting Clays O/U.
 Krieghoff K-80 Skeet Shotgun.
 Krieghoff K-80 International Skeet.
 Krieghoff K-80 Four-Barrel Skeet Set.
 Krieghoff K-80/RT Shotguns.
 Krieghoff K-80 O/U Trap Shotgun.
 Laurona Silhouette 300 Sporting Clays.
 Laurona Silhouette 300 Trap.
 Laurona Super Model Over/Unders.
 Ljutic LM-6 Deluxe O/U Shotgun.
 Marocchi Conquista Over/Under Shotgun.
 Marocchi Avanza O/U Shotgun.
 Merkel Model 200E O/U Shotgun.
 Merkel Model 200E Skeet, Trap Over/Unders.
 Merkel Model 203E, 303E Over/Under Shotguns.
 Perazzi Mirage Special Sporting O/U.
 Perazzi Mirage Special Four-Gauge Skeet.
 Perazzi Sporting Classic O/U.
 Perazzi MX7 Over/Under Shotguns.
 Perazzi Mirage Special Skeet Over/Under.
 Perazzi MX8/MX8 Special Trap, Skeet.
 Perazzi MX8/20 Over/Under Shotgun.
 Perazzi MX9 Single Over/Under Shotguns.
 Perazzi MX12 Hunting Over/Under.
 Perazzi MX28, MX410 Game O/U Shotguns.
 Perazzi MX20 Hunting Over/Under.
 Piotti Boss Over/Under Shotgun.
 Remington Peerless Over/Under Shotgun.
 Ruger Red Label O/U Shotgun.
 Ruger Sporting Clays O/U Shotgun.
 San Marco 12-Ga. Wildflower Shotgun.
 San Marco Field Special O/U Shotgun.
 San Marco 10-Ga. O/U Shotgun.
 SKB Model 505 Deluxe Over/Under Shotgun.
 SKB Model 685 Over/Under Shotgun.
 SKB Model 885 Over/Under Trap, Skeet, Sporting Clays.
 Stoeger/IGA Condor I O/U Shotgun.
 Stoeger/IGA ERA 2000 Over/Under Shotgun.
 Techni-Mec Model 610 Over/Under.
 Tikka Model 412S Field Grade Over/Under.
 Weatherby Athena Grade IV O/U Shotguns.
 Weatherby Athena Grade V Classic Field O/U.
 Weatherby Orion O/U Shotguns.
 Weatherby II, III Classic Field O/Us.

Weatherby Orion II Classic Sporting Clays O/U.
 Weatherby Orion II Sporting Clays O/U.
 Winchester Model 1001 O/U Shotgun.
 Winchester Model 1001 Sporting Clays O/U.
 Pietro Zanoletti Model 2000 Field O/U.

Shotguns—Side by Sides

American Arms Brittany Shotgun.
 American Arms Gentry Double Shotgun.
 American Arms Derby Side-by-Side.
 American Arms Grulla #2 Double Shotgun.
 American Arms WS/SS 10.
 American Arms TS/SS 10 Double Shotgun.
 American Arms TS/SS 12 Side-by-Side.
 Arrieta Sidelock Double Shotguns.
 Armsport 1050 Series Double Shotguns.
 Arizaga Model 31 Double Shotgun.
 AYA Boxlock Shotguns.
 AYA Sidelock Double Shotguns.
 Beretta Model 452 Sidelock Shotgun.
 Beretta Side-by-Side Field Shotguns.
 Crucelegui Hermanos Model 150 Double.
 Chapuis Side-by-Side Shotgun.
 E.A.A./Sabatti Saba-Mon Double Shotgun.
 Charles Daly Model Dss Double.
 Ferlib Model F VII Double Shotgun.
 Auguste Francotte Boxlock Shotgun.
 Auguste Francotte Sidelock Shotgun.
 Garbi Model 100 Double.
 Garbi Model 101 Side-by-Side.
 Garbi Model 103A, B Side-by-Side.
 Garbi Model 200 Side-by-Side.
 Bill Hanus Birdgun Doubles.
 Hatfield Uplander Shotgun.
 Merkell Model 8, 47E Side-by-Side Shotguns.
 Merkel Model 47LSC Sporting Clays Double.
 Merkel Model 47S, 147S Side-by-Sides.
 Parker Reproductions Side-by-Side.
 Piotti King No. 1 Side-by-Side.
 Piotti Lunik Side-by-Side.
 Piotti King Extra Side-by-Side.
 Piotti Pluma Side-by-Side.
 Precision Sports Model 600 Series Doubles.
 Rizzini Boxlock Side-by-Side.
 Rizzini Sidelock Side-by-Side.
 Stoeger/IGA Uplander Side-by-Side Shotgun.
 Ugartechea 10-Ga. Magnum Shotgun.
 Shotguns—Bolt Actions & Single Shots
 Armsport Single Barrel Shotgun.
 Browning BT-99 Competition Trap Special.
 Browning BT-99 Plus Trap Gun.
 Browning BT-99 Plus Micro.
 Browning Recoilless Trap Shotgun.
 Browning Micro Recoilless Trap Shotgun.
 Desert Industries Big Twenty Shotgun.
 Harrington & Richardson Topper Model 098.
 Harrington & Richardson Topper Classic Youth Shotgun.
 Harrington & Richardson N.W.T.F. Turkey Mag.
 Harrington & Richardson Topper Deluxe Model 098.
 Krieghoff KS-5 Trap Gun.
 Krieghoff KS-5 Special.
 Krieghoff K-80 Single Barrel Trap Gun.
 Ljutic Mono Gun Single Barrel.
 Ljutic LTX Super Deluxe Mono Gun.
 Ljutic Recoilless Space Gun Shotgun.
 Marlin Model 55 Goose Gun Bolt Action.
 New England Firearms Turkey and Goose Gun.
 New England Firearms N.W.T.F. Shotgun.
 New England Firearms Tracker Slug Gun.
 New England Firearms Standard Pardner.
 New England Firearms Survival Gun.
 Perazzi TM1 Special Single Trap.
 Remington 90-T Super Single Shotgun.
 Snake Charmer II Shotgun.
 Stoeger/IGA Reuna Single Barrel Shotgun.

Thompson/Center TCR '87 Hunter Shotgun."

KENNEDY (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 1153

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. KENNEDY (for himself, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. SIMON, Mr. DECONCINI, and Mr. AKAKA) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them to the bill S. 1607, supra; as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following:

SEC. . GRANTS FOR PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO RESTRICT ACCESS TO HANDGUNS BY MINORS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501(b) of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3751), as amended by section 621, is amended—

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (22);

(2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (23) and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(24) comprehensive, coordinated efforts designed to restrict access to handguns by minors."

(b) STATE APPLICATION.—Section 503(a) of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3753), as amended by section 1002(b), is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraphs (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), and (12) as paragraphs (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), and (13), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:

"(2)(A) A plan that is designed to and can reasonably be expected to reduce access to handguns by persons under the age of 21.

"(B) A plan under subparagraph (A) may include—

"(i) efforts to pass or strengthen State laws and local ordinances prohibiting the sale, distribution, or transfer of a handgun to a person under the age of 21 except in limited circumstances;

"(ii) efforts to pass or strengthen State laws and local ordinances prohibiting possession of a handgun by a person under the age of 21 except in limited circumstances;

"(iii) efforts to pass or strengthen State laws and local ordinances requiring the sale or use of trigger locks to prevent use of guns by children in their homes;

"(iv) gun amnesty or buy-back programs targetted especially at minors; and

"(v) strategies to strengthen enforcement of existing State and local laws pertaining to firearms dealers, such as zoning, tax, and licensing requirements, including enhanced coordination with the activities of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms."

SEC. . STATE AND LOCAL REQUIREMENTS RESTRICTING ACCESS TO HANDGUNS BY MINORS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 506(f) of title I of the Omnibus Safe Streets Act (42 U.S.C. 3756(f)), as amended by subsection (c), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(2)(A) If, on the first day of a fiscal year, a State does not meet the requirement of subparagraph (B), the Director shall reduce the amount of funds that would otherwise be allocated to the State under subsection (a) by up to 20 percent.

"(B)(1) The requirement of this subparagraph is met with respect to fiscal year 1995 if a State certifies in its application that the

State has developed, in collaboration with local law enforcement agencies in the State, a plan described in section 503(a)(2).

"(II)(I) The requirement of this subparagraph is met with respect to a fiscal year after fiscal year 1995 if a State certifies in its application that the State will implement the plan described in section 503(a)(2).

"(II) The Attorney General in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury shall certify that the implementation strategies meet the requirement of this subparagraph based on review of reports submitted by the States.

"(III) Each State that applies for a grant under this part for a fiscal year shall annually submit to the Attorney General a report describing—

"(aa) the activities carried out during the preceding fiscal year to reduce the availability of handguns to persons under the age of 21;

"(bb) the extent of success that the State has achieved in reducing the availability of handguns to persons under the age of 21;

"(cc) the strategies to be utilized by the State for enforcing laws restricting access to handguns by persons under the age of 21 during the next fiscal year; and

"(dd) efforts undertaken to detect and take appropriate action with respect to firearm dealers who are not in compliance with Federal, State, or local laws."

(b) MODEL COMPREHENSIVE PLAN.—The Attorney General, in consultation with the Director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms and the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, shall develop a model plan consisting of—

(1) model State laws and local ordinances regarding sales, transfer, and possession of handguns by persons under the age of 21;

(2) enforcement strategies for maximizing the effectiveness of such legislation; and

(3) enforcement strategies for detecting and sanctioning firearm dealers who are not in compliance with Federal, State, or local laws.

(c) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT OF THE OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968 TO ACCOMMODATE AMENDMENT MADE ELSEWHERE IN SUBSECTION (a).—Section 506(f) of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3756(f)) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a) by striking "Of" and inserting "Subject to subsection (f), of";

(2) in subsection (e) by striking "or (e)"; and

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) by striking "(f)(1) For" and all that follows through "in such fiscal year," and inserting the following:

"(f)(1)(A) If, on the first day of a fiscal year, a State does not meet the requirements of subparagraph (B), the Director shall reduce the amount of funds that would otherwise be allocated to the State under subsection (a) by 10 percent.

"(B)(i) The requirements of this subparagraph are met if a State has in effect, and enforces, a law";

(B) by striking "(A) to administer" and inserting "(I) to administer";

(C) by striking "(B) to disclose" and inserting "(II) to disclose";

(D) by striking "(C) to provide" and inserting "(III) to provide";

(E) by striking "(3) For purposes of this subsection" and inserting "(1) For purposes of this paragraph";

(F) by striking "(A) the term" and inserting "(I) the term"; and

(G) by striking "(B) the term" and inserting "(II) the term".

NOTICES OF HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry will hold a hearing on pending nominations on Wednesday, November 17, 1993, at 9:30 a.m. in SR 332.

For further information please contact Christine Sarcone of the committee staff at 224-2035.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Subcommittee on Agriculture Research, Conservation, Forestry, and General Legislation be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, November 9, 1993, at 2 p.m. to hold a hearing on ecosystem management.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate Tuesday, November 9, 1993, at 10 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate, 9:30 a.m., November 9, 1993, to receive testimony on the use of risk analysis and cost-benefit analysis in setting environmental priorities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full Committee on Environment and Public Works be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, November 9, beginning at 10:15 a.m. to conduct an oversight hearing on the 1993 floods in the Midwest.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations, be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, November 9, 1993, at 1:30

p.m. to hold a nomination hearing on Mark Schneider, to be Assistant Administrator for Latin American and Caribbean Affairs of the Agency for International Development.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent on behalf of the Governmental Affairs Committee for authority to meet on Tuesday, November 9, at 10 a.m., for markup on S. 1535, the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1993.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, November 9, 1993, to hold a hearing on the nominations of David Hagen to be U.S. District judge for the District of Nevada; Raymond Jackson to be U.S. District judge for the District of Virginia; Joanna Seybert to be U.S. District judge for the Eastern District of New York; David G. Trager to be U.S. District judge for the Eastern District of New York; and Claudia Wilken to be U.S. District judge for the Northern District of California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Human Resources be authorized to meet for a hearing on the Health Security Act of 1993: The Role of the Insurance Industry, during the session of the Senate on November 9, 1993, at 10 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I would like to request that the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, Committee on Governmental Affairs, be granted authority to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, November 9, 1993, at 2:30 p.m., to hold a hearing on Oversight of the FDIC: Are Investors Cashing in on FDIC Mismanagement?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

CHILDREN AFFECTED BY THE FLOOD OF 1993

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, as we are all aware, this summer's flooding in the Midwest has been difficult on everyone. Recovery from this unprecedented natural disaster has been trying for all of the families, but we must not

forget to recognize the hardship on the children throughout these hard times. Many children have lost their homes to the flood and watched their parents agonize over their losses. Others are unable to live with their parents. Some parents have had to leave their towns temporarily to find work. I have recently received a letter from second grade students at Hardin Grade School in Hardin, IL. They enclosed their journal entries that depict the problems they face daily. I found the comments from these students enlightening and I ask that these journal entries be printed in the RECORD. My heart goes out to the victims of this unforeseen disaster, and I would like to recognize the courage of the children throughout this entire crisis.

The comments follow:

THE FLOOD OF 1993

The flood has damaged homes. I got scared when the levee broke. My mom went down the street and almost drove in it. The bridge really didn't do us well except when we had to drive around. It flooded more than I thought it would.—Jim, second grade.

The flood waters really messed up everyone's house, even mine. It really scared me. My house is really a mess. It's gross and it's stinky, but we're cleaning it up. I think that the sandbagger's were nice. Well, some of them were nice. My dad tried to be nice to the prisoners, but the people in charge of them said that if you can't be mean to them, then don't talk to them. I thought that was mean of them. I wish that the flood would never come again!—Mary Beth, second grade.

The flood was horrible and nasty. When the levee broke, we had to go around to go back and forth to Jerseyville. When I got back, I sandbagged again. I hope there is never a flood this big again. (Maybe just a little one.) Roger, second grade.

The flood is horrible. We need to fix the flood. The Red Cross helped some people, but we still need help cleaning up.—Mary Mikuleza, second grade.

The ferry closed at 9:00 p.m. last night. The water is up. If it comes up much it will be on our bus route. I don't like the back roads.—Richard Gibbs, second grade.

The flood was the worst flood of all. I am mad that the water is going up. I am going to do more sandbagging.—Eric Benoist, second grade.

Flood of 1993. The worst flood of 1993. My mom and me went sandbagging at my friend, Mary Beth's house. We had to get food at the Red Cross. Most of the people got thrown out of their houses. Water got in their house, but it didn't get into ours. It was right across the street from our house. We live on a hill, so I didn't think it would get in our house. We got to eat at the Red Cross place in Kampsville. It wasn't as fun as eating out there. The school didn't get flooded, but I think it got into the church. I don't know for sure.—KacyLynn Barnes, second grade.

I saw the flood of '93 and made a movie of it. It showed the water going up and a house that fell in it while we were filming it. We have more movies of the flood, too! It is very sad. I hope it will stop forever!—Amanda, second grade.

The flood was nasty. It wasn't so good. Some of the sandbagger's were nice. I didn't like the flood at all. The Red Cross brought us food. I was happy then when they brought us food. What I am saying is true. Finally,

the flood went down. I was happy.—Virginia, second grade.

The flood has taken over. It has flooded all the homes and businesses, or most. It did not get in my home. It was close, but we sandbagged. It went over the top of them. They were five feet high. It was on my front porch and my Grandma's basement. It was neat, but too neat for me. Downtown it got in the lumberyard.—Scott Wyatt, second grade.

My dad went sandbagging. The second time he took my brother, Roger. The next day we went to Wal-Mart. We saw a National Guardsman in Wal-Mart. My Aunt Monica told us on our way to Jerseyville that they were going to let the levee go. If we wanted to go across the bridge we need to go. So we went and we got across.—Lindsey Woelfel, second grade.

I don't like the flood. I had to do sandbags and I saw the Red Cross. They gave milk to a store. Prairie Farms helped. My Great Uncle Ed and Aunt Barb helped bring over the Prairie Farm truck. They live in Carlville.—Karina Jo Godar, second grade.

I went sandbagging. I took three days off swimming. I took one day off squirrel hunting. I shot about twenty squirrels. I sandbagged more and more then I quit because the levee broke. I was mad. I hate staying home. I like going to Jerseyville.—Zak Blumenberg, second grade.

My river house is flooded. I am very sorry that it is flooded. I am sad. I am very mad because it flooded my river house and I can't go there. It went to the roof with water.—Maya Samuels, second grade.

Since the flood has been up, our mom and dad has been boating across the river. Josh and me had to stay at our grandma's and our aunt's. Sometimes I cried, but sometimes she called us and we got to see my mom and dad more often.—Adam Bailey, second grade.

I sandbagged my Grandma Laura's in Hardin. It was flooded. They have to tear the dry wall out and reinsulate everything. While Grandpa was working, he got very sick and they had to chopper him out to the hospital.—Kevin Gauntt, second grade.

The water got higher and higher. We sandbagged. We then went to Saint Louis to stay at my aunt's home.—Jeremy Freidel, second grade.

My aunt's house is under water, because of the levee break and you can hardly see it. I have sandbagged and everytime I carried one hundred sandbags my dad had to stay all night and watch the pumps until six o'clock in the morning. Another guy was watching the pumps, too, and he got tired. After that, the flood went back down.—Blake Buchanan, second grade.

I feel sorry for the flood victims. My mom and dad were sandbagger's. The Red Cross helped Batchtown. The levee broke on July 18. Mary Beth Garner is a flood victim. You should believe me, it is true. Love.—Michelle Webster, second grade.

The flood has been tearing up houses and the people could not put them back together again. My Aunt, Peggy, has tried to save her house. The water has got there really big since I have been there. I was really sad when I saw the pictures of the bridge. The bridge is not broke.—Jessica, second grade.

In the flood, I helped sandbag. I finished on sandbags and got food from the Red Cross. In Grandma Jean's basement, she is still trying to pump out water. The flood isn't over.—Eric Benoist, second grade.

This year my Grandma Mary's house got flooded. I helped her move in with us. It was fun. I helped my Grandma Mary move into her new trailer. It was also fun. I then got to

sandbag in Hamburg with my brother.—Cory Lynn Poore, second grade.

I sandbagged. I threw sandbags. The Red Cross was nice. They fed me while I worked. My mom is helping to clean up houses. The sandbag's broke, but it didn't get in Scottie's Grandma Wyatt's houses. I'm sorry people—it was terrible!—Richard Gibbs, second grade.

The worst flood of '93. Most of the time I helped sandbag. It is hard to do it with just ten or twelve people. Just because of this, my mom, Betty, my sisters, Mandy and Amy, and my dad, Jerry Crader, and me, Lyndsey, sandbagged. My dogs name is Kissie. I love her so much, but she didn't help sandbag. My Grandma and Grandpa helped sandbag, too. Mikie's mom and dad and Mikie were there, too. My great Grandma and great Grandpa were there, too.—Lyndsey Crader, second grade.

It was miserable while the flood was going on. The Red Cross was nice. The Levee broke across the bridge. My brother sandbagged the bank. You couldn't get out of the town. They were nice about the free stuff. I hope the flood never happens again! If it does again I hope it doesn't do as bad as it did this year.—Jennifer Burk, second grade.

We were flooded in Mozier. We still boat out of our house. Water was all over Mozier. It got really deep in our store. Many people lost their homes. Some are completely gone including the pretty pink house. I'm tired of the water, but you have to live with it.—Christa McCormick, second grade.

The flood of 1993 was a big disaster! There were tons of homes washed away. I sandbagged. At first it was fun, but after awhile it got boring. The levee broke, but I wasn't surprised. Thousands of dollars worth of things were washed away. It was sad.—Travis Frazier, second grade.

The flood ruined many houses. The Red Cross helped us and other people. It wasn't so good to all. Calhoun Bank got flooded and the Townhall got flooded, too.—Kyle Foiles, second grade.

My Grandma's house got flooded. They have to live with us right now because the levee broke. I hope that the flood does not come back up.—Karrie, second grade.

The flood of 1993 was bad. I had to sandbag my mom's house. My grandma and I had to get to work to save my mom's house. It was bad in Hamburg. I had to go sandbag. The flood was very hard on my grandma.—John, second grade.

This flood is terrible. The levee has sticks and rocks and trash by it. July 18th is when the levee broke. The flood went down. The tree's are no good any more. There are more gardens. The flood damaged houses. The bridge is damaged, too.—Shawn, second grade.

The flood of '93 has been horrible. Many lost their homes because of the flood. The Red Cross helped us and we helped them. I helped sandbag with my mom, dad, and Roger Woelfel.—Brandon, second grade.

The flood was horrible. I never liked the flood at first. My Grandma Prange left during the flood. My dad was helping the people sandbag. I was helping the Red Cross. I hate the flood.—Karla, second grade.

My friend was in the flood. I felt sorry for them, but they got out of the house. They got out of the house and they are living in Kampsville housing. Now they are fine.—Danielle Sanzotera, second grade.

The flood was terrible. I wish the water would go down on the other side of the bridge. The Red Cross helped us. I hope there aren't any more floods.—Joe Roth, second grade.

I did not like it when Joe's levee broke. I was a flood victim and I liked being a flood victim, because it brought out the spirit in people. Love.—Andy Bailey, second grade.●

"CENTURION" COST AND OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I am very disturbed by the results of the *Centurion* cost and operational effectiveness analysis [COEA]. A cost comparison between *Centurion* and *Seawolf* equalized for production rate projects a unit price for *Centurion* approaching that of *Seawolf*. This is a shocking outcome considering the original intent of the program was to design a submarine with a unit cost roughly approximately that of the improved *Los Angeles*-class.

To fully achieve the affordability goals established for *Centurion*, I believe it will be necessary to pursue a more measured development program geared to thoroughly exploiting new technologies to ensure that significant savings are realized. An extension of *Centurion* development will, in turn, require the procurement of a small num-

ber of *Seawolf* subs to sustain the submarine industrial base.

Although the *Centurion* COEA was received too late to affect this year's Defense Appropriations markup, I proposed, as a conference matter, transferring funds from various *Centurion* accounts to the submarine industrial base line, leaving only enough *Centurion* R&D funds to maintain the level of effort necessary to preserve core submarine design capabilities. Accompanying language would have required that, prior to the release of funds, the Navy to report on the cost-effectiveness, particularly over the FYDP, of using pooled fiscal year 1994 *Centurion* funds to: First, partially offset the cost of completing the SSN-23, or second, continue *Centurion* development at the current pace. The Navy would have been further required to reflect in the fiscal year 1995 defense budget request the proposed use of fiscal year 1994 funds.

Senators are familiar with the overall funding crisis in the shipbuilding and conversion, Navy account, so I will not belabor the point. At a minimum sustaining rate of roughly one boat every 2 years, a rate that will protect

the current submarine industrial base, the *Seawolf* has a unit cost of ±\$2.35 billion. For \$3.5 billion in development, a less capable *Centurion* is projected to cost ±\$1.4 billion per unit at a rate of 1.5 to 2 boats per year. Even if these projected costs prove accurate, *Centurion* will, at a minimum, require almost twice the funding of *Seawolf* (\$4.2 plus billion vs. \$2.5 billion) every 2 years.

By continuing to build *Seawolf* at a minimal rate and delaying *Centurion*, we can save money outright, then save additional funds by amortizing *Seawolf* production and O&S costs over a greater number of hulls, project the industrial base, manage the total fleet size better, and engage in a measured development of *Centurion* geared to generating true savings.

Understandably, my colleagues were reluctant to consider such a sweeping proposal during conference. Fortunately, the rescission bill expected in January and the Somalia supplemental offer other opportunities to implement my plan. If accepted, we can put submarine development and acquisition spending on a realistic, affordable footing.●

FOREIGN CURRENCY REPORTS

In accordance with the appropriate provisions of law, the Secretary of the Senate herewith submits the following reports of standing committees of the Senate, certain joint committees of the Congress, delegations and groups, and select and special committees of the Senate, relating to expenses incurred in the performance of authorized foreign travel.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1, TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Mitch McConnell:									
United States	Dollar				2,216.45				2,216.45
Russia	Dollar				115.00				115.00
Ukraine	Dollar		488.00						488.00
Switzerland	Dollar		232.00						232.00
Robin Cleveland:									
United States	Dollar				2,216.45				2,216.45
Russia	Dollar		1,280.00		115.00				1,395.00
Ukraine	Dollar		488.00						488.00
Switzerland	Dollar		232.00						232.00
Total			2,720.00		4,662.90				7,382.90

PATRICK J. LEAHY,
Chairman, Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, Oct. 25, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Phil Gramm:									
Ukraine	Dollar		702.00		10.00				712.00
Albania	Dollar		136.00						136.00
Latvia	Dollar		260.00						260.00
Estonia	Dollar		96.00						96.00
Czech Republic	Dollar		182.00		20.00				202.00
United States	Dollar				3,047.00				3,047.00
Senator Daniel K. Inouye:									
Israel	Dollar		630.00						630.00
United States	Dollar				6,118.00				6,118.00
David Morrison:									
Israel	Dollar		630.00						630.00
United States	Dollar				1,678.27				1,678.27
Senator Barbara Mikulski:									
Germany	Mark	873.69	508.84					873.69	508.84
France	Franc	1,068	178.00					1,068	178.00

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993—Continued

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
United States	Dollar				3,132.35				3,132.35
Total			3,322.84		14,005.62				17,328.46

ROBERT C. BYRD,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, Oct. 21, 1993.

ADDENDUM TO CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM APR. 1, TO JUNE 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Ted Stevens:									
Japan	Yen	40,074	374.00					40,074	374.00
China	Dollar				1,640.45				1,640.45
China	Yuan	3,488.81	603.99					3,488.81	603.99
China	Dollar		610.00						610.00
Steve Cortese:									
Japan	Yen	40,074	374.00					40,074	374.00
China	Dollar				1,640.45				1,640.45
China	Yuan	3,488.81	603.99					3,488.81	603.99
China	Dollar		610.00						610.00
Total			3,175.98		3,280.90				6,456.88

ROBERT C. BYRD,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, Nov. 2, 1993.

ADDENDUM TO CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM APR. 1 TO JUNE 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Daniel Inouye:									
Japan	Yen	98,900	923.00					98,900	923.00
China	Yuan	3,488.81	603.99	636.20	111.42			4,125.01	715.41
China	Dollar		610.00						610.00
Richard Collins:									
Japan	Yen	98,900	923.00					98,900	923.00
China	Yuan	3,488.81	603.99	1,336.73	234.10	68.96	12.07	4,894.50	850.16
China	Dollar		610.00						610.00
Total			4,273.98		345.52		12.07		4,631.57

ROBERT C. BYRD,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, Oct. 21, 1993.

ADDENDUM TO CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM OCT. 1 TO DEC. 31, 1992

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Peter Rogoff:									
Great Britain	Pound	640.98	1,010.00					640.98	1,010.00
Sweden	Krona	6775	1,000.00			1,355	200.00	8,130	1,200.00
Germany	Mark	333.52	216.57	139.35	90.49	39.86	25.88	512.73	332.94
France	Franc	2,006.25	375.00			2,279.10	426.00	4,285.35	801.00
United States	Dollar				2,167.50				2,167.50
Total			2,601.57		2,257.99		651.88		5,511.44

ROBERT C. BYRD,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, Oct. 21, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator John McCain:									
Ukraine	Dollar		976.00						976.00

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT 30, 1993—Continued

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Albania	Dollar		299.00						299.00
Latvia	Dollar		255.00						255.00
Estonia	Dollar		178.00						178.00
Czech Republic	Dollar		280.00						280.00
Marshall A. Salter:									
Ukraine	Dollar		976.00						976.00
Albania	Dollar		299.00						299.00
Latvia	Dollar		255.00						255.00
Estonia	Dollar		178.00						178.00
Czech Republic	Dollar		280.00						280.00
John J. Hamre:									
Germany	Dollar		394.00						394.00
Senator Richard C. Shelby:									
Thailand	Baht	15,072.48	599.00					15,072.48	599.00
Vietnam	Dollar		130.00						130.00
Korea	Won	392,690	486.00					392,690	486.00
Japan	Yen	71,054	678.00					71,054	678.00
Thomas J. Young:									
Thailand	Baht	16,079	639.00					16,079	639.00
Vietnam	Dollar		157.00						157.00
Korea	Won	376,530	466.00					376,530	466.00
Japan	Yen	71,893	686.00					71,893	686.00
Frank Norton:									
Hong Kong	Dollar	42,550	329.00					42,550	329.00
Thailand	Baht	21,439	879.00					21,439	879.00
Vietnam	Dollar		257.00						257.00
Korea	Won	392,690	486.00					392,690	486.00
Japan	Yen	82,373	786.00					82,373	786.00
Senator Bob Smith:									
Thailand	Baht	10,714	426.00					10,714	426.00
United States	Dollar				3,898.45				3,898.45
	Dollar		768.00		3,254.10				4,022.10
Dino L. Carluccio:									
Thailand	Baht	10,714	426.00					10,714	426.00
United States	Dollar				3,898.45				3,898.45
Vietnam	Dollar		768.00		3,254.10				4,022.10
Lisa B. Stocklan:									
Thailand	Baht	10,714	426.00					10,714	426.00
United States	Dollar				3,898.45				3,898.45
Vietnam	Dollar		768.00		3,254.10				4,022.10
Total			14,530.00		21,457.65				35,987.65

SAM NUNN,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, Sept. 30, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Richard Ribbentrop:									
Ukraine	Dollar		622.00						622.00
Albania	Dollar		96.00						96.00
Latvia	Dollar		143.00						143.00
Estonia	Dollar		96.00						96.00
Czech Republic	Dollar		208.00		25.00				233.00
United States	Dollar				3,047.00				3,047.00
Total			1,165.00		3,072.00				4,237.00

DONALD W. RIEGLE, Jr.,
Chairman, Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, Sept. 30, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE, UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
David R. Williams:									
United Kingdom	Pound	288.44	424.00					288.44	424.00
Germany	Mark	321.68	189.00					321.68	189.00
Belgium	Franc	18,948	530.00					18,948	530.00
United States	Dollar				3,948.00				3,948.00
Germany	Mark			86	50.53			86	50.53
Barry L. Strumpf:									
United Kingdom	Pound	288.44	424.00					288.44	424.00
Germany	Mark	321.68	189.00					321.68	189.00
Belgium	Franc	18,948	334.00					11,940.50	334.00
United States	Dollar				3,948.00				3,948.00
Germany	Mark			86	50.53				50.53
Total			2,090.00		7,997.06				10,087.06

JIM SASSER,
Chairman, Senate Budget Committee, Oct. 20, 1993.

AMENDED CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION, FOR TRAVEL FROM APR. 1 TO JUNE 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Earl W. Comstock:									
Japan	Dollar		2,500.00						2,500.00
United States	Dollar				995.45				995.45
Total			2,500.00		995.45				3,495.45

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,

Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, Oct. 1, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Leslie Cordes:									
Switzerland	Franc	910.15	602.75	117	77.48	136.60	90.46	1,163.75	770.69
United States	Dollar				791.45				791.45
Richard Grundy:									
Switzerland	Franc	2,013.75	1,324.85	342	225.00	173.14	113.91	2,528.89	1,663.76
United States	Dollar				882.35				882.35
Senator J. Bennett Johnston:									
France	Franc	4806	801.00					4806	801.00
Total			2,728.60		1,976.28		204.37		4,909.25

J. BENNETT JOHNSTON,

Chairman, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Oct. 13, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Edward Gresser:									
Japan	Dollar		484.57				367.28		851.85
China	Yuan	5,404.88	938.35	7,110	1,234.38			12,514.88	2,172.73
Hong Kong	Dollar	4,704.25	607.00	336	43.35			5,040.25	650.35
Thailand	Dollar		336.00						336.00
United States	Dollar				2,695.45				2,695.45
Total			2,365.92		3,973.18		367.28		6,706.38

MAX BAUCUS,

Chairman, Committee on Environment and Public Works, Sept. 30, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Max Baucus:									
Japan	Dollar		484.57				367.28		851.85
China	Yuan	5,404.88	938.35	7,110	1,234.38			12,514.88	2,172.73
Hong Kong	Dollar	6,486.80	837.00	336	43.35			6,822.80	880.35
United States	Dollar				6,874.35				6,874.35
Sharon L. Peterson:									
Japan	Dollar		484.57				367.28		851.85
China	Yuan	5,404.88	938.35	7,110	1,234.38			12,514.88	2,172.73
Hong Kong	Dollar	6,486.80	837.00	336	43.35			6,822.80	880.35
United States	Dollar				2,380.45				2,380.45
Lawrence O'Donnell:									
United Kingdom	Dollar		896.00		883.25				1,779.25
Ireland	Dollar		1,242.00						1,242.00
United States	Dollar				3,439.45				3,439.45
Total			6,657.84		16,132.96		734.56		23,525.36

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN,

Chairman, Committee on Finance, Sept. 30, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, FOR TRAVEL FROM APR. 1 TO JUNE 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Max Baucus:									
United States	Dollar				792.95				792.95
Mary Foley:									
Mexico	Dollar		77.75				6.43		84.18
United States	Dollar				436.15				436.15
Senator Bill Bradley:									
Mexico	Dollar						137.45		137.45
United States	Dollar		100.54		910.65				1,011.19
Total			178.29		2,139.75		143.88		2,461.92

Note.—Expenses include direct payments and reimbursements to the Department of State under authority of sec. 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by sec. 22 of P.L. 95-384, and S. Res. 179, agreed to May 25, 1977.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN,
Chairman, Committee on Finance, Aug. 12, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Richard G. Lugar:									
Poland	Zloty	9,321.500	515.00					9,321.500	515.00
Czech Republic	Koruna	15,119	516.00					15,119	516.00
Croatia	Dinar	913.395	195.00					913.395	195.00
Belgium	Franc	3,006	85.00					3,006	85.00
France	Franc	3,118	534.00					3,118	534.00
Hungary	Franc		219.00						219.00
Germany	Mark	702	456.00					702	456.00
Senator Larry Pressler:									
Hong Kong	Dollar			2,000	258.07			2,000	258.07
China	Yuan	8,586.42	1,492.00					8,586.42	1,492.00
United States	Dollar				1,940.44				1,940.44
Senator Charles S. Robb:									
Singapore	Dollar		549.00						549.00
Malaysia	Dollar		188.00						188.00
Thailand	Dollar		426.00						426.00
Cambodia	Dollar		288.00						288.00
Vietnam	Dollar		257.00						257.00
Taiwan	Dollar	1,185	267.00					1,185	267.00
United States	Dollar				5,024.45				5,024.45
Peter M. Cleveland:									
Singapore	Dollar		549.00						549.00
Malaysia	Dollar		188.00						188.00
Thailand	Dollar		426.00						426.00
Cambodia	Dollar		288.00						288.00
Vietnam	Dollar		257.00						257.00
Taiwan	Dollar	1,185	267.00					1,185	267.00
United States	Dollar				5,024.45				5,024.45
Shannon Garry:									
Hong Kong	Dollar			2,000	258.07			2,000	258.07
China	Yuan	8,586.42	1,492.00					8,586.42	1,492.00
United States	Dollar				1,940.44				1,940.44
Kenneth A. Myers:									
Poland	Zloty	20,217.693	1,117.00					20,217.693	1,117.00
Czech Republic	Koruna	14,474	494.00					14,474	494.00
Croatia	Dinar	852.570	182.00					852.570	182.00
Belgium	Franc	2,759	78.00					2,759	78.00
France	Franc	3,118	534.00					3,118	534.00
Hungary	Dollar		219.00						219.00
Germany	Mark	702	420.00					702	420.00
George Pickart:									
Turkey	Dollar		2,466.00						2,466.00
Turkey	Lira	3,460.464	300.00					3,460.464	300.00
United States	Dollar				4,524.45				4,524.45
Frank Sieverts:									
Switzerland	Franc	2,107.28	1,434.00					2,107.28	1,434.00
United States	Dollar				2,401.45				2,401.45
William C. Triplett, II:									
Hong Kong	Dollar			2,000	258.07			2,000	258.07
China	Yuan	8,586.42	1,492.00					8,586.42	1,492.00
United States	Dollar				2,443.44				2,443.44
Amendments to report for 2d quarter, 1993:									
Senator Charles S. Robb:									
South Korea	Won	193,180	243.00					193,180	243.00
Japan	Yen	39,809	342.00					39,809	342.00
United States	Dollar				4,917.45				4,917.45
Peter Cleveland:									
South Korea	Won	193,180	243.00					193,180	243.00
Japan	Yen	39,809	342.00					39,809	342.00
United States	Dollar				3,866.45				3,866.45
Senator John Kerry:									
Thailand	Dollar					67.75			67.75
Scott Bunton:									
Thailand	Dollar					67.74			67.74
Larry Carpmann:									
Thailand	Dollar					67.74			67.74
Nancy Stetson:									
Thailand	Dollar					67.75			67.75
Total			19,360.00		32,857.23		270.98		52,488.21

CLAIBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, Oct. 29, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Leonard Weiss:									
United States	Dollar				3,149.13				3,149.13
Germany	Mark	2,308.63	1,334.01	613.30	383.31			2,921.93	1,717.32
Czech Republic	Koruna		1,400.00		50.56				1,450.56
Slovakia	Koruna		624.00		367.00				991.00
Hungary	Forint	83,474	876.00	6,846	72.06			90,320	948.06
Poland	Zloty	5,349,400	249.25	420,000	23.33			5,769,400	317.58
Total			4,528.26		4,045.39				8,573.65

JOHN GLENN,
Chairman, Committee on Governmental Affairs, Oct. 28, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, FOR TRAVEL FROM APR. 1 TO JUNE 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
R. Ian Butterfield:									
Germany	Dollar				1,961.25				1,961.25
Total					1,961.25				1,961.25

JOHN GLENN,
Chairman, Committee on Governmental Affairs, Oct. 28, 1993

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE, FOR TRAVEL FROM JULY 1 TO SEPT. 30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Timothy Carlsgaard			1,280.00		3,230.45				4,510.45
Alfred Cumming			1,022.00		3,230.45				4,252.45
Alfred Cumming			317.00		3,969.05				4,286.05
Peter Dorn			317.42		3,996.05				4,313.47
Senator J. Robert Kerrey			420.00		829.95				1,249.95
Christopher Straub			420.00		788.95				1,208.95
Judith Ansley			1,354.75		3,935.55				5,290.30
Gary Reese			1,411.00		3,935.55				5,346.55
Jennifer Sims			1,520.10		3,935.55				5,455.65
Arthur Grant			2,192.00		4,238.07				6,430.07
James Martin			453.57		4,179.05				4,632.62
Total			10,707.84		36,268.67				46,976.51

DENNIS DeCONCINI,
Select Committee on Intelligence, Sept. 30, 1993.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZED BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADER, AUG. 29-30, 1993

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Robert J. Dole:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Senator Orrin G. Hatch:									
Mexico	Peso	353.01	113.60					353.01	113.60
Senator Phil Gramm:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Senator John McCain:									
Mexico	Peso	353.01	113.60					353.01	113.60
Senator Judd Gregg:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Sheila Burke:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Theresa Oviado:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Kristin Hyde:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Rolf Lundberg:									
Mexico	Peso	443.99	142.88					443.99	142.88
Paul Redifer:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Jan Paulk:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00
Steven Benza:									
Mexico	Peso	506.50	163.00					506.50	163.00

CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS FOR FOREIGN TRAVEL BY MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. SENATE UNDER AUTHORITY OF SEC. 22, P.L. 95-384—22 U.S.C. 1754(b), FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZED BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADER, AUG. 29-30, 1993—Continued

Name and country	Name of currency	Per diem		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Delegation expenses ¹									
Mexico							2,476.25		2,476.25
Total			1,837.08				2,476.25		4,313.33

¹ Delegation expenses include direct payments and reimbursements to the Department of State and to the Department of Defense under authority of sec. 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954 as amended by sec. 22 of P.L. 95-384, and S. Res. 179, agreed to May 25, 1977.

ROBERT J. DOLE,
Republican Leader, Oct. 21, 1993.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POSITIVE MESSAGE

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, today, I would like to commend the National Broadcasting Co.'s efforts to promote positive messages on violence prevention. While I have made many statements on the floor of the Senate on the issue of television violence, I also want to be sure to commend those efforts to use television in a positive way.

NBC's "The More You Know" campaign is the cornerstone of the network's violence prevention strategy. Through a variety of public service announcements featuring celebrities and popular sports figures, NBC has helped to promote nonviolent solutions to conflicts. The frank and hard-hitting messages have encouraged kids to stay away from gangs, guns, drugs, and crime, discussed the difficult issues such as prejudice and teenage pregnancy, and targeted the importance of education and parental involvement.

In addition to the public service announcements, the network has encouraged conflict resolution and antiviolence messages through their entertainment programming. Several of the network's programs have incorporated antiviolence themes into their storylines. For example, programs popular with preteens and teens, such as "Blossom," "A Different World," and "The Fresh Prince," have addressed a wide variety of issues such as peer pressure, gun control, substance abuse, and racism.

Finally, many of the NBC affiliates have embraced the efforts of the network and have taken steps to promote and assist comprehensive public service efforts. For example, many communities have enhanced NBC's efforts by implementing homework hotlines, education programs, adopt-a-school programs, job fairs, student assistant programs, and substance abuse treatment centers. Many affiliates have also addressed concerns specific to their own communities through additional public service announcements.

With assistance from the Children's Defense Fund, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the National Education Association, and the National Parent Teacher Association,

NBC has created an award-winning program which deserves our applause. The campaign has been honored with a Presidential Citation for Private Sector Initiatives and the National Education Association's Award for the Advancement of Learning Through Broadcasting. Local educational organizations have also commended the program based on the efforts of the networks' affiliates.

Mr. President, as violence continues to plague our society, I wholeheartedly thank the National Broadcasting Co. for pursuing their earnest and creative venture. NBC has discovered the potential of television to promote great good. Their use of the broadcasting medium to advance positive, antiviolence messages should serve as a model to all in the entertainment industry. •

EXCEPTIONAL PERSONS, INC.

• Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, on the occasion of its annual dinner, I would like to recognize and congratulate Exceptional Persons, Inc., of Waterloo, IA. Exceptional Persons, Inc., is an organization whose mission is to empower people with disabilities, support families, and serve communities.

Exceptional Persons, Inc., was founded in 1957, in response to the needs of people with disabilities and their families. The organization has grown significantly over the years and currently provides, on an annual basis:

Coordination and program planning on a local, State and regional level;

Transportation services for 625 children and adults;

Residential services and support for 310 people;

Individual and group counseling for 225 people;

Child care referral information and support to 790 families;

Training and support to 383 providers of child care services; and,

Assistance with durable medical equipment to 210 people.

Exceptional Persons, Inc., holds, as a foundational concept, that all people have inherent worth and should be afforded an opportunity to make their unique contribution in the community of their choice.

I salute the staff, board members, volunteers, and consumers of Exceptional Persons, Inc., and wish them continued success in the years to come. •

NCAA WOMAN ATHLETE OF THE YEAR

• Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my heartfelt congratulations to three female athletes from Iowa who are among the 10 finalists for the prestigious NCAA Woman Athlete of the Year Award.

Nearly 500 institutions named a Woman Athlete of the Year and tonight I will be chosen Woman Athlete of the Year. These outstanding young women are being recognized by the National Collegiate Athletic Association for their athletic, academic, and leadership abilities.

I'm not surprised that Iowa, ranked 30th in population, took 3 of the 10 spots. Good things are going on in Iowa communities, schools, and colleges to promote opportunities for female athletes. For example, last year the University of Iowa's Board in Control of Athletics unanimously passed a proposal that would accelerate a Big 10 Conference proposal toward achieving gender equity in athletics.

The State of Iowa has officially sponsored girls athletics since 1920 when first state championship in basketball was held. Interscholastic athletic programs have existed in Iowa schools for girls as long as they have for boys. The Iowa Girls High School Athletic Association reports that an annual survey sponsored by the National Organization for Women says Iowa as the largest percentage of young women participating in athletics of any State in the Nation.

The Equal Opportunity Act of 1972 barely made a ripple in Iowa because the State already has 16 State championships in various sports for girls. And, in that same year, Sports Illustrated came to Iowa and did a series of articles on how girls athletics should be run, based on the Iowa model.

Mr. President, we have a long and proud history in the area of women's sports. This year we are very proud

that the NCAA will be honoring two Iowa natives and a recent University of Iowa graduate at the 1993 Woman Athlete of the Year ceremony.

I would like to take a moment to talk about these three outstanding young women—Andrea Wieland, Karen Jennings, and Sara Edmonds.

Andrea Wieland is from Atlanta, GA, and is a recent graduate of the University of Iowa. She was the captain of the Iowa field hockey team and led the team to four straight Big 10 championships. Andrea led the 1992 team to a perfect 10-0 regular season record and a second place national finish. She was a member of the U.S. national field hockey team, a member of the NCAA all-tournament team, first team All-America, first team all-regional and first team all-Big 10. As a senior, Wieland earned the Big 10's Medal of Honor and was a 1993 NCAA Top Six Award finalist. She was also named Iowa's team MVP.

Andrea graduated with a 3.49 grade point average in psychology, was treasurer of the Mortar Board National Honor Society, and was a leader in several school organizations.

Karen Jennings is from Persia, IA, and played high school basketball for Tri-Center Community Schools in Neola. She attended the University of Nebraska where she was a 4-year starter on the women's basketball team and the all-time leading scorer for the Cornhuskers. She has received many of the top honors in the Big Eight Conference including the 1992-93 Big Eight Female Athlete of the Year and was twice named the Big Eight Women's Basketball Player of the Year. Karen is the conference's second all-time highest scorer and set the Big Eight single game scoring record with 48 points.

With a 3.898 grade point average, Karen was an exercise physiology major and has achieved a number of academic honors. She received the Ventures in Partnership Award of Excellence for her community service, has served as president of the Nebraska Student-Athlete Advisory Board, volunteered for the Nebraska Special Olympics, and spoke frequently at leadership seminars and local high schools.

Sarah Edmonds is from Sioux City, IA, and graduated from North High School where she was a member of the track team. She attended Gustavus Adolphus University in St. Peter, MN, and as an outstanding cross country and track athlete led her team to the NCAA Division III cross country championship last fall. As a track standout, she earned all-conference honors in the 5,000-meter race during the 1992-93 indoor season. In a remarkable effort, Sarah won all seven races during the season to finish her career undefeated.

Sarah was a religion major and graduated with a 3.71 grade point average. She earned impressive academic accom-

plishments including membership in the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society. She volunteers for the Big Brother/Big Sister Program and Planned Parenthood.

Mr. President, I congratulate Andrea, Karen, Sarah, and the other finalists on their outstanding accomplishments and wish them well. I also applaud the NCAA for its efforts to recognize the fine achievements of female athletes across the Nation. •

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session to consider the following nominations: Calendar No. 477, Calendar No. 480, Calendar No. 492, and Calendar No. 496.

I further ask unanimous consent that the nominees be confirmed, en bloc; that any statements appear in the RECORD as if read; that upon confirmation, the motions to reconsider be laid upon the table, en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and that the Senate return to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, considered and confirmed, en bloc, are as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Martin John Manley, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

Corlis Smith Moody, of Minnesota, to be Director of the Office of Minority Economic Impact, Department of Energy.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Michael F. DiMario, of Maryland, to be Public Printer.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Frederick F. Y. Pang, of Hawaii, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

NOMINATION OF MICHAEL F. DIMARIO

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, the Committee on Rules and Administration has completed its consideration of the nomination of Michael F. DiMario, of Maryland, to be Public Printer of the United States. At a meeting November 4, 1993, the committee unanimously reported the nomination with the recommendation that it be confirmed by the Senate.

At a hearing held October 28, 1993, Mr. DiMario testified and responded to a wide range of questions by the Members. The committee heard from representatives of the Printing, Publishing, and Media Workers Sector of the Communications Workers of America and the Joint Council of Unions of the Government Printing Office that represent employees at the Government Printing Office; the Printing Industries of America and the American Library Association. Statements were also re-

ceived from the University of Kentucky and the American Association of Law Libraries.

Mr. President, this was truly a singular experience in the consideration of a nominee—all of the witnesses and statements received were favorable to the confirmation of Mr. DiMario. Not a single contrary viewpoint was received or presented. I think it is also significant that this is also the first time in many years that the person nominated for this position has had any experience in the Government Printing Office.

Mr. DiMario's experience with that agency is certainly extensive, covering a wide range of responsibilities and a period of more than 20 years. He was appointed Acting Public Printer last February. Before that appointment, Mr. DiMario served that agency in many capacities, including Chief Negotiator for Labor-Management Relations, General Counsel, Superintendent of Documents, Administrative Law Judge, and Director of Procurement Services.

We are fortunate, I think, to have as the nominee for Public Printer, a person who will bring to that position such an extensive background of experience with the Government Printing Office. That broadly based experience should serve him, and the agency well during these times when the Government Printing Office is confronting the uncertainty of change as the subject of Government reorganization proposals.

Mr. President, I am pleased to support the confirmation of Michael F. DiMario to be Public Printer and I urge my colleagues to confirm his appointment.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now return to legislative session.

ORDERS FOR TOMORROW

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 10 a.m. Wednesday, November 10; that following the prayer, the Journal of the proceedings be deemed approved to date, and the time for the two leaders reserved for their use later in the day; that immediately following the announcement of the chair, the Senate resume consideration of S. 1607, the crime bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS UNTIL WEDNESDAY,
NOVEMBER 10, 1993, AT 10 A.M.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the

Senate today, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now stand in recess, as previously ordered.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 11:32 p.m., recessed until Wednesday, November 10, 1993, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by
the Senate November 9, 1993:

PEACE CORPS

CHARLES R. BAQUET III, OF MARYLAND, TO BE DEPUTY
DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS, VICE BARBARA
ZARTMAN RESIGNED.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive Nominations Confirmed by
the Senate November 9, 1993:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

FREDERICK F.Y. PANG, OF HAWAII, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

MARTIN JOHN MANLEY, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

CORLIS SMITH MOODY, OF MINNESOTA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MINORITY ECONOMIC IMPACT, DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

MICHAEL F. DIMARIO, OF MARYLAND, TO BE PUBLIC
PRINTER

THE ABOVE NOMINATIONS WERE APPROVED SUBJECT TO THE NOMINEES' COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY BEFORE ANY DULY CONSTITUTED COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MY FRIEND, ERNEST S. PETINAUD

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, instead of "my" friend, I could without any difficulty say "our" friend. Everyone who knew Ernest S. Petinaud liked him and he certainly loved the House of Representatives. He knew as much about the membership of the House during his tenure on Capitol Hill as anyone that has ever served in the House since March 4, 1789.

When you enter H-117, the Members' dining room, you see the name—Ernest Petinaud Room. We honored our friend Ernest S. Petinaud who served his final days as the maitre d' in the Members' dining room for many years and this honor was certainly well deserved. He was never too busy to help find a table for you and the members of your family or for your close associates and constituents. He had a wonderful memory and one that placed him in a position where for many years after meeting the members of the family, he could call the names of the children and the spouse.

Mr. Speaker, Ernest Petinaud, age 88, who retired in 1973 as the maitre d' of the House restaurant died on November 8, 1993 at the Washington Hospital Center of injuries suffered on November 4, 1993 in a fire at his home here in Washington. He was a native of Jamaica and he came to this country and settled in Washington in the mid-1920's. He started out initially in the House restaurant as a busboy and from 1930 to 1938 he served as a steward on ships sailing the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. He then returned to the House restaurant as a waiter and was made maitre d' in 1962.

Our friend, Ernest S. Petinaud, was a Mason and Shriner and he was a member of the Scottish Rite and Plymouth Congregational Church here in our Nation's Capital. His lovely wife, Jeannette Petinaud, died in 1988.

During his service as an employee of the House of Representatives, he established an outstanding record. Words are absolutely inadequate to fully appraise Ernest Petinaud's tremendous love for the most powerful legislative body in the world and his loyalty and love of his country. His service in all of his assignments was marked by a high sense of conscience and duty. His character, his achievements and his faithful service to the members of the House of Representatives will be an inspiration to generations yet to come. He was always thoughtful and kind, and ready to serve and be of assistance and always remembered the birthdays of our membership and those who worked with him here in our Nation's Capitol building. He had, in his work with the House, acquired a high level of competence and special knowledge and his willingness to

share with younger, less experienced members of the staff earned him a reputation as a valuable team member.

Mr. Speaker, since I have been a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I have served as chairman of a number of the subcommittees. One, for the duration of 16 years, was the District of Columbia Budget Subcommittee. During my tenure as chairman of this particular subcommittee, which was the first subcommittee chairmanship I had the honor to serve in, my friend Ernest Petinaud, from time to time, would make suggestions to me concerning our Capital City that were not only beneficial, but accepted. He always believed that Washington, DC was the most beautiful city in the world and notwithstanding the fact that we have some problems here from time to time, none was so difficult that they could not be resolved.

When a complete history of the House of Representatives, beginning with the first day on March 4, 1789 up to the time of the finished product is written, the name of Ernest S. Petinaud certainly must appear. Although never a Member of the House, he loved the House and the leadership on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, we have all lost a true friend and a gentleman of dignity and stature who will be long remembered and missed by all of those who had the privilege of knowing him and his many good deeds while serving with us here on Capitol Hill.

I want to express my deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

NAFTA

HON. AL SWIFT

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. SWIFT. Mr. Speaker, "You're retiring from this place. At least the NAFTA vote will be easy for you," a colleague said to me on the floor the other day. Wrong. Deciding whether to vote for the North American Free Trade Agreement or not is the most difficult vote I will cast in my 16 years in Congress.

My close relationship with organized labor has never been a matter of political convenience. I believe that workers should be able to organize so they can speak for themselves. It is a logical extension of our free enterprise system.

My voting record these past eight terms is strongly pro-labor, and of that I am very proud. But a person cannot agree with best friends, always. I have disagreed with labor from time to time on trade issues. The NAFTA, however, is not just another trade issue, and I have worked hard to understand the thinking of both its supporters and opponents.

The decision has been agonizing because, after meeting with rank and file workers both

at home and here in the Capitol, I am convinced that their opposition to the NAFTA is very real and based upon a certitude that it will threaten their jobs and reduce their standard of living.

In talking with the workers themselves, you quickly see this is not a case of their repeating arguments suggested by labor leaders. There is real fear and real anxiety about the NAFTA.

But that begs another question: How did American workers become so anxious, their confidence in their future become so fragile?

I have had more than one business person express to me their utter consternation at the vehemence of individual workers' opposition to the NAFTA. To business the issue is, to use Lee Iacocca's words from his TV ad, "a no brainer." The fact business people are surprised is, in itself, a little startling in light of labor's opposition to our even negotiating the treaty.

More importantly, the surprise of American business at worker reaction reflects, in a very basic way, a major part of the problem because it demonstrates how extremely out of touch business and industry is with their employees and their lives, aspirations, and anxieties.

If the NAFTA is defeated, this attitude—which ranges from mere disinterest to overt delight with the decline of the lot of organized labor in recent years—will be at the root.

THE ANTI-WORKER ACTIONS OF THE EIGHTIES ARE A MAJOR CAUSE OF ANTI-NAFTA REACTION

Review the record. Labor—and I mean unorganized workers as well as members of unions—has suffered enormous set-backs over the last dozen years or more. Some have resulted from unforeseen events as when the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in severe cut-backs in many defense-related industries. Some grow out of a determined and active antilabor policy, especially in the Reagan administration.

Specifics? President Ronald Reagan's huge over-reaction to the Air Traffic Controllers' strike. By firing all striking controllers he rejected any effort to resolve the matter amicably. Intentionally or not, he initiated a new era of labor-management conflict.

His firing of striking Government workers encouraged business and industry to take a harder line with their employees—stealing techniques directly from the administration.

Labor responded by trying to pass a bill that would prevent management from firing employees who were engaged in a legal strike. Management set up the cry that this would disturb the "traditional balance" between them and labor. The truth is that Ronald Reagan upset the traditional balance because American industry has really never used the technique before. But the bill that, in truth, would have restored the balance was fought bitterly by both the Reagan-Bush administrations and industry. Now "striker replacement" legislation has support from President Clinton and was

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

passed in the House of Representatives last June, but has not yet passed the Senate.

Look at other efforts to help American workers.

A bill that simply required a company that was actively considering the closing of one of its plants to tell its workers a few weeks in advance, was fought as hard as if it actually prevented plant closures.

The effort to revise the Hatch Act to let Federal Government workers participate in the political life of this country like every other citizen was rejected repeatedly for years. It was only recently passed into law.

Just this year we finally passed a family leave bill which sought to establish for American workers what workers in virtually every other industrialized nation in the world has: The right to stay home to care for family in emergency circumstances without losing their job—and, notably, without being paid. This was opposed bitterly by the Reagan and Bush administrations.

None of these proposals was remotely radical.

And most recently, one of the first actions of the Clinton administration, to try to create jobs in the present recession, was turned down by Congress. The opposition mindlessly cried "Spending!" at a time President Clinton knew we needed to put Americans back to work. Surely its passage would have addressed some of the concerns of working Americans and reduced anxiety enough to make less adamant their opposition to the NAFTA.

Business cannot expect to stick its thumb in the eyes of its workers for more than a decade without a reaction. What goes around, comes around, and relentless opposition to the NAFTA by labor is best understood in the context of relentless opposition to workers' interests.

If the NAFTA is defeated, it will be, in my judgment, the direct result of policies and actions by Government and business over the last dozen years or so which have treated workers with such disrespect and caused such a high level of frustration and worry that labor has no trust left, little faith left, and no capacity to resist the fear of change.

NEW ECONOMIC CLIMATE MAKES NOW A BAD TIME FOR BUSINESS AND LABOR TO FIGHT

All of this has been occurring during a period of jarring transition. Not only has the demise of the Soviet Union changed many economic equations, technology is making the world smaller and demanding major changes in our economic thinking. It is not a matter of whether we want to have a world marketplace. Rather it is that there is a world marketplace and we have to figure out how to function in it.

That requires change.

American industry was slow to embrace change. The best example is probably our automobile industry.

Government is slow to change. Every single one of our trade competitors has a government-private sector cooperative system to advance its best interests. It's called industrial policy. Yet, right up to and through the Bush administration we have adamantly refused to consider such a strategy. We sat here happily believing that others could go into the game with talent and a game plan and we could win

with talent alone, no game plan. What arrogance. What stupidity. Only with the Clinton administration are we beginning to maximize our opportunities in foreign trade by developing strategies to do so.

Further, it must be noted that Ronald Reagan's idea of free trade was to talk about it but not lift a finger to insist on fair treatment in return. His reputation for forceful military policy hid his monumental timidity in trade policy.

That has changed. Under Trade Representative Mickey Kantor the Clinton administration has been pursuing a free-trade policy, but with a vigorous insistence on fair trade response from our trading partners.

And labor has been slow to change. That labor has little control over events that impact on it makes this transition an especially threatening one for workers. But, wishing for the sixties, hoping change will go away, mistaking new challenges for old frustrations or letting the fear of the unknown force you into reactionary policies will not serve the interests of American workers in this changed world.

AND THAT BRINGS US TO THE NAFTA

Into this time of uncertainty and transition comes the issue of the NAFTA.

I have listened to the arguments with care, asked many questions, reviewed many responses. Having tried to understand the natural complexities of the issue, I now try to reduce it back to basics, for that is what policy ultimately is.

Much of the analysis has been little more than "my economist can beat up your economist" which makes it difficult for mere mortals to sort out. But there are some exaggerations and contradictions.

Example: Pro-NAFTA forces say the reason NAFTA will not result in low Mexican wages reducing high American wages to some mediocre level in between is that the entire Mexican economy is no larger than the economy of Los Angeles. Even if the blending were to occur it would have minimal effect on U.S. wages.

Then, pro-NAFTA forces tell you how great it will be for American products to have tariff-free access to the huge Mexican market. Well, I don't know of a company that would not want access to the Los Angeles market under any circumstances. But either the Mexican market is relatively small or relatively large. It can't be both.

My view? It's a modest but worthwhile market. Just as we wouldn't want to exclude ourselves from selling into the LA economy, we should be interested in that of Mexico. Perhaps more important, however, are the economies of the rest of the Western Hemisphere which can follow Mexico in opening up to us. There lies great potential.

Example: What will happen if we defeat NAFTA? I have been assured by pro-NAFTA forces that Mexico will be embarrassed, could not and would not renegotiate and would enter into negotiations for a similar trade agreement with Japan.

Anti-NAFTA forces say, "Of course, they have to say that." But they go on to assure me that Mexico will leap at the chance to renegotiate a better treaty if this one is turned down.

Pro-NAFTA people respond, "Of course, they have to say that."

Who knows what the truth is? I don't. It's speculation on both sides. It does seem reasonable, however, that Mexico would be at least a little miffed at a rejection of the treaty. And, why would Japan not try to exploit that irritation by discussing a treaty that would give them a trade beachhead on our side of the mutual, natural market of the Pacific rim?

THE SUCKING SOUND: WILL THE NAFTA EXPORT JOBS TO MEXICO?

There are a few central issues to each side of the debate. First, the anti-NAFTA side has been worried from the beginning about the loss of high paying American jobs to low-paid Mexican workers if the NAFTA is passed.

Ross Perot has called this, "The great sucking sound."

I have concluded that the sucking sound is, in fact, Ross Perot sucking up to American workers by trying to exploit their fears and anxieties. Perot has, to quote the Washington Post, "spun the public's reasonable anxieties into a web of dark conspiracies, fabricated numbers and fantastic claims."

But think about it. For many industries in America such a move would not make sense because the savings in labor costs would not compensate for the capital expenditure of duplicating in Mexico existing United States plants, the costs of dealing with Mexico's poor infrastructure and, often, the much lower productivity of largely poorly trained Mexican workers. Besides, if Mexico is such a draw, they could have already moved there without a treaty.

Another truth is that for many, many products, labor costs are not the most important consideration. Other costs of doing business exceed labor costs in importance. I've taken a little malicious delight in asking business people who tell me that, why they don't just share that fact with their workers. I get usually only embarrassed hems and haws, but a few have frankly said that such an admission would not be useful when it's time to bargain the next labor contract.

If business has been exaggerating the proportional cost of labor in order to keep wages down, one can forgive workers if, based on that exaggeration, they fear low-wage Mexican competition. But it doesn't make it true.

OUR STANDARD OF LIVING: IS THE NAFTA A THREAT TO IT?

Tied with the wage issue are workers' concerns about their standard of living. We all know that today there are more families where both parents have to work to earn the same standard or living one parent could provide just a few years ago. We all see homeless people on our streets that were not there a decade ago.

However, NAFTA did not cause those problems. Defeating NAFTA will not cure them.

To deal with this disturbing trend in our quality of life is going to require that we do some thing differently. Change always causes uncertainty. Uncertainty causes anxiety. Anxiety can cause timidity. Timidity can prevent one from acting when you need to.

NAFTA, as renegotiated by the Clinton administration, offers the prospects of some positive change in things that have been driving our standard of living down. Defeating NAFTA does absolutely nothing whatever to change the conditions that have led us to our unsatisfactory status quo.

MEXICAN LABOR CONDITIONS: DOES THE NAFTA DO ENOUGH?

Late in the debate a new and very legitimate issue was raised by those who oppose the NAFTA. Pointing to the sorry lot of Mexican workers, the point has been made that the NAFTA does not do as much as we'd like to improve labor laws and working conditions for Mexican workers. Further, the enforcement procedures of the provisions that do exist are too weak, it is asserted.

There is little there to argue with, except that what NAFTA does contain is better than the status quo. It is not often that we can achieve an ideal goal with any single effort. Most goals are achieved a piece at a time. This NAFTA is not where we should stop in efforts to improve conditions in Mexico, but it is a place to begin. This NAFTA does too little. Defeating NAFTA does nothing whatever.

DOES THE NAFTA CREATE U.S. JOBS?

Proponents make huge claims for job creation growing out of the NAFTA. I think these are exaggerated. But I believe that it does move us in that direction. When you cut through the war of economic projections, "expert" analysis and all the rest, what is left is this: we presently have few trade barriers against Mexican goods coming into the country, while Mexico has substantial tariff barriers slowing our exports to them. NAFTA makes those barriers go away. That creates new opportunities for American sales which create jobs. Let's just not exaggerate.

DOES THE NAFTA RECOGNIZE THE NEW ECONOMIC REALITIES?

Most important of all to me is the question: Does the passage or defeat of NAFTA help move the United States aggressively into the new world economic climate?

As a nation, we've had it pretty good most of the time since 1945. We were the industrial nation in the world then. Everyone else had been bombed flat. We bestrode world commerce. And, I believe, we grew to believe that was our birthright—to always lead, to always be first and best. The attitude made us a bit complacent and, in time, we were shocked to find that other nations could create and produce and have strong economies too. We were slow to respond and then spent a precious decade, when we should have been catching up, listening to a President wandering around the south lawn murmuring the mantra of free trade rather than moving us vigorously into effective competition.

That has changed. We have a President now who sees clearly what we must do by the end of this century to assure that the next is another "American" century. The NAFTA, rightly or not, will be seen as a major symbol of whether we are willing to do the things necessary to be a vibrant, successful and prosperous leader in the new world economy.

Passing the NAFTA says "yes." Defeating NAFTA will be interpreted by our competitors as evidence that we are no longer flexible enough to change, no longer confident enough to grasp new challenges and no longer ambitious enough to want to compete with the best.

It will be felt first in GATT and there is no telling when it will be felt last. We must simply acknowledge that this NAFTA is neither ideal nor fatally flawed. Rather it is a step—a nec-

essary step—we have to take on the way to a better future.

For those reasons, I will vote for the NAFTA. But even so, this is not an easy decision: there is yet a caution.

A LAST OBSERVATION

Just as I have suggested that there are serious repercussions if we defeat the NAFTA, I think there are some equally serious things we must prepare to meet if the NAFTA passes.

In effect, I have argued here that organized labor specifically and American workers generally have been "fighting the last war"; the frustrations of the last dozen years or more have so savaged their confidence and optimism, have so threatened their capacity to provide a secure future for their families that they can see the NAFTA only in terms of its risks, not its opportunities.

If that is true, passage of the NAFTA—especially in the short run—is going to send a new wave of anxiety through the working people of the land. You cannot have listened carefully to the rank and file on this issue and mistake their sincerity or their fear.

After one particularly wrenching session in my office with some union folks from home, a young staffer in my office looked at me and said, "My, God. Those people are scared to death."

That is a reality that every NAFTA supporter better deal with. Ours is a time of considerable political unrest. American workers can easily be radicalized. The things they asked for in the eighties and were denied will look like sweet reason itself compared to their demands if workers become completely disassociated from mainstream American political life. We are closer to that right now than I think politicians generally realize. It will come as a thunderbolt of surprise to those leaders of business and industry who even now say they have no idea why workers oppose the NAFTA.

Creation of a radical workers movement including a new political party is not impossible. The capture of their support by politicians who wish to exploit their frustrations is not a technique exclusive to bored and egomaniacal billionaires. All sorts of demagogues can play at that game.

And such political chaos would come at a time we should be tending to other serious business if we are going to compete effectively in tomorrow's world.

Should that unpleasant vision become our future, there will be lots of blame to go around. But it will be a pointless, pathetic argument that can roll along while other nations tie up the markets of the world.

To guard against such an eventuality if the NAFTA passes, the administration and Congress with the active participation of American business needs to signal a new and more balanced attitude toward American workers. It needs to encompass a Government willingness to include labor along with business in forging basic decisions affecting the economy. Government and the private sector must cooperate with labor to find and provide ways to achieve greater economic security for workers during this period of transition. And business, working with labor, must find and implement new models of management that treat workers like the essential players they are, rather than as expendable commodities to be sacrificed at will.

If the NAFTA passes and those things are not done, the victory party will be short and bitter. The NAFTA is not an end. It is a beginning. But its passage will require a whole new agenda—not only for planning our trading policy and strategy, but for addressing the domestic implications of those policies. Secure jobs is what it's all about. Those who envision that goal in the NAFTA have a responsibility to reassure with deeds the promise they see in that approach.

The opponents of the NAFTA, many of whom are my friends, are looking backward. Defeating NAFTA will change nothing for the better. The proponents of the NAFTA are looking ahead. The important questions: Are they looking ahead far enough? And will they follow through?

NAFTA

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues may be interested in an editorial printed in the San Diego Union Tribune which I wrote in support of NAFTA. I would like to submit that statement for the RECORD.

[From the San Diego Union Tribune, Nov. 9, 1993]

SCARE TACTICS USED TO ASSAIL NAFTA

(By Ron Packard)

In his book about the history of our city, author Michael Grant writes, "San Diego, after a long adolescence, has suddenly emerged as a civic Cinderella, ready to take her turn on the international ballroom floor."

Nothing could ring truer. San Diego is poised to lead California out of the economic doldrums. The city is endowed with many resources which will ensure economic leadership into the 21st century. Therefore, I believe we must seize a historic opportunity to capitalize on San Diego's natural gifts. We must support the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in order to break down barriers and unleash the economic productivity of San Diego, California and the nation.

Many have sought to portray NAFTA as an economic toad. NAFTA opponents have resorted to the usual arguments based on fears and not facts. I would like to enumerate some facts about San Diego's strong stake in passage of NAFTA, and dispel some of these myths about it.

San Diego is the only major U.S. city at the border with Mexico. If an entrepreneur were calculating the benefits that NAFTA would provide to San Diego because of its unique position, he would embrace the agreement as a historic opportunity for our city.

San Diego boasts an educated, young, expanding work force and sound infrastructure and a wealth of high-tech businesses and industries. Nearly 80 percent of all San Diegans in the private sector work for firms of 10 people or less and nearly 90 percent work in firms of 20 people or less. Small businesses, because of their lean structure and an ability to adjust and innovate quickly and creatively, stand to reap huge benefits from exporting their products into the Mexican market of 90 million people, eager for American-made goods.

A report by the Small Business Development and International Trade Center released in 1992 concluded that NAFTA, if enacted, would produce significant benefits for San Diego in every sector. "San Diego is well-placed to become a center of U.S.-Mexican trade and to reap the benefits—as well as sidestep the drawbacks—of the expected increase in border activity."

The San Diego area exports goods and services worth \$1 billion a year to Mexico. In 1992, this figure was 10 percent of San Diego's gross regional product. Lowered tariffs and increased investments after NAFTA is passed are expected to boost that figure by \$200 million to \$300 million a year, for San Diego alone.

The San Diego business community is overwhelmingly supportive of the agreement. A broad cross section of businesses which generate the majority of all jobs in the region has concluded that NAFTA will mean a net increase of jobs nationally and is crucial to the future economic health of the San Diego region.

Among those who informed me of their support of the agreement were Simon Wong, president of the Asian Business Association; Gilbert Partida, president of the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce; Robert Lichter, chairman of the CEO Roundtable; Mayor Susan Golding, and Gerri Warren, head of the San Diego County Black Chamber of Commerce.

These business leaders realize that NAFTA will allow San Diego firms to provide linkages and connections for increased trade, investment, services, goods, education and information. It also will open up the Mexican market to San Diego's most competitive industries, including electronics, medical equipment, computer software, telecommunications equipment and our service sector.

NAFTA opponents' chief arguments are based upon scare tactics and fear. If one believed their rhetoric, the day after NAFTA passed, employers and businesses nationwide would spontaneously decide to flee American soil and relocate south of the border in Mexico. Opponents also say that passage of NAFTA will reduce wages of U.S. workers who will be forced to compete with Mexican wage earners who earn significantly less.

These contentions are not supported by the body of economic evidence, or by decisions most businesses and employers have made, and will continue to make, in the future.

Dire predictions about the giant "sucking sound" of jobs being lost as San Diego companies flee to Mexico are unfounded. What do businessmen and women know that the anti-NAFTA forces do not?

The cheap labor alone is not sufficient enough to bring economic success. If it were, the Dominican Republic would be an economic powerhouse. It is not. No matter how cheap labor is, the bottom line to business is that the work force must have a level of education equal to or greater than the task at hand. U.S. workers are nearly five times more productive than their Mexican counterparts—this more than offsets the lure of cheap labor and provides businesses with a compelling case to remain in San Diego.

Mexico also lacks the superior infrastructure which San Diego provides. Our road and water systems far outdistance those in Mexico. As they have in the past, businesses will continue to think twice about moving production to a country with an antiquated infrastructure.

There are companies which have chosen to relocate to Mexico, taking with them Amer-

ican jobs. However, these jobs were lost primarily because we do not have a free trade agreement with Mexico. Current Mexican trade barriers put U.S. employers and businesses at a competitive disadvantage in Mexico. Businesses must pay a 20 percent tariff on their American-made exports.

With a free trade agreement, San Diego businesses will not have to pay these high tariffs and will not be compelled to move their companies to Mexico in order to compete in the market. Without NAFTA, U.S. companies have an incentive to move to Mexico if they want access to the Mexican market.

New and virtually untapped markets like Mexico are, after all, where profits for business lie. When businesses can expand and grow to meet the increased demand of larger markets, jobs are created. Every \$1 billion in exports supports 20,000 high-wage jobs. In a nutshell, exports equal jobs, NAFTA equals more exports from San Diego, therefore, NAFTA means high-skill, high-wage jobs for San Diegans.

NAFTA is key to San Diego's vision of the future. Because of the city's unique resources and position, it will become a gateway to emerging international markets—Mexico, Latin America and the Pacific Rim. If we have the vision to embrace the opportunity of international free trade, to allow our civic Cinderella to truly step out onto the ballroom floor, we must marry her to an economic winner: NAFTA.

ORTIZ COMMENDS DUSTY KNOBLAUCH, DEVOTED ADVOCATE OF ROBSTOWN RETIRES AS ADVERTISING MANAGER OF RECORD-STAR

HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute and commend one of the all-time great ladies of Texas, Mrs. Dusty Knoblauch. Dusty has served as the advertising manager of my hometown newspaper. When I first worked there, the paper was called the Robstown Record. That's what it was called when Dusty began working at the paper as a typesetter back in the 1960's.

Today, as she retires from journalism, our hometown paper is called the Nueces County Record-Star—and Dusty has been the advertising manager there since 1975. Prior to that she only worked part time. When she became advertising manager, however, she finally joined the staff full time, I actually came to know Dusty as a friend after I left the newspaper for the Army. She was very active in some of my early campaigns for public office.

Dusty has been one of the strongest, most articulate supporters Robstown has ever known. She has an undying passion for our hometown—and any fool who has the nerve to speak ill of Robstown is quickly ripped to shreds, for Dusty has a red-hot temper, which some people say matches her hair. She is roughly the equivalent of our hometown head cheerleader.

I have always been so very impressed with her work on civic and community projects. Her talents for advocacy made her a natural for

special projects in conjunction with the chamber of commerce. During my tenure as a public servant, I have always tried to set an example for other people—telling them that if I can make it, anybody can. Dusty has been my most consistent conveyor of that message. Dusty has been almost as big an advocate for me, as she has been for Robstown.

Mr. Speaker and colleagues, I ask that you join me today in commending Dusty Knoblauch for her years of service to our community. Thanks, Dusty.

THE CLINTON HEALTH PLAN: A RECIPE FOR RATIONING

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, under President Clinton's health care reform package, a National Health Board would establish and enforce an annual limit on how much money our country could spend on health care. At the same time, the President's plan guarantees a standard health benefits package to every American. As a result of this added demand for services combined with fiscal constraints, I believe that providers will be forced to ration health care to meet the Government imposed spending limit. Indeed, an editorial from the October 29, 1993, issue of the Wall Street Journal gives us an idea of what health care in the United States might become if we allow the Government to control our health care system as President Clinton has recommended. I urge my colleagues to read this alarming editorial and to support health reform alternatives which propose private sector solutions to control costs and expand coverage.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 29, 1993]

YOU BET YOUR LIFE

As the Clinton health plan unfolds, we should all be on the lookout for lessons from other countries with a long history of having governments rather than markets run a health system. One that caught our eye recently on the Reuter news wire came out of the Netherlands.

The Dutch socialized health-care system is so deep in red ink that the Netherlands Ministry of Health is financing a TV game show in which a studio audience votes on which of two real-life patients receives life-saving medical care. The TV show is called "A Matter of Life and Death." Lest anyone think we're making this up, here is the text of the full Reuter dispatch, with headline.

"DUTCH TV GAME SHOW IS A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH"

"(By Andrew Kelly)"

"AMSTERDAM, Netherlands.—Imagine a television game show in which a studio audience must decide which of two patients should receive life-saving medical treatment.

"Too controversial to screen? Not in the Netherlands where a series called 'A Matter of Life and Death' has been confronting viewers with exactly this type of dilemma. Originally intended to stimulate debate on how to control health spending, the series has triggered criticism of its unorthodox approach to the issue.

"'This is a revolting program *** improper and almost immoral,' said Fons Dekkers of the Dutch patients' federation.

"In one recent episode the studio audience had to choose between two cancer patients who both wanted treatment with an expensive new drug which could prolong their lives.

"Viewers were reminded several times that doctors make the real decisions about the patients who volunteer to take part.

"But that has not dampened criticism of the series, which was partially financed by the Ministry of Health.

"You shouldn't treat such serious matters in a caricature manner," said Theo Berkestijn of the Dutch medical association.

"Critics say the series has done more harm than good by misrepresenting the complex issue of how best to allocate finite health care resources as a simple choice between two patients."

We can see where the ethic of the Roman Colosseum might offend some sensibilities. But it also strikes us as one of the great conceits of the intellectual and caring classes that only they can figure out all the complex decisions and equations that inevitably flow from their instinct to somehow control the economics of a good such as medicine. The fact is that whatever considerations may go into choosing care for one cancer patient over another under conditions of "finite resources," we suspect that the average studio TV audience would bring as much common sense to picking the winners as any team of doctors or government-paid bureaucrats.

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL ROTONDO, EAGLE SCOUT

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Michael Rotondo of Troop 22 in Johnston and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop.

These young men have distinguished themselves in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Michael cleaned out a cemetery in Cranston that had been allowed to become overgrown and where tombstones were not even visible due to excessive overgrowth.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Michael Rotondo. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, 2 dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Michael Rotondo will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of confusion surrounding U.N. peacekeeping operations and the role of the United States in such operations. I am therefore inserting in the RECORD material provided to me by the executive branch which I hope will help to improve the accuracy of information in current policy discussions.

The first set of documents provide a schedule of peacekeeping renewal mandates. Only two U.N. peacekeeping operations have indefinite mandates. The others have mandates of fixed duration which the Security Council must periodically renew. Included is a list of the renewal dates for all U.N. peacekeeping operations, both by calendar month and by operation. In this way Congress can remain informed as to when Security Council votes to extend peacekeeping mandates are expected.

The second document is financial. I must note that even though the United States is at this moment current on its peacekeeping assessments, this was achieved only by using fiscal year 1994 appropriations to pay calendar year 1993 assessments. There is only \$8 million in fiscal year 1994 funds remaining to pay 1994 peacekeeping assessments, of which the U.S. share may reach \$1 billion. Congress and the executive branch will have to address this shortfall in the months ahead.

I will submit additional material for the RECORD on peacekeeping issues in the coming days, in an effort to keep my colleagues informed on this important issue.

RENEWAL DATES FOR U.N. PEACEKEEPING MANDATES

(PREPARED BY HFAC STAFF)

Background

Only two of the oldest UN peacekeeping operations have indefinite mandates: UNGOMIP (India/Pakistan), and UNTSO (Middle East).

The remaining peacekeeping operations have mandates of fixed duration which the Security Council must periodically extend. Most are set at six months, but others vary.

Occasionally, mandates are extended for only a day or two in order to give the Security Council time to address new questions before a longer mandate is approved.

The following list indicates when mandates are due to be extended by calendar month.

The Administration is now asking that when the Security Council extends mandates, a review is specified mid-way through the mandate term to force the Council to assess any new developments.

SECURITY COUNCIL RENEWAL DATES FOR PEACEKEEPING FORCES

(BY MONTH)

October 1993: ONUMOZ (Mozambique) expired October 31, extended until November 5; UNOSOM II (Somalia) expired October 31, extended until November 18.

November 1993: UNAVEM II (Angola) review due by November 1; UNFICYP (Cyprus) review due by November 15; UNTAC (Cambodia) will permanently end November 15; limited extensions until November 31/December 31 for mine-clearance and military police/medical personnel; ONUSAL (El Salvador) expires November 30; MINURSO (W. Sahara) expires November 30; UNDOF (Golan Heights) expires November 30.

December 1993: UNPROFOR (Yugoslavia) review due by December 4; UNMIH (Haiti) review due by December 7; UNAVEM II (Angola) expires December 15; UNFICYP (Cyprus) expires December 15; UNOMIL (Liberia) review due by December 16.

January 1994: UNOMUR (Rwanda) review due by January 5; UNIFIL (Lebanon) expires January 31; UNOMIG (Georgia) expires January 31.

February 1994: ONUMOZ (Mozambique) review due by February 5; UNOMIL (Liberia) review due by February 16.

March 1994: UNMIH (Haiti) expires March 23.

April 1994: UNPROFOR (Yugoslavia) expires April 4; UNIKOM (Iraq/Kuwait) expires April 9; UNOMUR (Rwanda) expires April 5; UNOMIL (Liberia) expires April 22.

May 1994: ONUMOZ (Mozambique) expires May 5; UNFICYP (Cyprus) expires May 15; UNDOF (Golan Heights) expires May 30.

June 1994:

July 1994: UNIFIL (Lebanon) expires July 31.

NOTE: Above assumes in some cases that mandates continue to be extended for same time periods as before. Also, some dates could vary if short, temporary extensions are made.

ACTION DATES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING AND OBSERVER MISSIONS AND KEY SANCTIONS RESOLUTIONS

Country	Authorizing resolution	Resolution expiration date	Next SYG report expected	Comments
Libya:				
Sanctions	#748 of 3/31/92	n/a	120 days, next: 12/13/93	Resolution tightening sanctions under consideration 11/5/93.
Haiti:				
UNMIH	#867 of 9/23/93	3/23/94	o/a 12/6/93	Deployment delayed due to Haitian military refusal to respect accords.
Sanctions and enforcement	#873 of 10/13/93	n/a	n/a	Sanctions part of international efforts to compel military to implement accords.
	#875 of 10/16/93			
Somalia:				
UNOSOM II	#878 of 10/29/93	11/18/93	11/15/93	Resolution to extend 6 mos. under review 11/2/93.

ACTION DATES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING AND OBSERVER MISSIONS AND KEY SANCTIONS RESOLUTIONS—Continued

Country	Authorizing resolution	Resolution expiration date	Next SYG report expected	Comments
Iraq:				
UNSCOM	#687 and others	n/a	11/18/93	UNSC review each 60 days; UNSC action needed to lift sanctions.
UNIKOM	#687 and others, #806 2/5/93 (no exp)	n/a	6 mo. SC review; next: 4/94	UNSC action needed to terminate UNIKOM.
El Salvador:				
ONUSAL	#832 of 5/27/93	11/30/93	n/a 11/30/93	Renewal or extension is subject to SYG report and UNSC decision.
Israel/Syria:				
UNDOF	#830 of 5/26/93	11/30/93	prior to 11/30/93	
Angola:				
UNAVEM	#864 of 9/15/93	12/15/93	n/a 12/10/93	UNAVEM only partially deployed due to conflict; as of 11/2/93 ceasefire talks underway.
Cyprus:				
UNFICYP	#831 of 5/27/93	12/15/93	n/a 12/10/93	UNFICYP is largely funded by Cyprus & Greece.
Western Sahara:				
MINURSO	#809 of 3/2/93	n/a	mid-November	Funds run out in 1994.
Georgia:				
UNOMIG	#881 of 11/4/93	1/31/94	Before 1/31/94	
Lebanon:				
UNIFIL	#852 of 7/28/93	1/31/94	prior to 1/31/94	
Liberia:				
UNOMIL	#866 of 9/22/93	2/16/94	12/16/93 and 2/16/94	
Former Yugoslavia:				
UNPROFOR	#871 of 10/4/93	4/1/94	12/4/93	
Rwanda:				
UNAMIR	#872 of 10/5/93	4/5/94	1/5/94	Continues beyond 1/5/94 only upon UNSC review of the SYG report.
Mozambique:				
ONUMOZ	#877 of 11/5/93	5/5/93	n/a 2/5/94	Vote scheduled 11/5/93.
Cambodia:				
UNTAC	#880 of 11/4/93	n/a (UNTAC departs before 12/31/93)	"lessons learned" requested by UNSC	20 observers will remain until 5/4/94, mission was under consideration 11/2.
India/Pakistan:				
UNMOGIP	#201 of 9/6/65 (no expiration)		none scheduled	Funded from the UN general budget.
Jerusalem:				
UNTSO	#50 of 5/29/48 (no expiration)		none scheduled	Funded from the UN general budget.
South Africa:				
UNOMSA	#772 of 8/17/92 (no expiration)		quarterly next: 12/93	

U.S. Contributions for international peacekeeping—(million of dollars)		Fiscal year 1994 (est)		Fiscal year 1994 (est)	
UN force					
UNDOF: Golan Heights	11.6	MINURSO: Western Sahara	12.8	UNFICYP: Cyprus	—
UNIFIL: Lebanon	46.7	ONUSAL: El Salvador	10.9	UNMIH: Haiti	27.3
UNIKOM: Iraq/Kuwait	7.5	UNTAC: Cambodia	54.9	UNOMIG: Georgia	9.4
UNAVEM: Angola	29.7	UNPROFOR: Former Yugoslavia	281.0	UNAMIR: Rwanda Expanded	38
		UNOSOM: Somalia	301.6	UNOMILS: Liberia	17.1
		UNOMOZ: Mozambique	72.9		
		UNOMUR: Rwanda	4.0	Total Estimated Assmts	925.4

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES* FUND USE—1993 ACTUAL/1994 PROPOSED

(Thousands of dollars)

	1993 amounts paid	1993 assmts unpaid	1994 Funds—additional		
			Already paid	Proposed to pay	Total**
UNDOF: Golan Hts	10,787				0
UNIFIL: Lebanon	38,342				0
UNIKOM: Iraq/Kuwait	13,701				0
ONUSAL: El Sivr	8,544				0
UNTAC: Cambodia	240,963				0
UNPROFOR: Fmr Yugo	70,051	176,203	159,254	16,949	176,203
UNOMOZ: Mozambique	13,277	45,724		45,724	45,724
UNAVEM II: Angola	1,791	8,872		8,872	8,872
UNOSOM II: Somalia	40,917	141,300	141,300		141,300
Subtotal	438,323	372,099	300,554	71,545	372,099
Arrears	21,992	0	20,892	0	20,892
Total	460,315	372,099	321,446	71,545	392,991
1994 remain**					8,616
1994 Total appropriation					401,607

* Assessments recalculated at 30.387 percent.

** With total allocated of \$392,990,532 leaves \$8,616,468 available for all other requirements.

THE NEED FOR AN ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT CARRIER

HON. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to address one of the central questions affecting fu-

ture U.S. defense planning in this age of declining defense expenditures—whether to fund construction of an additional aircraft carrier.

The turmoil surrounding the breakup of the Soviet Union has increased the importance of being able to deploy a determining amount of firepower to far-off crises. The American aircraft carrier is uniquely suited for this mission. Indeed, both the President and the Congress

agree that another carrier is needed. We should fund it now.

Some want to ignore the dangers we face. They say the Soviet Union is gone and there are no more serious threats to our Nation's security. They say we are the sole remaining superpower—this is true. However, that does not mean that there are no nations that could directly challenge the interests of the United

States. No one thought Saddam Hussein would be crazy enough to invade Kuwait and threaten the oil supply of the West—but it happened. And, it took more than 500,000 American soldiers, sailors, and airmen and tens of billions of dollars to restore peace to the Middle East. Tens of thousands of lives were lost, the environment was severely damaged and some of America's young men and women had to die to defeat Saddam Hussein's Army.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that a lean but strong U.S. military is the best means of preserving the peace. We now need to ensure that our military forces are well equipped to meet the emerging dangers we will face in the 21st century at the most cost-efficient price.

The most likely threats will arise in the regional states most hostile to the United States and the interest of democracy and freedom. However, as we close more military bases in Europe, the Philippines, and throughout the world, America's capability to respond quickly to crises diminishes.

Iraq, Iran, Syria, and North Korea are but a few examples of rogue states that have expressed open hostility to the United States, and to Israel, our key democratic ally in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, in each of these cases, aircraft carriers would be a critical element in crisis management or, if hostilities broke out, a critical element in a military response. I would like to quote briefly from the executive summary of an excellent study authored by Dr. Jacqueline K. Davis:

Because the aircraft carrier platform is large enough to integrate a mix of Marine, Army and Air Force assets with its own considerable striking power, it will be central to U.S. joint planning in the future—both for peacetime forward presence missions and wartime operations. By virtue of its geography, the United States is a maritime nation whose welfare and global role depends on unimpeded access to the world's sea lines of communication (SLOCs). Although there may be comparatively little direct threat to U.S. navigation on the open seas (now that the Soviet Union has imploded), the potential for conflict in key regional theaters is very real—conflicts that could escalate into open warfare either involving the engagement of U.S. forces, or posing a threat to U.S. (and allied) commercial and strategic interests, or both. With the proliferation of weapons technologies and the growing lethality of the forces of potential regional adversaries, the capability of the aircraft carrier battle group will provide to a joint commander or theater CINC an important enabling force to facilitate crisis response, sustained military operations, conflict escalation and war termination.

Mr. Speaker, President Clinton already discovered the value of aircraft carriers in fulfilling his duties as Commander-in-Chief. He sent carriers to Somalia, Iran, Iraq, Bosnia and even Haiti. He said on March 12 of this year:

When word of a crisis breaks out in Washington, it's no accident that the first question that comes to everyone's lips is: "Where is the nearest carrier?"

We in Congress are now faced with the issue of whether to fund a new aircraft carrier in this year's defense budget.

The question boils down not to whether we should fund the carrier, but when. This year or next year?

If this is the question—and I think it is the pertinent question—then my answer is we should fund it this year.

The Congress already decided to build the carrier last year. As a down payment, \$832 million was authorized and appropriated by both houses. Now, we are really just debating the structure of the payment plan.

The House and Senate Appropriations Committees recommended that funding the carrier this year would be more cost-effective than re-opening the construction line next year. Both committees stated that moving ahead this year will reduce the cost of the carrier by at least \$200 million. The Senate version also provides that none of the funds appropriated be obligated or expended until authorized by law.

In addition, the Clinton administration concluded in its Bottom-Up Review that a replacement carrier is needed to maintain a 12 carrier fleet and to help preserve the U.S. shipbuilding industry.

Mr. Speaker, my constituents want me to vote for common sense and against waste. I cannot see any reason to wait a year, when waiting will waste \$200 million of the taxpayers' money. We should fund the additional carrier now.

THE BROOKS ACT, UNDER ATTACK AGAIN

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the Brooks Act is under attack, again. Some of the names and some of the titles have changed, but the complaints are the same as we have heard periodically for the past 28 years: burdensome, causes delays, costs too much. But when I hear these complaints and calls for repeal or gutting of the Brooks Act, I think of an inscription found in one of John F. Kennedy's notebooks, "Don't ever take down a fence, until you know the reason why it was put up." The Brooks Act for many years has served the taxpayers well as a fence against waste and abuse in Federal procurement. According to executive branch figures, it has saved the Government over \$21.7 billion since its enactment in 1965 and \$1.6 billion in fiscal year 1992 alone.

The Brooks Act, which I sponsored, gives the General Services Administration [GSA] authority to manage and oversee Federal acquisition of computers and telecommunications equipment and services, so-called ADPE. At his discretion the GSA Administrator may delegate purchasing authority for ADPE to individual agencies. However, while the Act permits the Administrator to use his judgment regarding delegation, that does not mean the Administrator should abolish GSA's central role in the process by delegating most or all of GSA's authority. Such a move would be considered an abdication by GSA and would effectively eviscerate the Brooks Act.

Centralization of ADPE purchases achieves tremendous savings through economies of scale as a result of consolidated purchases. Further, it enhances the Government's ability

to move computerized data and programs between agencies and promotes sharing and compatibility across the Government. When agencies are left to their own accord, the result is too often waste, fraud, and abuse. For example, a rash of disastrous ADPE procurements in recent years has demonstrated the critical necessity for the planning requirements, oversight, and practical remedies contained in the Brooks Act and its implementing regulations. The following are just a few examples.

In a review of major Navy ADPE procurements in 1990, the Government Operations Committee found an appalling lack of competition in Federal ADPE procurement. Unnecessary compatibility restrictions, wired specifications, agency nonfeasance or misfeasance, and questionable tactics by the industry's dominant vendor had resulted in the majority of Federal mainframe computer procurements being awarded without competition or with woefully inadequate competition.

In 1991, the General Accounting Office investigated an \$806 million computer procurement by the National Institutes of Health. GAO found that this procurement, known as DCRT, was conducted virtually without agency oversight. The new computer system was rarely used for scientific computing projects, even though it was justified on the basis of an alleged need by NIH scientists for such a system. GAO also found that NIH officials planned the procurement so poorly that competition was severely restricted, resulting in only one company bidding on the huge contract.

In 1992, GAO found that the Air Force's Standard Systems Command [SSC] had demonstrated a pattern of mismanagement that resulted in the purchase of millions of dollars in unneeded ADPE equipment and services. The Air Force could not control a nearly \$1 billion ADPE contract because it had no effective means to account for orders, deliveries, and payments. In addition, the Air Force inappropriately limited competition by ordering equipment and services that were not within the scope of the contract and should have been subject to open competition. GAO found that the Air Force wasted millions of dollars by purchasing equipment that was not justified by valid user requirements or convincing cost-benefit analysis.

These examples are just a few of the hundreds of calamity-ridden ADPE procurements conducted by Federal agencies over the past few years. The Brooks Act is the Government's best defense against such squandering of the taxpayers' money. Repealing or gutting the Brooks Act now would be like abolishing the police department in response to a crime-wave.

It is indisputable that there are long delays in some ADPE procurements. The contention that the Brooks Act plays a major role in those delays, however, is based largely on unsupported anecdotes. Much, if not all, of the delays in ADPE procurements can be traced to burdensome agency redtape, failure to conduct adequate planning and to define requirements, and failure to follow Federal procurement laws and regulations, resulting in protests.

Complaints by agency procurement officials about the Brooks Act are like the traditional

complaints by soldiers about messhall food—the anecdotes, once told and retold, take on a life of their own, not necessarily hampered by attention to the facts. There has been, however, an objective, professional study of this issue. A few years ago, the General Accounting office studied DOD's use of the so-called Warner amendment, which—unadvisedly in my view—exempts from the Brooks Act DOD's procurement of certain types of ADPE equipment and services. GAO compared the timeliness of DOD procurements under the Warner amendment to the timeliness of DOD procurements subject to the Brooks Act. GAO found as follows:

In the 22 selected examples we reviewed, we found that there is little difference between the Warner Amendment and the Brooks Act procurements in the acquisition procedures followed and the total time needed to complete procurements. Defense could not provide studies or other support for claims of shorter acquisition time for Warner Amendment procurements.

It is clear that when we look beyond the anecdotes, claims of long delays caused by the Brooks Act do not stand up under rigorous, unbiased scrutiny.

A common lightning rod for complaints about the Brooks Act are the requirements in the Federal information resources management regulation [FIRMR], the Brooks Act's implementing regulations, that a Federal agency conduct a requirements analysis and an alternatives analysis before proceeding with an ADPE acquisition. But the critics seldom explain how the taxpayers would benefit if Federal agencies were able to conduct multimillion-dollar computer and telecommunications procurements without verifying their requirements or checking alternatives. Further the complex, burdensome analyses that critics complain of are not required by the FIRMR. All the FIRMR requires is that these analyses be done commensurate with the size and complexity of the need. For small, commercial item acquisitions, this could be as simple as a brief memo or even a notation on an order form. If, as some critics say, agencies are overinterpreting these requirements, the solution is a change in agency practices, not evisceration of the Brooks Act or the FIRMR.

But perhaps the feature of the Brooks Act that draws the most cannon fire is the protest authority granted the General Services Board of Contract Appeals [GSBCA]. In my view, however, the protest authority is the crown jewel of the Brooks Act. It is a bedrock principle of economics that an increase in competition among sellers is beneficial to prospective buyers. In Federal ADPE procurement, the Brooks Act protest process has helped ensure rigorous—some would say cutthroat—competition for Federal contracts. The beneficiaries of this competition have been Federal agencies and the taxpayers.

Fortunately, we do not need to depend on foggy anecdotes to demonstrate these benefits. In 1991, the Brooks Act protest system was subject to a rigorous, nonpartisan, economic, and legal analysis by professors of economics at Duke University and the University of Pittsburgh. Professor Robert Marshall and his colleagues studied the Brooks Act protest process in detail, and found that "protests are an effective means of deterring and correcting

agency problems among procurement personnel and, consequently, accomplishing the procurement objectives of the government." The three professors concluded:

The protest process at the GSBCA has had a significant impact on [ADPE] procurements over the past eight years. The Request for Proposals (hereinafter "RFPs") and Invitation for Bids (hereinafter "IFBs") that are issued now for federal [ADPE] procurements are far less restrictive than they were years ago, permitting larger numbers of firms to participate. Questionable practices of procurement officials [POs], such as favoring particular vendors or biasing product evaluation towards excessively high technology items, have been deterred and corrected by the GSBCA protest process. In addition, GSBCA protests have provided the makers of new or unique products, whose exclusion from federal [ADPE] procurements was often a fait accompli, a means to gain access into the federal ADPE market.

In addition to the beneficial economic effects the presence of GSBCA has on competition in the Federal ADPE market, some protests result in immediate, quantifiable, cash savings to the Government. For example, in the recent Desktop IV computer procurement, the Air Force attempted to award one of the largest ADPE contracts ever with no discussions with the vendors, 6 weeks after receipt of proposals. Agency mistakes resulted in three separate protests—just the sort of situation cited as a problem by critics of the Brooks Act. But the fact is that by the time the smoke had cleared, the final price paid by the Government was half a billion dollars less than the price offered by the original contract awardee. That half a billion dollars saved on a single procurement probably exceeds the entire cost of implementation of the Brooks Act for many years.

In another example, the FAA was forced by a protest to readmit to a competition a vendor that had been improperly excluded. That competitor ultimately won the reopened competition at a price \$13 million less than the original contract awardee.

In yet another example, the Department of Agriculture was forced by a protest to readmit two vendors that had been excluded improperly from a competition. These vendors' offers were \$10 million and \$40 million less than the original contract awardee's offer.

The attack on the Brooks Act is bound up in the recent campaign to reform Federal procurement so that the Government buys goods and services like a commercial firm buys goods and services. But there is a tendency among critics of the Brooks Act and other procurement laws to be too slippery with the words they use to talk about this, confusing "buying commercial products" with following "commercial buying practices."

Practically everyone involved in Federal procurement agrees that the Government should buy off-the-shelf, commercial products whenever possible, instead of having things built from scratch to special Government specifications. Nobody wants the Government to be paying \$50 for a screwdriver and \$500 for a coffeepot. But adopting commercial buying practices, that is, buying goods and services the same way commercial firms buy goods and services, is an entirely different matter. Such a change would require a radical, ill-advised transformation in Federal procurement.

The simple fact is that the Government is not a commercial firm and has different motivations, interests, and goals than commercial firms. The Government answers to the voters; commercial firms answer to the stockholders. The Government is concerned with the welfare of all Americans; commercial firms are concerned chiefly with profit. The Government must treat all potential sellers, that is, its citizens, fairly; commercial firms need only be concerned with efficiency. The Government has an interest in protecting all segments of our society, including small businesses, minorities, women, and the handicapped; commercial firms have an interest in the bottom line.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with critics of the Brooks Act that we need faster and more timely ADPE procurements. But ADPE procurements will not be made faster and more timely by abandoning careful preacquisition planning. I agree that we need an efficient Federal procurement system. But we cannot permit that efficiency to be achieved by permitting the Federal Treasury to be raided through waste, fraud, and abuse. I agree that procurement regulations and procedures should be made simpler, both for ADPE and non-ADPE procurements. The executive branch needs to devise improved oversight of agency procedures and provide increased training of program and procurement personnel in order to achieve greater simplicity and improved procurements. But the price of simplicity and improvement of procurement actions cannot be a procurement system in which the same large corporations win Federal contracts with tiresome predictability.

Mr. Speaker, the Brooks Act works. It has saved the taxpayers billions of dollars and has resulted in a vibrant Federal ADPE market. It should be left alone.

THE ENTITLEMENTS SPENDING SPIRAL: RHETORIC VERSUS ACTION

HON. DAN SCHAEFER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. SCHAEFER. Mr. Speaker, when Congress narrowly passed the President's tax package late in the summer, Capitol Hill optimists hoped the Federal budget deficit crisis would ebb for awhile. Unfortunately, deficit figures now indicate that, despite the largest tax increase in history, the deficit continues to plague Congress' every move. After briefly dipping to only \$200 billion in 1996, the deficit will soon climb back to its current level and then explode off the charts after the turn of the century.

Eliminating waste and fraud in a \$1.5 trillion budget—everybody's favorite solution to reducing the deficit—will not alone cut it. In fact, Congress could slash all discretionary spending in half—including programs like defense, education, housing, and law enforcement—yet still not eliminate the deficit.

The dirty little secret of budget politics is entitlement spending. Congress has set welfare, health care, retirement security, agricultural

price supports, student loans, and many other programs on budgetary autopilot by declaring such spending as mandatory. Unlike discretionary programs, Congress does not examine and approve such mandatory spending on an annual basis. At best, such programs are reviewed and reauthorized every few years—if ever.

Next year alone, Congress will spend \$808 billion on mandatory spending, over half of the budget, without casting a single vote. Clearly, true and lasting deficit reduction will never take place until Congress honestly deals with the politically touchy subject of entitlements.

Many of us in Washington have long recognized this fact. Others, like President Clinton, are just beginning to acknowledge the problem. Last week, the President established a Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement Reform to recommend savings in entitlement programs. Senator BOB KERREY, who cast the critical deciding vote for the President's tax bill and has pushed for the Commission, will be its chairman.

President Clinton has grabbed some headlines without solving any problems. His Commission will hold some hearings and formulate a "wish list" of cuts, but nothing in the President's Executive order can force Congress to act on these recommendations.

In the end, the Commission's report will likely end up gathering cobwebs in the same Government warehouse as has the extraordinary report on Government waste written by the Grace Commission in 1984. Like the Grace Commission, the President's Entitlement Commission will lack the power to force congressional consideration of its recommendations and, therefore, will have a correspondingly little chance of fostering substantive change.

Don't get me wrong. The idea of a Commission tasked to proposed entitlement savings is itself a fine idea. Congress has certainly proven itself incapable of even engaging in an honest debate on the subject. But to be truly effective, such a Commission needs to be modeled after a more successful model—the Base Closure and Realignment Commission. This panel, statutorily established in 1988, has had remarkable success in closing military installations—nearly 400 to date—in the districts of even the most politically powerful Members of Congress.

The Base Closure Commission has been effective because not only does it make difficult recommendations, but Congress is required to consider an unamendable proposal, subject to a single "yes" or "no" vote. In effect, this little independent, nonpartisan Commission gave Congress a much-needed backbone transplant by forcing it to make the tough choices it would have otherwise ducked.

There are striking parallels between Congress' past inability to close military bases and its current inability to cut mandatory spending. That is why I have introduced legislation creating a Mandatory Spending Control Commission that builds on the success of the Base Closure Commission.

My legislation would establish an independent, nine-member Commission of private citizens to examine mandatory spending. The President, in consultation with Congress, would appoint commissioners to serve single

3-year terms. Each year, the Commission would review the myriad of mandatory spending programs and present to the President and Congress a proposal to limit the annual growth of these programs to 3 percent. Since, on average, mandatory spending programs have grown over 12 percent annually since 1965, limiting the growth to 3 percent is a tall order, but a pressing one if we are to get a handle on the deficit.

Once the Commission submits its recommendations to Congress, my bill would require Congress to consider the legislation quickly and vote on the proposal. Congressional committees would have the opportunity to review and amend my Commission's recommendations, but the final bill would have to maintain the level of savings achieved by the Commission—without substituting cuts with new taxes. The House and Senate would then have one "yes" or "no" vote on the entire proposal. No floor amendments. No partisan parliamentary tricks. No hiding.

Unlike the President's Commission, my bill requires Congress to continually address its spending addiction. The President's Commission is just one feeble shot at a problem that demands constant attention. My Commission would continue to submit recommendations to Congress until a balanced budget is achieved 2 years in a row, thus keeping Congress' feet to the fire. Further, my bill would ensure that Congress cannot simply turn around and spend the Commission's savings on other programs.

More importantly, my bill would eliminate the budget deficit simply by controlling the growth of mandatory spending. If Congress passed my Commission's recommendations each year beginning in 1995, the budget would be balanced by 2001, assuming discretionary spending is not increased. By the year 2002, the United States would actually have a \$32.2 billion budget surplus under my bill, as opposed to the \$320 billion budget deficit currently projected.

President Clinton's panel may focus attention on the issue of mandatory spending, but will not force Congress to do anything. My bill requires Congress to consider a proposal to cut mandatory spending, vote on it, and demonstrate to the American people its budgetary fortitude. My legislation would help our Nation take significant strides toward a rational budgetary policy. Make no mistake, the President's Commission will create only a few headlines. The Mandatory Spending Control Commission will force Congress to take action.

THE NAFTA DEBATE

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, passage of NAFTA will begin the creation of the largest free-trade zone in the world—over 370 million people.

Tonight Vice President GORE will debate NAFTA's chief critic, Ross Perot. Hopefully, in this neutral forum, the obvious, long-term benefits of NAFTA will shine.

Mr. Perot has made opposition to the North American Free-Trade Agreement the platform for his political aspirations. Unfortunately, instead of entertaining and articulating some of the valid concerns Americans have about NAFTA, his platform is built upon exaggerations and hollow soundbites. In his attempt to undermine public support for this agreement, Mr. Perot has ironically aligned himself with the entrenched status quo.

It was Mr. Perot's plain-spoken, common-sense attacks on the wastefulness and largess of official Washington which brought him to national prominence during the 1992 Presidential election cycle. He rode a wave of voter anger about business-as-usual in our Nation's Capital. Why then, if Mr. Perot was the champion of reform, did he choose to embrace the status quo and stir up public opposition to NAFTA that is not even based upon facts?

NAFTA is one of the most progressive, reform-minded votes Congress can make this session. It will open up a vast and largely untapped market of 90 million Mexican citizens, eager to buy American goods. It will tear down the old walls of protectionism that have weighed down American businesses trying to compete in the Mexican market. It will create more high-wage, high-skilled jobs. More trade is, by definition, better for America.

As America watches the debate tonight, I hope that they will weigh the facts for NAFTA against the demagoguery against it. Mr. Perot, as a businessman himself, should put his political aspirations aside, and should stick to the facts about NAFTA.

HONORING WILLIAM D. ROEBUCK

HON. RON de LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, the quality of life each of us is able to enjoy is largely dependent upon the economy that underpins our Nation and each community within it. A strong economy means jobs, jobs mean opportunities, and opportunities are the road to success.

The economy of my community, the U.S. Virgin Islands, is far more sound, and the quality of life that Virgin Islanders enjoy is much better, because of the excellent work of William D. Roebuck.

Bill Roebuck recently stepped down as the director of the Virgin Islands Industrial Development Commission where he provided both vision and leadership.

Bill saw to it that the Virgin Islands continued to attract light industry to our shores while making sure that the companies he attracted would contribute to the islands in meaningful ways in exchange for the benefits they received.

Attracting industry and investment to any community is an extraordinarily difficult job, particularly when its more than a thousand miles from the U.S. mainland where the costs and logistics of doing business are far more complex. But there are advantages, and Bill was an expert seeing them and promoting them.

However, there is a very fine line and balance between providing benefits and being sure that those who benefit also invest in the community around them particularly in their hiring practices.

Bill Roebuck never forgot that the actual gain to our community was not in the taxes a company contributes at the moment but in the jobs it produces and the skills that it teaches. In years to come, when a company experiences success, then is the time to exact taxes.

Bill Roebuck also was able to put in place the Virgin Islands' first light industrial park. Located in St. Croix, it was so successful that it expanded from one building to three and is being copied on St. Thomas as well.

I want to thank William Roebuck for the fine job he did as the director of industrial development and wish him as much success in the private sector as he had during his years in government.

ORTIZ COMMENDS LIVE NOW MINISTRIES—BROWNSVILLE BASED MINISTRY COULD TEACH CONGRESS ABOUT DEALING WITH POVERTY

HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an organization which deals realistically with the problems of poverty and indigence among the citizens of my community of Brownsville, TX.

Live Now Ministries has worked tirelessly since June 1986 to deal with the needs of those in our community who are destitute and needy—and has focused the attention of our community on the underlying causes of poverty, and what each individual can do to bring about change. That, Mr. Speaker, and colleagues, is a tall order, and one of which I am most proud.

Live Now Ministries incorporates the mission and the spirit of the Good Samaritan, as illustrated in the Bible. In the mission's statement of purpose, they ask the penetrating question: "Who is our neighbor? Must we step over the sick, hungry, homeless, naked bodies of our immediate neighbors to reach those who are far away?" Live Now Ministries is a revolutionary idea whose time is now. We learned when we were young that if you give someone a fish, they can eat for a day—but if you teach them to fish, they can eat for a lifetime. Live Now Ministries has turned that parable into a practical application for our time.

Live Now Ministries has made dealing with the disadvantaged citizens within our borders a priority—and has done so with no funding from the Federal Government. It is an organization which is there to aid anyone with any need, no matter how big, no matter how seemingly trivial. My office receives a great many requests for help with various Government services, but as many of you know, sometimes Federal regulations prevent my office from helping them. When that is the case, we send people to Live Now Ministries.

With an invaluable network of medical, legal, business, educational, city, county, and State representatives comprising the advisory council—Live Now has found the combination to the lock which has for so long kept the problem of poverty low on our national priority list. By combining all the necessary elements of society which are in a position to help the needy, one organization has gently forced us to focus our attention on real ways to help the needy in our area.

Live Now is a single force for social change. Live Now's advisory council has instituted a two-pronged approach to deal with poverty. First, the network of Live Now Ministries has designed a framework for creating industrial enterprises such as farming, sewing, and marketing a host of goods for profit.

The ministry also understands that a lack of education is the fundamental underlying cause of poverty. So, the second tier to the ministry's approach is one dedicated to education—the teaching of carpentry, cake decorating, plumbing, sewing and office skills. The idea is to teach skills which are in demand in the community.

In 1991, Live Now instituted a highly successful pilot project which provided summer activities for the local, high-risk youth. Taking them to the beach, fishing, etc., kept them occupied and, as a result, none—none—of these young people had problems with the authorities. In fact, most showed a remarkable improvement in their attitudes and behavioral patterns.

As this Congress looks at the societal problems of poverty, hunger, and homelessness—we would do well to listen to the lessons taught by the Live Now Ministries.

TRIBUTE TO ANGELINA JULIA PALUMBO

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I extend my warmest wishes to Mrs. Angelina Julia Palumbo who will celebrate her 90th birthday on November 25, 1993.

Mrs. Palumbo truly personifies the traditional definition of the American dream. She was born in 1903 in the Italian province of Bari. At the young age of 9 she traveled by boat with her parents to begin their new lives in the United States of America. Mrs. Palumbo's first impressions of America, like many immigrants in the early 1900's, were at Ellis Island. Her family settled in Brooklyn, then moved to join the large Italian-American community in Newark, NJ.

In 1917 Mrs. Palumbo married Pasquale Palumbo, who has also immigrated from Italy as a child. Together, Mr. and Mrs. Palumbo successfully built a heating and fuel company and, more importantly, they created a strong and loving family. They raised nine children, eight boys and one girl.

Although she began her family many decades ago, Mrs. Palumbo was in many ways a modern woman. She was a mother and a

businesswoman. As the bookkeeper for their business she spent many hours working to provide a livelihood that would support her large family. The room behind her office served as a kitchen so that after many hours of work she could cook and maintain a sense of family unity often felt during meals together.

Mr. Speaker, Angelina Julia Palumbo was a businesswoman, but first and foremost she was a mother. She recognized the abundant opportunities available to her children that were not accessible to her as a young woman and that the only reliable means to success is a good education. She instilled this conviction in her children and sacrificed vacations and material possessions so that each of her 9 children could attend college.

Today her children are all successful professionals. They are doctors, lawyers, and businessmen. The importance of a good education is a belief that she has imparted not only to her children, but also to her 22 grandchildren and 9 great-grandchildren.

Mrs. Angelina Julia Palumbo is truly a remarkable woman. She successfully raised 9 children who all, in their own right, may be counted among the outstanding people of our country. For her unrelenting devotion to her family and countless hours of work she has their eternal admiration and love. As Americans we are very lucky Mrs. Palumbo was brought to this country in 1912. For her many positive contributions to our country I applaud her. She truly exemplifies everything that makes the United States great.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING—PART II

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, in a continuing effort to keep my colleagues informed on matters relating to peacekeeping, I am today submitting a summary prepared by Foreign Affairs Committee staff on the process by which the Security Council approves peacekeeping operations. Although it may seem to some in Congress that the Security Council approves new operations casually and quickly, that is not in fact the case. There is a clear process, usually requiring months of preparation, before a new peacekeeping operation is brought to a vote in the Security Council. I am submitting a description of that process, as well as the chronology of the approval process for the four most recently approved peacekeeping operations.

PROCESS FOR APPROVING PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

(Prepared by HFAC staff)

BACKGROUND

There is an unwritten but fairly standard procedure followed by the U.N. in approving peacekeeping missions.

Generally, this procedure requires months of preparations before the Security Council votes to establish a peacekeeping mission.

Because the process relies on consensus, proposals which are unlikely to be approved by the Security Council usually do not evolve beyond the exploratory stage.

Following is a generic description of the process by which peacekeeping missions are approved.

Also included are brief descriptions of the timelines on the most recent four peacekeeping missions approved.

Only three new countries have moved even part-way through this process as of now: Tajikistan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Burundi. Other than those two, and the ongoing peacekeeping missions, the Security Council has not approved statements on any other countries.

PEACEKEEPING APPROVAL PROCESS

A country (or another interested party) requests the Security Council for assistance, either because a ceasefire is in place or is anticipated.

The Secretary General informs the Security Council that he proposes to name a Special Envoy to undertake a good offices visit to the country (sometimes this is a survey mission instead).

The Security Council approves a statement of its concurrence with this action.

The envoy/survey mission makes a visit. The Secretary General submits a report to the Security Council on the visit.

The Security Council approves a statement requesting the Secretary General to keep it apprised of developments.

The reporting process is repeated until a ceasefire or political agreement is reached.

The Secretary General then submits a report recommending that the Security Council approve a peacekeeping mission, along with his recommendations on size and estimated costs. (NOTE: often a small group of military observers is first approved, while more details are worked out for a full-fledged peacekeeping mission)

The Security Council votes on a resolution establishing the mission for a fixed period of time, while asking the Secretary General for periodic reports.

A Security Council vote to extend a mandate is always preceded by a report from the Secretary General.

TIMELINES FOR RECENTLY APPROVED PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

(NOTE: some steps in each case have been omitted in the interest of brevity)

GEORGIA

September, 1992: Security Council requests periodic reports from the Secretary General.

October-June: Secretary General sends "good offices" missions and Special Envoy.

June, 1993: Georgian President requests UN military observers.

July 1, 1993: Secretary General recommends 50 U.N. military observers.

August 6, 1993: Security Council approves 10 U.N. military observers.

August 24, 1993: Security Council approves UN observer mission in Georgia, UNOMIG (88 observers authorized).

NOTE: Subsequent Security Council action has revised the UNOMIG size and mandate.

RWANDA

February/March 93: Rwanda and Uganda ask for UN assistance.

March 12, 1993: Security Council asks Secretary General to explore the situation.

April, 1993: UN team visits Rwanda.

May, 1993: Secretary General recommends UNAMIR (UN observer mission, Rwanda).

June, 1993: Security Council authorizes UNAMIR.

September, 1993: Secretary General recommends a Rwanda peacekeeping operation, UNAMIR (UN assistance mission, Rwanda).

October, 1993: Security Council approves UNAMIR.

LIBERIA

November, 1992: Security Council ask Secretary General to review Liberia (in response to Liberian request).

August 4, 1993: Secretary General recommends 30 UN military observers.

August 10, 1993: Security Council approves 30 UN military observers.

September 9, 1993: Secretary General recommends UNOMIL.

September 12, 1993: Security Council approves UNOMIL.

HAITI

February 1993: UN and OAS establish an International Civilian Mission.

July 3, 1993: Governor's Island agreement signed.

July 27, 1993: Government of Haiti requests UN aid.

August 25, 1993: Secretary General recommends UNMIH.

August 31, 1993: Security Council approves 30 man advance team (one month mandate).

September 21, 1993: Secretary General again recommends UNMIH.

September 23, 1993: Security Council approves UNMIH.

TRIBUTE TO EUGENE CALLAHAN

HON. JERRY F. COSTELLO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding public servant and the former "third Senator" from the State of Illinois, Mr. Eugene Callahan.

Gene Callahan worked for over 25 years as the top aide to many of Illinois' most prominent and successful political figures, including Senator PAUL SIMON and former Senator Alan J. Dixon.

He has been a leader for both Members of Congress and their staffs for many years, and his talents were recently recognized by National Journal in a long profile of his outstanding career.

Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to include the following profile of Gene Callahan in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From National Journal, Oct. 2, 1993]

BASEBALL'S BIG HITTER IN WASHINGTON

(By W. John Moore)

Talk a little baseball with Gene Callahan and you realize that this transplanted midwesterner is no ordinary fan. He played baseball in grade school, high school and at Illinois College. "I saw my first [Major League] game in 1945, the last year the Chicago Cubs won the pennant." Callahan recalled in a recent interview. Every summer when he was a boy, he and his uncle drove the 96 miles to Chicago's Wrigley Field to see a Cubs game.

In college, Callahan saw his first St. Louis Cardinals game—the beginning of true fandom. Although he lived more than 90 miles away, in Springfield, Ill., Callahan attended 22 Cardinal home games one summer. "I've seen 27 opening games," he said. "To me, opening day is the greatest sporting event there is, better than a World Series, an All-Star Game or anything."

Maybe the game's in his genes. His father played professional ball. His son signed with the San Diego Padres, played a year in the minors and now coaches baseball at Eastern Illinois University.

In January, Callahan, 59, finally did what most fans only dream about: He turned his passion into a job by becoming the first head of Major League Baseball's new Washington

office. One reward is good seats at Oriole Park at Camden Yards. This season, Callahan said, he's missed only seven Baltimore Oriole home games.

With the position of director of governmental relations comes an office that looks like a cubbyhole in Cooperstown. Pennants of all Major League teams fill one wall.

A long, winding but classic Washington trek brought Callahan from a small town in downstate Illinois to one of the best jobs in the nation's capital. At Illinois College, he was the sports editor of the school newspaper for two years. Callahan wanted to be a sportswriter after college, but the only job opening at the Illinois State Register in Springfield was for a police reporter, and he took it. He worked for 10 years at the newspaper, eventually becoming its chief political reporter. That, in turn, led to a series of political jobs with top Democrats in the state: assistant press secretary to Gov. Samuel H. Shapiro, administrative assistant to then-Lt. Gov. Paul Simon and, beginning in 1973, a long stint with Alan J. Dixon, the state treasurer and later secretary of state. When Dixon was elected to the Senate in 1980, Callahan, somewhat reluctantly, came to Washington as his administrative assistant.

When Dixon was upset in last year's Democratic primary by now-Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, Callahan started looking for a public relations job with a baseball team. He contacted the Cubs, the Chicago White Sox and the Cardinals. Although the teams had no openings, Major League Baseball wanted to establish a Washington office.

"We thought we needed a Washington office because baseball has a lot of business going on in Washington," Allan H. (Bud) Selig, the president of the Milwaukee Brewers and the chairman of Major League Baseball's Executive Council, said in a telephone interview. "And Gene came very highly recommended by people as very knowledgeable, very conscientious." Among Callahan's backers were Dixon and Sen. Herbert H. Kohl, D-Wis., a close friend of Selig's.

The high-powered lobbying firm of Timmons and Co. Inc. has long represented baseball. But the team owners "wanted someone who would speak for baseball and baseball only," Callahan said. "They wanted a proactive office that could sell baseball."

Callahan gives baseball the benefit of a dozen years of experience on Capitol Hill. "Gene has an enormous reservoir of goodwill" in the Senate, William H. Cable, a vice president of Timmons, said. Callahan still has close ties to his former boss, Sen. Simon, a key member of the Judiciary Committee, which will soon act on the legislation most critical to Major League Baseball—a proposal to eliminate its long-standing exemption from the antitrust laws. Callahan argues that the exemption protects fans by giving baseball's commissioner the clout to stop owners from moving their teams. Removing the exemption, he adds, would also devastate the minor leagues, because teams wouldn't spend money to develop players if they were free to shift teams.

Antitrust is not the only issue that baseball faces. Some critics contend that baseball's television contracts, which always provoke a controversy, could shift more games to cable or pay TV. And House Majority Whip David E. Bonior, D-Mich., has introduced a bill that would prohibit baseball teams from demolishing their old ballparks.

Every time Major League Baseball lights a match, our critics call it major arson," Callahan said.

Baseball's biggest need right now is finding a new commissioner. The new leader of Major League Baseball could replace Callahan, though it's not likely.

But Callahan says that he won't stay in Washington forever. At some point he wants to go home to Springfield, his family and, of course, more baseball.

THE PUERTO RICO PLEBISCITE

HON. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 14, the people of Puerto Rico will exercise their right to self-determination by voting in a nonbinding plebiscite. Their choice will be: statehood, continued commonwealth, or independence. I will work to implement their will and see that Congress carries out, as soon as possible, their expression of self-determination.

I would urge Members to take note of a report issued by the Congressional Research Service last week. This report concludes—as earlier reports have also concluded—that Puerto Rican citizenship can be revoked unilaterally by Congress because it was granted only by an act of Congress in 1917. The report also concludes that under the current Commonwealth, Congress places limits on Federal funds that are given to American citizens who are residents of Puerto Rico even though that type of discrimination would not be possible if Puerto Rico were a state.

Mr. Speaker, I will be watching this Sunday's vote with great interest and excitement and I renew my commitment to honor the expressed self-determination of the people of Puerto Rico.

TRIBUTE TO MARK VAN ROTZ AND MATTHEW VOCCIO, EAGLE SCOUTS

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute two distinguished young men from Rhode Island who have attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. They are Mark Van Rotz and Matthew Voccio of Troop 22 in Johnston and they are honored this week for their noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as Citizenship in the Community, Citizenship in the Nation, Citizenship in the World, Safety, Environmental Science, and First Aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership

skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. These young men have distinguished themselves in accordance with these criteria.

For their Eagle Scout projects, Mark and Matthew each cleared a different section of Johnston Memorial Park of debris and undergrowth. The town of Johnston will landscape these areas for the enjoyment of the residents of the town of Johnston.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scouts Mark Van Rotz and Matthew Voccio. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Mark Van Rotz and Matthew Voccio will continue their public service and in so doing will further distinguish themselves and consequently better their community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute them.

TRIBUTE TO FRANK M. LEMAY

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, today, I bring to the attention of my colleagues the passing away of Frank M. Lemay, a senior State Department economist, who warned in 1989 of evidence that U.S. loan guarantees to Iraq were being used illegally to build Baghdad's military arsenal.

Mr. Lemay testified before the Committee on the Judiciary in June 1992 concerning the contents of a memorandum he wrote in 1989 that Iraq apparently had spent part of a \$1.8 billion loan package to buy nuclear arms technology illegally. The loans had been guaranteed by the Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corporation, ostensibly to purchase U.S. farm products.

Mr. Speaker, when Mr. Lemay testified before the Judiciary Committee his testimony was riveting. I was struck by his refusal to back down from the contents of his memorandum in the face of such intense scrutiny and obvious pressure by the administration and the Congress. He took full responsibility for the contents of his memo and testified that he had no motivation to lie about any of the information contained in the memo. He came across as honest, diligent, and loyal. Throughout that long morning, he never lost his cool.

Mr. Lemay was a 12-year veteran of the State Department. He served as a consular officer and assistant services officer in the Dominican Republic, a staff aide to the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, a policy planning officer in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs and deputy director of the economic section of the U.S. Embassy in Colombia. More recently, he served as a senior economist in the policy planning office of the Secretary of State.

His was an accomplished career that I am sure will be remembered in the years to come.

KEY DOCUMENTS PROVE INNOCENCE OF JOSEPH OCCHIPINTI

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, as part of my continuing efforts to bring to light all the facts in the case of former Immigration and Naturalization Service Agent Joseph Occhipinti, I submit into the RECORD additional key evidence in this case.

EXHIBIT C—AFFIDAVIT

1. On April 21, 1992, I executed an affidavit for Staten Island Borough President Guy V. Molinari where I provided testimony that former Federal Agent Joseph Occhipinti was set up by my major Dominican drug lords Jose Liberato, Elias Taveras and others.

2. I voluntarily agreed to work in an undercover capacity to help expose the conspiracy and prove that the complainants who testified against Mr. Occhipinti are involved in criminal activity. My investigation disclosed the following evidence:

(a) On or about April 28, 1992, I met with Jose Elias Taveras at his garage, Concourse Auto Repair, located at 245 East 138th Street, Bronx, New York 10451. Mr. Taveras believes I am a drug dealer and offered to sell me his business. I agreed to buy his garage for \$125,000 in order to help me launder my drug money. I explained to Mr. Taveras my concerns that I could not have a legal sales contract since I was a drug dealer who doesn't pay taxes, and I didn't want problems with IRS. During the conversation Mr. Taveras admitted to me having financial problems and that he was involved with a loan shark called "Benny", who works for Sea Crest Trading Company. While at the garage I had a conversation with Mr. Taveras brother who admitted to me and others that his brother, Elias has set up Occhipinti and head him convicted. At the garage, was a uniformed New York City Police Officer, called Jackson, Badge #1544. According to Mr. Taveras, the officer was Dominican and was a personal friend. Elias told me it was "OK" to talk business in front of him but I didn't. Elias and I finally agreed to draw up a contract showing the selling price to be \$40,000 not \$125,000. The conversation was tape recorded an attached is Mr. Taveras business card.

(b) On or about April 29, 1992, Mr. Taveras arranged an appointment with me and his attorney, Nestor Rosado, at his law office located at 2710 Broadway, New York, New York. The purpose of the meeting was to close on the business deal for the garage. In a conversation with Mr. Rosado I explained to him the fact I was a drug dealer and could not show on the contract the selling price of \$125,000. We all agreed that the contract would show \$40,000 and the fact I gave a \$25,000 deposit, the balance would be paid off in installments. Mr. Rosado was aware that this transaction was illegal and voluntarily went ahead to fill out the legal papers. I eventually left the office to get the \$125,000, but never returned. I made up an excuse I had been arrested on an outstanding warrant. Attached is a copy of Mr. Rosado's business card. The conversation was tape recorded.

(c) On or about April 23, 1992 I had a conversation with complainant Rhadames Liberato at the Medina Grocery located at 1502 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York. In the conversation, I discussed with Rhadames about the sale of cocaine and loan sharking activities with Sea Crest Trading. Also, I supplied Rhadames Liberato with my telephone number in the event he wants a new source for cocaine. While at the Bodega, two drug deals took place involving employees. The conversation was tape recorded.

3. This affidavit has been given freely and voluntarily. No promises or threats were made in exchange for my testimony. My undercover investigation is still ongoing.

EXHIBIT D—AFFIDAVIT

My true and correct name is * * *.

I am a native and citizen of the Dominican Republic and resident of the State of New York.

I was a registered informant for the Drug Enforcement Administration during the periods of 1988 until June, 1991. I also work as an informant for the U.S. Secret Service, Alcohol, Tobacco and Fire Arms and the New York City Police Department. I primarily worked with the DEA Group 33 Unit which investigated mostly Dominican Drug Dealers. (Attached as Exhibit A is DEA Form 356 which reflects my employment record with DEA).

On or about November, 1991, I had a conversation with Elias Taveras, a good personal friend from the street, who owns the Yeya Grocery in upper Manhattan. Mr. Taveras knew me because I had a friend who was selling him drivers licenses in different names. Mr. Taveras was bragging to me how he was responsible in convicting a federal agent from Immigration for stealing money and doing an illegal search of his bodega. He personally admitted to me that he lied to the jury about the theft of monies and the illegal searches. Mr. Taveras also told me that a Dominican woman called Altigracia Crucey, who owns a Bodega on Broadway near West 162nd Street, New York, New York was also one of the witnesses who also falsely testified against the Immigration Officer. I had personally known about Altigracia Crucey from three local Dominican Drug dealers called, Arturo, Moreno and Junior, who admitted to me that Altigracia was their source of heroin. As for Mr. Taveras, he is involved in the sale of numbers, gambling, illegal drug money transfers to the Dominican Republic and also arranging drug sales. About six times I was present when Mr. Taveras arranged as middle man to buy cocaine and received a commission. The names of the people who bought the Drugs were Adalberto, Manolo, Jose and the others I don't remember at this time. The reason why we had the conversation was because I told him I had seen him on Spanish television.

On or about January, 1992, I met Jose Liberato at his new Bodega at West 163rd Street and Broadway, New York. I was with a friend called Angel Ignacio who was negotiating the sale of 11 kilos of Cocaine. I was not present for all the actual price negotiation for the drugs because Liberato and Angel went into a private office. After the private conversation, I went to the office and we began to drink. Mr. Liberato began to brag how he "the federales". He was explaining that when the Immigration had gone to his Bodega they never found 18 kilograms of cocaine that was secreted in a hidden floor panel. He explained that he had falsely testified against the Officer in court about stealing money and doing illegal

searches because they (Federales/Immigration) were hurting the Bodega owners who he had lent money to. Mr. Liberato, is a loan shark. Mr. Liberato lends money to Bodega owners at high interest rate. Mr. Liberato explained that Immigration was arresting people and seizing contraband at the Bodegas which owed him money, and was creating a lot of problems for him. So, he and others organized many of the Bodegas to falsely testify against the officer. Many of the Bodega owners were family members. I personally know that Mr. Liberato is a major distributor of cocaine, who could handle purchases of 50 to 100 kilo's at a time. At this meeting, he admitted that he was smuggling the cocaine into the United States in frozen "Yuka", which is Spanish vegetable. About two weeks later, I accompanied Angel Ignacio back to Liberato in order to pick up a sample of the cocaine. The sample was about a one ounce rock of cocaine. Mr. Liberato is a very dangerous man, who was very close friends of a Cuban man called "Papito," a known Assassin who owns the El Baturio Restaurant. I personally know about the people that was murdered through Papito—it is common knowledge that no one crosses Liberato or they get murdered.

I ceased being a DEA Informant in June, 1991 after I had a problem with a Federal prosecutor called David Lewis. I negotiated the sale of 2 kilos of cocaine in 1989 from a Dominican Drug Dealer called "Luis". The case went to trial and I explained to Mr. Lewis what happened in the buy. Sometime thereafter, Luis approached my mother and threatened her. I was extremely afraid for my mother and family's safety, so I decided that this was one case I should not testify in. I had never had a family member threatened before. So, at a second meeting, I changed my story with Mr. Lewis about what happened. Eventually, I explained to Mr. Lewis the truth and why I didn't want to testify. Mr. Lewis was not sympathetic to my concerns about my families safety. He directed that DEA no longer use me as an informant. It should be noted that at that time, I was working on a major investigation involving a Dominican lawyer called "Aranda", from the law offices of Aranda and Guthelein. I had learned that Aranda was representing Dominican Drug Dealers and receiving cocaine as payment. One day in June, 1991, I met with Aranda at the Court House in Manhattan in order to negotiate the purchase of 5 kilos of cocaine. He agreed to sell it to me. However, when I reported it to DEA, they told me that they couldn't work the case because of my problem with David Lewis.

On or about February, 1992, I went to Immigration to speak to one of its officers. At that time, I learned that the Immigration Officer who was set up by Mr. Liberato and others was Joseph Occhipinti. I never personally met Mr. Occhipinti or knew him previously. I saw him only on two occasions at DEA. When I realized what happened, I reported it to DEA Special Agent the evidence I had.

I am willing to testify before court or the Congress as to the facts contained in this affidavit. I voluntarily agree to work in an undercover capacity to prove that Mr. Occhipinti was set up and that Mr. Liberato, Mr. Taveras and Ms. Crucey are involved in drug trafficking and related criminal activity. No promises or threats were made in exchange for this affidavit or my offer to work undercover.

TRIBUTE TO ONLINE RESOURCES & COMMUNICATION CORP.

HON. JAMES P. MORAN

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take just a moment to tell you of an exciting development that has taken place in my district. I think it demonstrates what can happen when a small company with dedicated employees commits itself to finding a better way.

A constituent company has just received a major patent for a new low-cost, efficient and easy-to-use system that will help make the information superhighway more accessible and less expensive for consumers.

Online Resources & Communications Corp. of McLean, VA, has accomplished this remarkable technological feat not by spending millions of dollars developing a new solution, but by ingeniously combined existing technology infrastructures to create a new system for paying for electronic services delivered to home. Combining public telecommunications data networks with the automated teller machine, or ATM, networks of the banking industry, Online Resources helps keep the cost for such services low.

Because Online is committed to delivering low-cost banking and retail services electronically to the home, it's been recognized as a leader in its field. Its low cost ScreenPhone has received rave reviews in the press and from thousands of consumers in the Washington area who use Online's home banking service for only a few dollars a month. Now banks nationwide are calling Online Resources to learn of its unique and low-cost system.

I'm very proud of what the employees of Online Resources have accomplished because they've proven once again that small companies are leading the way in developing new technological solutions that will ensure our national competitiveness. We cannot, Mr. Speaker, ask the American people to pay high prices for the services and information that will make them more aware and more informed while at the same time less hassled by life's day-to-day chores. Online's systems can help give Americans that rare combination of convenience and control over their financial affairs that will make them more productive.

Online's patent for this payment method is a breakthrough for the banking and telecommunications industries. And to its credit, Online Resources' plans are to use the patent responsibly to help accelerate the acceptance and adoption of electronic services in the home. President Matt Lawlor tells me he wants industry leaders to come together to adopt standards that will ensure that the consumer is always foremost. He plans to continue to promulgate to the industry Online's low-cost, easy-to-use approach because the employees of Online recognize that as a provider of electronic services to the home, they have a responsibility to serve as many Americans as they can.

Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot these days about industry giants forming alliances to develop new technologies. But I hope this body always remembers that the truly great ideas,

the unique jewels of creative thinking, often come from smaller companies that are dedicated to finding a better way for a lower cost. That's exactly what Online Resources, a company of just 30 people, has been recognized for with the issuance of this patent. I ask you and the members of the House to stand with me to applaud Online Resources as one of the truly innovative companies of our era.

**TRIBUTE TO SUZANNE DE PASSE
AND MIMI AND BERNIE WEST**

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, we ask our colleagues to join us in paying tribute to three outstanding supporters of the Friends of the Los Angeles Free Clinic.

At its annual dinner show on December 2, the Los Angeles Free Clinic will honor Suzanne de Passe and Mimi and Bernie West for their unstinting efforts to extend quality health care to those who have fallen through the cracks of our current inadequate health care system.

Ms. de Passe and Mr. and Mrs. West have built the Los Angeles Free Clinic into a nationally known and admired institution. The free clinic provides a full range of high quality health services to those without health insurance, those who are ineligible for government health programs, and those who have personal problems and health needs that require the clinic's unique atmosphere of tolerance and compassion.

Were it not for the efforts of individuals like Suzanne de Passe and Mimi and Bernie West, it would be impossible for the free clinic to provide state-of-the-art medical, psychological, legal and dental services to tens of thousands of clients without ever levying a charge. As we pay tribute to Suzanne de Passe and Mimi and Bernie West, we should also recognize the hard work of the staff, contributors, and volunteers who make possible the free clinic's treatment of 40,000 needy patients each year.

**SEMATECH PROVES TO BE IDEAL
GOVERNMENT/INDUSTRY CON-
SORTIUM**

HON. J.J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, SEMATECH, the 6-year-old Austin semiconductor manufacturing research consortium, has reached the summit in the existence of Government-subsidized consortiums. Founded during a crisis in the U.S. semiconductor industry, SEMATECH "has achieved its early goal of reviving this country's chip-making powers to match or beat the Japanese, say SEMATECH

officials and supporters of the consortium," according to this past Sunday's Austin American Statesman.

The well-being of the American chip industry and its equipment suppliers, once considered in trouble, has shown signs of revival in the past 2 years. SEMATECH has played a role in keeping jobs at home by making it possible to produce state-of-the-art semiconductors on all American-made machines.

Advanced tools and processes have enabled U.S. companies to move from dawdler to forerunner in chip manufacturing technology. SEMATECH can also claim credit for improving communication between equipment manufacturers and chip makers within the industry.

The Austin American Statesman article goes on to say, that now that its success has been proclaimed, the consortium may need an encore performance. The key to a new stage, according to SEMATECH's chief executive William Spencer, is to do more work with less money. This year the consortium has broadened its research scope, shifted spending priorities and cut spending by 10 percent, or \$20 million a year. SEMATECH's 11 industrial members put up half, or \$90 million, of the organization's annual budget. The Department of Defense Appropriations Conference Report for fiscal year 1994 will appropriate \$90 million from the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency.

President Clinton last February called SEMATECH, "a model for Federal consortiums funded to advance other critical technologies." A congressional field hearing was held in Austin this past summer by the Science and Technology Committee and "was more of a love feast than an inquiry: everyone from Governor Ann Richards of Texas to the House Majority Leader, Richard A. Gephardt, heaped praise on SEMATECH," according to this past Sunday's New York Times.

The New York Times also states that other industries now hold up SEMATECH as an example for American industry. The aerospace industry, increasingly threatened by Europe's Airbus consortium, would benefit from proposed legislation that helped create and finance a consortium called Aerotech. American textile manufacturers have created a consortium called AMTex that receives Government assistance. And the Big Three auto companies recently announced a Government-backed partnership to design a fuel-efficient super car.

Congress should be proud of starting this highly successful consortium and promoting U.S. success in international competition in the semiconductor industry. SEMATECH should be a model for all industries to join together keeping the United States a step ahead of foreign competitors in high technology.

**NATIONAL SCIENCE AND TECH-
NOLOGY POLICY, ORGANIZATION,
AND PRIORITIES ACT AMEND-
MENTS OF 1993**

HON. RICK BOUCHER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. BOUCHER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing, along with Mr. BROWN of California

and Mr. BOEHLERT of New York, the National Science and Technology Policy, Organization, and Priorities Act Amendments of 1993.

This legislation is the culmination of an ongoing review of U.S. science policy conducted by the Subcommittee on Science. Our review was conducted against a backdrop of a dramatically changed world. New opportunities and new challenges for the Nation's research enterprise have been created by the end of the cold war, the rise of multilateral economic competition, and the emergency of global environmental problems. Coupled with these changes is the increasing role of science and technology in promoting our economic well-being and our quality of life.

The subcommittee conducted a broad-based inquiry into the adequacy of the Nation's Federal science and technology policy and the directions that policy should take as we approach the 21st century. Our goal from the beginning has been to shape science policies that allocate resources more efficiently, set priorities more clearly, and measure performance more precisely, while at the same time preserving the best parts of a research system that remains the envy of the world.

Our inquiry was also driven by the inability of the Government's growing research and development budgets to keep pace with the explosive growth in the size of the Nation's research force. We also had to consider the ever-present debate about the effect of "Big Science" undertakings such as the human genome project and the space station on the size and number of grants available to individual researchers who collectively account for much of the Nation's innovation. The time has arrived for hard decisions to be made about the research and development projects that are most important to enhancing our quality of life.

At the core of our legislation is an effective mechanism for the Federal Government both to establish long-term science priorities and to assure that those priorities are reflected in the budget. To achieve this result, the bill requires the President, in consultation with the Office of Science and Technology Policy [OSTP] and the Office of Management and Budget [OMB], to report annually to the Congress on the administration's specific priorities for science and technology, along with the rationale for those policies and a statement setting forth how they will address long-term societal goals.

This report will also present one consolidated national research and development budget, which is intended to bring coherence to a more than \$70 billion research budget that is scattered across more than 20 departments and agencies. It addresses those critics who charge, with some justification in my view, that American science cannot be all things to all people—that we must set priorities.

To assure that the President's science policies will actually be reflected in the budget, the legislation gives greater responsibilities to OSTP in formulating the Federal science and technology budget. Under the bill, OSTP and OMB are required to work jointly at every stage of the budget process. Most importantly, the bill requires OMB to obtain the concurrence of OSTP before transmitting final budget guidance to Federal departments and agencies. This concurrence authority will help to

assure that the final budget guidance which is transmitted to the agencies will be consistent with the President's science priorities and the administration's broader societal goals.

This provision also recognizes the unique position that science and technology has in the Federal budget and is consistent with the key recommendation contained in the Carnegie Commission's report, "Enabling the Future: Linking Science and Technology to Societal Goals."

The bill will improve science policy in several other important respects:

First, it will codify the National Science and Technology Council [NSTC] that was recommended by the National Performance Review. The Council will parallel the National Economic Council and the National Security Council. It will bring high-level decisionmaking to science and technology policy.

The NSTC replaces the Federal Coordinating Council for Science, Engineering, and Technology [FCCSET], which in the words of the National Performance Review, "lacks the teeth to set priorities, direct policy, and participate fully in the budget process." The bill does, however, preserve what I believe are the best elements of the FCCSET process. It authorizes the NSTC to establish interagency working groups comprised of officials who work directly with the research and development projects that cut across agency boundaries.

Second, the bill sets up a Committee of Advisers on Science and Technology to provide the President with regular advice and recommendations on science and technology issues. I think all of us would agree that when dealing with these often complex matters, it is critically important for the President to be able to turn to a balanced panel of eminent scientists who can render advice free of agency bias.

Third, the legislation establishes for the first time a regular specific assessment of the Nation's research capabilities. This function will be carried out by the National Sciences and Technologies Assessment Panel, comprised of distinguished Americans from Government and the private sector. This reconstituted panel will continue to report biennially to the President on technologies that it deems critical. The President will be responsible for the development of a multiyear strategy for federally supported research and development of critical technologies.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation that I am introducing today achieves the goals of an improved science policy—one that will help our Nation set clear priorities in science, adhere to those priorities in the budget, and most importantly, measure the results of our enormous investment in research and development. This bill is wholly consistent with the President's re-inventing government initiative and with the recommendations of some of America's leading scientists and public policy experts, many of whom served on an advisory committee to the subcommittee during the development of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the Carnegie Commission summed it up well when it said, "America faces a choice between business as usual in science and technology policy and a new approach that would place more emphasis on

long-term S&T goals and on clarifying the linkages between the S&T enterprise and societal goals."

This legislation meets the challenge that is implicit in these words. I urge my colleagues to join as cosponsors of this important measure.

HONORING ITALIAN BENEFICIAL CLUB ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR 60TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Sandusky-based Italian Beneficial Club on the occasion of its 60th year of service.

On November 13, 1993, a dinner will be held to pay tribute to the club's 60 years of continuing service to the Italian community of Sandusky. The club has provided social, cultural, and educational facilities for approximately 5,500 members, including information on obtaining citizenship for immigrants.

Named after the Italian mapmaker, Amerigo Vespucci, the new world and our Nation's history is filled with the hard work and labor of Italian families. Ohioans need to look no farther than our State capitol to see the admiration the new world feels for the great Italian explorer, Christopher Columbus.

As the club marks its 60th anniversary, we commemorate the past and celebrate the future. The anxieties and doubts faced by the immigrants of today are no less than 100 years ago. The Italian Beneficial Club can be a link between Italian culture and heritage and American opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating the members of the Italian Beneficial Club for their past achievements and encouraging them to continue to hold themselves to its high standard of integrity and dedication.

IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN-BASED MEDICAL SCHOOLS

HON. ELIOT L. ENGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the President has unveiled to the American people his specific plans to reform the Nation's health care system and has taken a bold step to inspire fundamental change in the manner in which Americans receive health care. The American people are now looking to Congress to assure that reform efforts are equitable, fair, and affordable.

A major focus of the President's package involves the need to increase the number of doctors providing primary care services. Today, too many new physicians elect to practice specialized medicine where they can earn higher salaries. As a result, there is a defi-

ciency in the number of physicians that practice general family health care or primary health care.

I would like to direct my colleagues attention to the efforts of Dr. Robert Ross, chairman and founder of Ross University School of Medicine located on the Island of Dominica in the Caribbean. Dr. Ross has greatly contributed to reversing the trend of declining numbers of primary care physicians. Dr. Ross opened Ross University in 1978 with just 13 students. Since that time, over 1,500 students have received medical degrees from the university.

The graduates from Ross University have continued on into medical residency training and medical practice all over the United States. In addition, many Ross University graduates have set up their primary care practices in rural and urban areas that would otherwise go without proper medical care. These foreign born or trained medical students help fill the critical shortage of primary care physicians produced by American medical schools. In fact, over 20 percent of the practicing doctors in the States of Michigan, North Dakota, Illinois, Connecticut, and Delaware were educated outside the United States. In New Jersey, the figure is 33 percent in New York it is nearly 50 percent.

Dr. Ross and his foreign-based medical school provide a valuable service to the American people. U.S. health care policy should encourage, not discourage, such contributions. As Congress begins debate on health care reform, I urge my colleagues to examine the great contribution foreign medical schools can make with respect to primary care.

THE HALPERIN NOMINATION

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I have been heartened by the increase in attention and opposition to the nomination of Dr. Morton Halperin to be the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping.

Nothing in Dr. Halperin's background would lead a rational, dispassionate observer to the conclusion that he should be given an important post in the Pentagon. To the contrary, that observer might well conclude that the Pentagon is the last place Dr. Halperin should be working.

What is even more disturbing is the tactic pursued by his supporters. Unable to defend his record and actions, supporters of the nomination have resorted to attempts to discredit those who raise legitimate questions about the nomination.

I am inserting for the RECORD a response to a Washington Post editorial written by the ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator STROM THURMOND. He responds to some of the slanderous attacks he has endured and further outlines the concerns about Dr. Halperin.

The fact of the matter is that Dr. Halperin has engaged in activities which raise serious questions about his judgment and qualifications. If there are answers to those questions,

his supporters should be supportive of our attempts to discover them.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 18, 1993]

THE HALPERIN NOMINATION

(By Strom Thurmond)

An Oct. 11 editorial carried a staunch defense of Morton Halperin, nominated to be assistant secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping. While such an editorial, which did not offer an outline of the concerns I shared with fellow members of the Senate, is your prerogative, I feel entitled to reply.

Mr. Halperin's troubles are not the fault of a "partisan hit squad" or of the Senate Armed Services Committee. In fact, Republican members of the committee have avoided partisan battles over Defense Department nominees. With little dissent, we have voted to confirm every Department of Defense nominee—even those about whom we have serious reservations. Rather, Mr. Halperin's problems are of his own making, the inevitable result of the controversial 30-year record that the editorial cited.

The questions about Mr. Halperin's qualifications and motives are far more serious than any the committee has encountered, and our concern is broad-based and bipartisan. Mr. Halperin's record shows a man whose judgment about the nature of conflict and international relations is deeply flawed. He is a leading advocate of subordinating U.S. military power to multilateral interests in the apparent belief that the United States can't be trusted to act unilaterally for the good of mankind.

It is true that recent news stories reporting Mr. Halperin's advice not to send additional equipment to protect our troops relied on unnamed sources. But that should be nothing new to The Post. They are nameless because they are military officers whose careers will be destroyed if they speak out publicly. It is to their credit that they are willing to come forward, even in anonymity, out of concern for American lives. After all, Department of Defense nominations—unlike domestic policy appointments—can be a matter of life and death.

In the days since these stories appeared and I expressed my concern on the floor of the Senate, Pentagon spokeswoman Kathleen deLaski is reported to have admitted that on the subject of Mr. Halperin's influence she does not know "what he might have said in conversations to people in this building."

To many of us, Somalia is a clear case of Halperinism at work, a striking example of how bad policy can result in dead young Americans. Our country now appears to be embarking on an even more ill-defined and ill-conceived operation in Haiti, and there are indications that Mr. Halperin had a hand in its design as well.

Republican members have good reason to believe that Mr. Halperin's advice will lead to more United Nations "peacekeeping" operations like Somalia. Possibly more Americans will be killed or wounded for no clear national purpose. Consequently, we have no choice but to oppose him.

I believe senators of both parties have a moral obligation to make sure that his kind of misguided and discredited policy does not gain a beach-head of influence in the Pentagon.

TRIBUTE TO THE ADELPHI UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF NURSING

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay special tribute to the Adelphi University School of Nursing. Inaugurated in 1943 by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as part of the United States Nurse Cadet Corps, the Adelphi University School of Nursing became the first baccalaureate nursing program on Long Island. It is one of the preeminent schools of nursing in the country. Adelphi offers a state-of-the-art curricula and awards undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees. It also offers continuing education courses in nursing. Graduates of the school hold prestigious positions in nursing and have earned national and international distinction.

This school exemplifies the ethic of social responsibility in preparing its students to meet the challenges that health care providers face in a rapidly changing world. The institution has proven itself as a forerunner in the health care field. As a major center for advanced clinical practice and research, the school has modified its curriculum to respond to new needs and knowledge.

The school is accredited by the National League for Nursing and the Continuing Education Program by the American Nurses Association. It maintains affiliations with more than 100 health care facilities and hospitals in the greater New York metropolitan area and throughout the Nation.

It is with great pride that I commend this institution.

SUPPORTING THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE-TRADE AGREEMENT

HON. BOB CLEMENT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to endorse the North American Free-Trade Agreement. Throughout modern history, the world has come to view America as a trendsetter and worldwide leader. As the Earth's remaining superpower, America has the responsibility to take leadership roles that forge new paths of international economic cooperation. NAFTA offers us that opportunity.

The 103d Congress has the plan before it today to create the world's largest trading partnership. With nearly 360 million consumers and an annual production rate of over \$6 trillion, North America will undoubtedly become the single most vital and influential market on the globe.

Lowering our trade barriers and expanding our economic markets just makes good common economic sense. If I were to approach any small business in America and tell them that I had the ability to open and broaden the market for their goods with a minimal increase in competition, do you not think they would jump at the chance? Of course they would; it makes good common sense.

After World War II, America and its Allies were embroiled in the controversial debate of whether or not to commit themselves to rebuilding and reconstructing strong economies in Germany and Japan. The theory at the time was that there were only so many riches to go around, and increased investment in these countries would result in decreased wealth at home. Fortunately, America and her Allies did not heed this assumption and looked toward the long-term benefit of economic investment in these wrecked economies. As a result of this foresight, the average person in the world today has a much higher standard of living than in those days, even while the population has increased exponentially. More importantly, for many of those years the United States was a net exporter to both Germany and Japan, creating thousands of American jobs.

The current problem facing working men and women is much more complex than can be summed up in this NAFTA debate. The bottom line is that while NAFTA will have a positive impact on this country by itself, the positive effect of this treaty is not the cureall for our Nation's economy. Overall, it is estimated that there will be a net increase in the first year of over 170,000 jobs in our Nation's work force, a drop in the bucket for a nation with 240 million residents. Instead, our leaders must be willing to create opportunities that improve the skills of our work force and invest in the education of our children.

In my home State of Tennessee, we have increased our trade with Mexico and Canada by over 310 percent in the past 5 years, becoming the 15th largest exporter of American goods to Mexico. Last year alone, Tennessee exports to Mexico were valued at over \$413 million. Tennessee's trade with Mexico will certainly strengthen with NAFTA, creating an increase in export-related jobs for our citizens.

At issue here, however, is America's willingness to reach out to new markets for its products and end the status quo. America continues to lose jobs without NAFTA and we no longer can afford to sit back and watch our labor move to Pacific rim countries that have ineffective labor, environmental, and minimum wage laws.

The North American Free-Trade Agreement is about investment in our national economic security in the long term. This country cannot afford to adopt the position that continued closed borders and tariff restrictions are in the best interest of its citizens. Failure to pass NAFTA sends a strong and clear message to those currently involved in the GATT Treaty negotiations that the North American region is ill prepared to serve in a 110-nation trade agreement, virtually ensuring the failure of these discussions.

Mr. Speaker, this NAFTA gives us the opportunity to invest in a country that has one of the fastest growing economies in the Western Hemisphere with nearly unlimited potential for future growth. That country is Mexico. Already, lowered trade restrictions with Mexico have made that country our third largest trading partner behind Canada and Japan and the second largest export market for manufactured goods. Furthermore, Mexico is the third largest market for United States agricultural products. With over 225,000 jobs in America directly dependent upon trade with Mexico, another

700,000 United States jobs indirectly dependent upon trade with Mexico, and 45 of the 50 States in America reporting increases in trade with Mexico since 1986, it becomes quite clear that free trade with Mexico is good for American workers and manufacturers.

The debate over NAFTA has been a long journey that has forced Americans to take a second look at our Nation's international trading partnerships. I intend to support NAFTA based upon my belief that this country can no longer afford to leave its borders closed in the face of an increasing global economy and this NAFTA creates jobs for our Nation's workers. I urge my colleagues to take a bold stand for investment in our country and support this NAFTA.

ELLA JONES: A COMMITTED LEADER, A SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZER

HON. RICHARD W. POMBO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. POMBO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to demonstrate special recognition for Miss Ella Jones, a constituent residing in Stockton, CA.

Miss Jones has demonstrated exceptional leadership in making the Village East Apartments in Stockton a safer place to live.

She received recognition recently for her accomplishments by receiving a prestigious Jefferson Award from the American Institute for Public Service. From 40,000 nominees nationwide, 150 finalists were chosen. Of these, only five, including Ella, were named national award winners for their remarkable achievements.

Mr. Speaker, this is Ella Jones story. Ella Jones has been living in the Village East public housing complex since 1969. During the 1970's, she helped organize a tenant's association and served as its president. The association's activities were primarily recreational, and focused on the children. Eventually, drug and gang troubles became a dangerous issue.

In 1982, Michael McCormick, a youth of 19, died of a stab wound in the chest. The argument which finally caused his death began at the apartment complex, but ended at a local vocational school. He was Ella's son.

In 1983-84, local gangs were in the area and occasional beatings and shootings occurred in the neighborhood regarding drugs. A territorial dispute between members within the same gangs occurred, and a member was shot and killed on the property. Neither the victim nor the killers, which were arrested, were residents of the complex. The issue was gang territory.

In 1987, the city of Stockton was forced to cut back its police department. This coincided with the arrival of the Bloods and Crips, gangs from the larger urban areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Problems continued to ebb and flow in the complex. In March 1988, a blind youth, John Riley, an innocent bystander, was caught in the crossfire of gang activity and killed.

In June 1988, the Stockton Record reported on Ella Jones' efforts to rid Village East of drug-related criminal activity. The Record cited

her efforts to patrol the complex with her megaphone. She quizzed children and youth about why they were hanging out at Village East, determining whether or not they actually had relatives, friends, or reasons to be there. Her involvement earned the respect of gang leaders because she was not afraid to confront them.

Helva Doyle, who assisted Jones, wasn't so lucky. She had her car windows shot out in reprisal.

In 1990, a brother of a gang member was shot and killed on the property. Both boys were residents. Management established a job training program with the Boys and Girls Club to employ residents and neighborhood youth to teach them construction skills. The youth were involved in making repairs in the complex. The intent of the program was to provide skills, distract teens from the street, and to provide income.

In September 1992, the San Joaquin Prevention Partnership awarded Village East and the Boys and Girls Club \$5,000 toward recreational equipment and programs on safety and substance abuse.

Ella Smith participates in the San Joaquin Prevention Partnership. The partnership's vision is "an empowered community that collectively addresses issues to assure a Safe, Healthy, and Drug-Free Environment." Their mission statement continues, "through collaborative public and private prevention efforts, the prevention partnership will plan, coordinate, and develop programs, services, and resources based on community priorities and will enhance and assist leadership."

A three-bedroom unit has been transformed into an activity center in which to provide after school recreational and educational activities for the 260 children of the complex. Ella Jones is now the program coordinator. Her job description includes coordinating the above-mentioned activities, as well as health care—eye exams, blood pressure clinics, and so forth—for residents and activities geared toward seniors and the disabled.

In 1989, over 100 residents of the Village East neighborhood staged their first "Just Say No" anti-drug rally. The "Just Say No" Club was started with the interest earned from residents' security deposits. The coordinator of these activities is Ella Jones.

Much of her drive, enthusiasm and commitment to the cleaning up process occurs through this club, which involves youth from 3 or 4 on up to 15 years of age. With the children continuously involved, parents become aware, involved and finally committed to standing up for themselves in taking back their neighborhood.

The "Just Say No" Club meets every 2 weeks at Village East. Special programs are offered about safety issues for kids, substance abuse, and even personal grooming. Jones plans tutoring programs using community college students.

Jones relies on her "Just Say No" Club kids to help with all the activities as well. They hand out flyers and announcements, and help decorate for the holiday parties at Halloween and Christmas, the annual Thanksgiving Dinner, the Easter Egg Hunt and other events like skating parties.

Over the years, Jones has connected with resources from all areas to bring much need-

ed programs and services to Village East. She has worked with the city's parks and recreation department providing community input on needed repairs, maintenance, and programs at the centers. She has prodded the city planning department and public works about stop signs and street lights. Public school truant officers have been regulars to the complex, escorting nonresidents off the ground, to their homes, or to school.

County public health has responded to Village East with eye testing and blood pressure clinics. Seniors have benefited from Meals on Wheels and Dial a Ride Transportation. In October 1992, the King School offered a health fair for the neighborhood, and Jones promoted the event for the Village East residents.

At any time, Jones can rely on a core group of 25-30 residents who will assist her efforts to mobilize the complex. It's a tiring task maintaining motivation in people. Setbacks tend to cause discouragement. Constant reinforcement of people's self-esteem and their ability to create change is necessary.

Ella tells a good story about a recent community meeting. She got to the Martin Luther King School auditorium, just a few blocks away, and there were only 25 people from the complex. On the agenda were several city officials including the mayor and chief of police.

She went back to the complex telling people, "You have got to show yourselves at this meeting. I can represent you, but I can't stand up for you. You've got to stand up for yourselves. I don't have no babies, you've got babies to protect. Come on out of your apartments and stand up for yourselves." Back at the auditorium, she had 150 people. "All right," she said. "All right."

Mr. Speaker, Ella's dedication and commitment are an inspiration to all of us.

WORLD WAR II VETERANS MEMORIAL

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this letter I received regarding legislation I introduced to authorize construction of a World War II Memorial in our Nation's capital.

KANSAS CITY, MO, July 21, 1993.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN KAPTUR: I am a World War II veteran who served as a first scout and Combat Infantryman with the 103rd Infantry division in Europe. Through the grace of God and my mother's prayers, I survived the death and destruction that claimed many American soldiers while in defense of our country.

While our nation may be great, almost fifty years have passed with no meaningful or permanent memorial for our World War II veterans. For this reason, I have also been trying for years to fire up our leaders in America to honor those that deserve honor with a World War II memorial in the Washington D.C. area. I have also suggested issuing US commemorative stamps in honor of the POW-MIA's, the combat soldier, and in some way, all the members of our military, male and female.

I have written President Bill Clinton, Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse Brown, Congressman Alan Wheat, my 5th District Representative from Missouri, and others. Congressman Wheat remains supportive and informed me about your efforts as sponsor of legislation that would create a World War II memorial. I have not heard from President Clinton or Secretary Brown. I guess we all have our own priorities.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your untiring efforts. I don't believe World War II veterans want glory or individual recognition, only remembrance. We want to feel needed and appreciated.

I am enclosing correspondence relating to my efforts, including a letter dated July 14, 1993, from the US Postal Services. The example I submitted for a US stamp of the Combat Soldier and his badge of honor could be used for a statue within the World War II memorial. I have other ideas relating to the World War II memorial. I hope members selected for the World War II memorial Advisory Board are knowledgeable and worthy of this honor. Someone like Mr. Roger Durbin.

Please convey the appreciation of this old warrior to all those that supported you in your efforts. There is power in a dedicated few. Our country should consider the fact there will always be trouble spots in the world. We must show appreciation to our old warriors now, in a meaningful way, to indicate to our young defenders what to expect from a grateful nation when they, too, may become old warriors.

Fine ladies have played a major role in my life. My mother who prayed constantly for me during World War II. My sisters who cared and wrote me regularly while I was in military service. My late wife, Rachel, who guided me and supported me for over forty years. Many ladies I have met in volunteer community and church activities. And now, Congresswoman Kaptur, it is an honor to be writing to you to let you know that, although I have never met you, your efforts on behalf of World War II veterans indicates to me that you possess those fine qualities which seemed to have escaped other legislators for so long. May God continue to bless you in all your efforts to retain a sense of humanness in our society.

I have always felt that tears and fears throughout the years were this old soldier's souvenirs. But after almost fifty years, I am finally feeling a sense of accomplishment and peace. World War II may finally be over. I firmly believe that faith, hope, and sheer determination in all fronts gained us victory in World War II.

Please keep me informed on the progress of the World War II memorial and let me know if I can be of any help.

God bless you as He has blessed me, A grateful World War II veteran.

MIKE MORADO.

LEGISLATION TO REPLACE THE COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year, the President announced his proposal to abolish the Council on Environmental Quality [CEQ] in his effort to streamline the

Federal Government and bring the development of environmental policy closer to the Oval Office. Related to this proposal were initiatives to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet level status, the establishment of the White House Office of Environmental Policy, and the reassignment of most of CEQ functions.

Although generally supporting the administration's efforts to recognize some of the environmental functions of the Government, JOHN DINGELL, the father of CEQ and the National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA] in the House, and I, as chairman of the committee with jurisdiction over CEQ and NEPA, asked the White House to explore more fully the broad range of policy matters that would be affected by its proposal.

Chairman DINGELL and I were particularly concerned with the implementation of NEPA, called by many the "Magna Carta" of environmental policy in the United States. CEQ is the institution that administers that law and oversees federal agency compliance with this important 1969 statute.

We wanted to make certain that the key NEPA functions would continue to be administered by a unit codified in law in the Executive Office of the President [EOP] and for which the top officer or director would be accountable to Congress. In these ways, the NEPA unit would be similar to the structure of CEQ. At the same time, we also agreed with the administration that many of the functions in the 1969 NEPA statute or its companion Environmental Quality Improvement Act of 1970 [EQIA] could be transferred to the new cabinet level EPA. We also recognized that, for a few select functions, the President should be able to determine which institution would more effectively serve his environmental policy coordination requirements.

I want to commend the open-mindedness and flexibility with which the administration entered into these discussions. In particular, the White House Office of Environmental Policy, the EPA, and the Office of the Vice President were extremely responsive to our concerns and willing to review the broad range of activities of CEQ that are related to the NEPA process.

After a thorough consideration of all the issues, an agreement with the administration has been reached which protects the integrity of NEPA, addresses the concerns that Chairman DINGELL and I raised and, at the same time, provides the administration with broad discretion for environmental policy development in the White House and a more tightly structured office to focus on NEPA compliance.

One of the most important features of our agreement is the section delineating the core NEPA functions to be carried out by the Office of NEPA Compliance. For the first time, the central NEPA functions will be statutorily specified and consolidated into a single title of NEPA. This will make the new office a leaner unit in the EOP but one for which its mission is abundantly clear and NEPA-specific. Efficient and clear administration of the law should be the result.

This agreement is embodied in the bill that JOHN DINGELL and I have introduced today entitled the National Environmental Policy Act

Administrative Reorganization Amendments of 1993. A summary of the legislation is included with this statement. I intend to present this bill to the Rules Committee as a proposed amendment to the EPA cabinet bill when that legislation is considered in the House. A CEQ provision is in the Senate-passed EPA cabinet bill; thus the issue will be part of the conference committee deliberations.

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATION—NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AMENDMENTS OF 1993

A new Office of NEPA Compliance will be established in the Executive Office of the President to replace the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) and the Office of Environmental Quality (OEQ).

The new Office will be headed by a Director who is appointed by the President by, and with the advice and consent of, the Senate. The Director is required to keep the congressional committees of jurisdiction informed about the policies and practices of the Office.

The Office of NEPA Compliance will be a significantly smaller office than the present CEQ. It will have seven professional staff plus support staff and an authorization of \$1 million in Fiscal Year 1994; there will be modest increases in the out years. This compares to a CEQ/OEQ staff of 32 personnel and a budget of \$2.5 million at the end of the last Administration.

In part, this reduction reflects the repeal of the requirement for the mammoth annual CEQ Report, the transfer of a number of functions in existing law to the new Department of Environmental Protection (when that legislation is enacted), the opportunity for the President to assign even further environmental functions to other units in the EOP, and the streamlining of the mission of the new Office to fewer, but critically important, "core" NEPA functions.

Most of the functions now carried in NEPA and EQIA will be transferred directly to the new Department of EPA. These include research, analytical, system evaluation, and data collection activities that can better be carried out by the new cabinet department.

Those functions of CEQ that involve cross-agency appraisals of programmatic contributions to the goals of NEPA and coordination of environmental policies are statutorily granted to the new Office but may be assigned by the President by executive order to another unit in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) or, for certain of these functions, to another federal agency.

Additionally, there are clarifying provisions based on the accepted and historical practice of CEQ in implementing NEPA. These include explicit authority to promulgate NEPA regulations, oversee agency compliance with the regulations, interpret NEPA for federal agencies and citizens, and mediate interagency disputes. These functions are based on present authority in NEPA, various executive orders, or by established CEQ practice. These "core" NEPA functions are granted directly to the Office of NEPA Compliance and may not be reassigned.

LIST OF FUNCTIONS IN NEPA AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1970 THAT WOULD BE DIRECTLY TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The following functions shall be transferred to EPA and shall not be construed to affect, alter, or amend any other law or regulation administered by the Secretary of the Environment:

(1) Gather timely and authoritative information concerning the conditions and

trends in the quality of the environment both current and prospective, analyze and interpret such information for the purpose of determining whether such conditions and trends are interfering, or are likely to interfere, with the achievement of the policy set forth in NEPA, and compile and submit to the President studies relating to such conditions and trends;

(2) Conduct investigations, studies, surveys, research, and analyses relating to ecological systems and environmental quality;

(3) Document and define changes in the natural environment, including the plant and animal systems, and accumulate necessary data and other information for a continuing analysis of these changes or trends and an interpretation of their underlying causes;

(4) Report at least once each year to the President on the state and condition of the environment;

(5) Review the adequacy of existing systems for monitoring and predicting environmental changes in order to achieve effective coverage and efficient use of research facilities and other resources;

(6) Promote the advancement of scientific knowledge of the effects of actions and technology on the environment and encourage the development of the means to prevent or reduce adverse effects that endanger the health and well-being of man;

(7) Assist the Federal departments and agencies in the development and interrelationship of environmental quality criteria and standards established throughout the Federal Government; and

(8) Collect, collate, analyze, and interpret data and information on environmental quality, ecological research, and evaluation.

EXISTING CEQ/OEQ STATUTORY FUNCTIONS TO BE GRANTED TO THE NEW OFFICE OF NEPA COMPLIANCE BUT ASSIGNABLE BY THE PRESIDENT TO OTHER ENTITIES

Existing statutory language from Title II of NEPA and section 203(d) of EQIA (functions presently carried out by CEQ):

A. The following functions are to be carried out by the Office of NEPA Compliance unless assigned by the President, by executive order, to another unit in the EOP:

(1) Review and appraise the various programs and activities of the Federal Government in light of the policy set forth in Title I of NEPA for the purpose of determining the extent of which such programs and activities are contributing to the achievement of such policy, and make recommendations to the President with respect thereto;

(2) Coordinate the development of recommendations to the President on national policies to foster and promote the improvement of environmental quality to meet the conservation, social, economic, health, and other requirements and goals of the Nation; and

(3) Coordinate or facilitate the development of such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to matters of policy and legislation as the President may request;

B. The following functions are to be carried out by the Office of NEPA Compliance unless assigned by the President, by executive order, to another unit in the EOP or to another federal agency:

(1) Assist the Federal agencies and departments in appraising the effectiveness of existing and proposed facilities, programs, policies, and activities of the Federal Government, those specific major projects designated by the President which and do not require individual project authorization by

Congress, which affect environment quality; and

(2) Assist in coordinating among the Federal departments and agencies those programs and activities which affect, protect, and improve environmental quality.

"CORE" NEPA FUNCTIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE OFFICE OF NEPA COMPLIANCE (NONASSIGNABLE)

The following provisions specifying and clarifying NEPA-related functions that have been carried out by CEQ, are necessary to enable the Office of NEPA Compliance to execute NEPA functions, and are directly or indirectly authorized under NEPA or Executive Order 11514 of March 5, 1970, as amended by Executive Order 11991 of May 24, 1977, or historically practiced by CEQ in furtherance of its NEPA responsibilities, are nonassignable:

(1) Promulgate regulations governing the implementation of NEPA by all Federal agencies (including independent regulatory commissions) which include provisions for public review and comment on the detailed statements required by section 102(2)(C) of NEPA and, as appropriate, on other documents prepared pursuant to NEPA;

(2) Mediate interagency disputes and receive referrals of interagency disagreements under section 102(2)(C) of NEPA or matters under section 309(b) of the Clean Air Act for, as appropriate, resolution by the President;

(3) Monitor federal agency implementation of NEPA and the Office's regulations, including: review and approve agency NEPA regulations; determine lead agency for purposes of compliance with NEPA when there is an interagency disagreement; develop alternative NEPA procedures in cases of an emergency; develop alternative NEPA procedures in cases in which there is a change in a proposed agency action or new information becomes available; provide guidance to Federal agencies regarding NEPA implementation; and address such other environmental functions as the President may specify.

TRANSITION PROVISIONS

The bill contains a number of transition provisions to provide for the change from the CEQ and OEQ to the Office of NEPA Compliance, will require a few pages of legislative text to address such matters as:

1. References in other federal laws, executive orders, rules, and regulations;
2. Savings provisions for the continuation of orders, rules, regulations, grants, and other administrative actions;
3. Continuation of proceedings and applications;
4. Suits involving the CEQ or OEQ;
5. Protection for existing CEQ NEPA regulations;
6. Transfer of existing amounts available for CEQ to the Office of NEPA Compliance; and
7. Technical and conforming changes to title I of NEPA and the Environmental Quality Improvement Act.

ORTIZ SALUTES WELDON HILLIS—
PRODUCTION SUPERVISOR,
FORMER PRINTER'S DEVIL, HER-
ALDED FOR 51 YEARS OF SERV-
ICE

HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a longstanding friend—my supervisor

in the first real job I had as a teenager—Weldon Hillis. When I was a young teenager, Carroll Keach of the Robstown Record, my hometown newspaper, gave me the first job I ever had—aside from the migrant work with which I helped my family—and that job was one as a printer's devil.

That was when newspaper operations included the old time letterpress system, whereby the printer's devils would tediously apply ink to the assembled characters that made the words, sentences, paragraphs and so on. They called us printer's devils because the work with ink was so filthy. I don't think you could walk through the room without getting dirty.

Weldon Hillis was the linotype operator then, and he supervised all the printer's devils. Weldon had a very unique way of communicating with us—he said nothing, yet we knew exactly what he meant. He would occasionally convey orders to me or one of the other printer's devils to deliver papers downtown.

I always admired, respected, and loved Weldon Hillis. He is a good and decent man who taught me much about the world from my little corner of it in Robstown. That admiration for Weldon Hillis runs deep in our hometown—Weldon is well loved throughout the community.

Weldon retires today after 51 years of service to the newspaper and to our community. He is now the production supervisor for the same publication now named the Nueces County Record-Star, having left the soot of the printer's devil long ago.

Mr. Speaker, today I salute Weldon Hillis and I commend him for his outstanding service to our community over the course of his lifetime. Thank you, Weldon.

APOLLO 11 MOON LANDING COM- MEMORATIVE COIN TO BENEFIT MATH AND SCIENCE EDUCATION

HON. CONSTANCE A. MORELLA

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce legislation, along with Congressman JIM BACCHUS, my distinguished colleague from the space coast of Florida, authorizing the minting of a silver dollar to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Apollo 11 landing on the Moon—an epoch journey and one of the greatest achievements of mankind.

In the decade prior to the lunar landing, the U.S. space program captured the imagination of all Americans, especially our Nation's youth.

First, the Mercury Program, then Gemini and the Thundering Apollo missions atop the Saturn V rockets. And then finally, on that special evening of July 20, 1969, the Apollo 11 mission brought Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin—the first humans—to the Moon.

The Apollo 11 lunar landing had been only a dream a decade before, and it was a victory celebrated in many ways. It was a triumph and a wave of reassurance for a nation ill at ease on the battlefield of the cold war. It was also a culmination of President John F. Kennedy's vision.

President Kennedy had announced in May of 1961 that America "should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to Earth." Accomplishing the feat eventually took 8 years and the work of 400,000 dedicated men and women.

July 20, 1994, marks the 25th anniversary of the Apollo 11 mission. The commemorative silver dollar that this legislation authorizes is a tribute to the thousands of people involved in the space program who made the lunar landing possible. It will serve as a reminder of what can be achieved as a nation when working together for a common goal.

In the 1960's, the space program inspired tens of thousands of students to study engineering and science with an eye toward reaching great milestones of their own. It is appropriate, then, that the legacy of the Apollo program continue to inspire another generation of young people.

A \$10 surcharge on the sale of each silver dollar will go to the Aerospace Education Alliance, a nonprofit organization whose members include the Young Astronaut Council, the Challenger Center for Space Science Education, U.S. Space Camp, Astronaut Memorial Foundation, and the U.S. Space Foundation.

These five leading organizations have come together to assist in Goals 2000, the national strategy to improve math and science education. Among its milestones is the immediate upgrading of the existing teacher work force * * * to improve student performance significantly by the year 2000.

Building on the success of their earlier programs, the Aerospace Education Alliance plans to implement a coordinated strategy of change in America's K-8 teaching process, using aerospace concepts to improve student interest and achievement in math, science, and technology.

The program goal is to provide graduate level instruction for teachers that is recognized as a substantive professional credential. University collaboration will provide academic credit, and a certification process will ensure quality. Evaluation criteria will be established to ensure the effectiveness of the program in the classroom.

Honorary board members of the Aerospace Education Alliance who support this effort include astronauts Buzz Aldrin, Tom Stafford, and Eugene Cernan; former Senator and astronaut Jake Garn; Aerospace Industries Association President Don Fuqua; Planetary Society Executive Director Louis Friedman; Jack Anderson; June Scobee Rogers; John Hendricks, chairman and CEO of Discovery Communications; Lockheed Space Operations President Gerald Oppliger; TRW Director Emeritus Dr. Simon Ramo; CTA Founder and President Tom Velez; John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University; Dr. Edward Fort, Chancellor of North Carolina A&T State University; and Dr. Wes Posvar, president emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh.

Apollo 11 silver dollar is patterned after the successful White House 200th Anniversary coin, released in 1992 and will not compete against larger issue coins such as those produced to support the World Soccer Cup. A contest will be held to select a design, and the

coin will be unveiled and available for sale near the time of the anniversary in July 1994.

The production of the Apollo anniversary silver dollar comes during an era of great change in the world and will serve to remind us of the possibilities for even greater accomplishments in the future. America's teachers will guide our children toward that horizon, and it is particularly appropriate that this anniversary benefit them.

THE BRADY HANDGUN WAITING PERIOD

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, this week we will vote on the Brady handgun waiting period. NRA advocates often try to confuse the issue by claiming that waiting periods won't work. I want to share some statistics on the remarkable effectiveness of California's 15-day waiting period and background check which have been in place since 1975 for handguns and 1991 for long guns.

From January, 1991 through September, 1993, California's waiting period stopped 7,017 convicted felons and 7,477 people convicted of misdemeanors from purchasing guns. The following chart, based on data provided by the California Department of Justice, shows the major reasons why purchases were denied.

An ineligible person who buys a gun on the black market is guilty of a public offense—or felony depending on previous offenses—and faces up to a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. A gun dealer who does not comply with the waiting period or sells a gun to a person he knows or suspects to be ineligible, is guilty of a misdemeanor with the same penalties.

I hope my colleagues will remember the effectiveness of California's law and support the Brady handgun waiting period.

16,420 Illegal gun purchases stopped by California's 15-day waiting period—January 1991 to September 1993

Reason for Denial

	Purchases Denied
Assault or Homicide Conviction	8,060
Drug Conviction	1,959
Theft, Burglary, Robbery, Weapons Offense	1,752
Mental Disorder/Illness	827
Under Age 21	720
Kidnapping, Restraining Order, Sex Crime Conviction	618
All other illegal purchases	2,584
Total	16,420

Source: California Department of Justice

BREAK DOWN BARRIERS: SUPPORT NAFTA

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, the article from today's San Diego Union-Tribune follows:

[From the San Diego Union-Tribune, Nov. 9, 1993]

SCARE TACTICS USED TO ASSAIL NAFTA

(By Ron Packard)

In his book about the history of our city, author Michael Grant writes, "San Diego, after a long adolescence, has suddenly emerged as a civic Cinderella, ready to take her turn on the international ballroom floor."

Nothing could ring truer. San Diego is poised to lead California out of the economic doldrums. The city is endowed with many resources which will ensure economic leadership into the 21st century. Therefore, I believe we must seize a historic opportunity to capitalize on San Diego's natural gifts. We must support the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in order to break down barriers and unleash the economic toad. NAFTA opponents have resorted to the usual arguments based on fear and not facts. I would like to enumerate some facts about San Diego's strong stake in passage of NAFTA, and dispel some of these myths about it.

San Diego is the only major U.S. city at the border with Mexico. If an entrepreneur were calculating the benefits that NAFTA would provide to San Diego because of its unique position, he would embrace the agreement as a historic opportunity for our city.

San Diego boasts an educated, young, expanding work force and sound infrastructure and a wealth of high-tech businesses and industries. Nearly 80 percent of all San Diegans in the private sector work for firms of 10 people or less and nearly 90 percent work in firms of 20 people or less. Small businesses, because of their lean structure and an ability to adjust and innovate quickly and creatively, stand to reap huge benefits from exporting their products into the Mexican market of 90 million people, eager for American-made goods.

A report by the Small Business Development and International Trade Center released in 1992 concluded that NAFTA, if enacted, would produce significant benefits for San Diego in every sector. "San Diego is well-placed to become a center of U.S.-Mexican trade and to reap the benefits—as well as sidestep the drawbacks—of the expected increase in border activity."

The San Diego area exports goods and services worth \$1 billion a year to Mexico. In 1992, this figure was 10 percent of San Diego's gross regional product. Lowered tariffs and increased investments after NAFTA if passed are expected to boost that figure by \$200 million to \$300 million a year, for San Diego alone.

The San Diego business community is overwhelmingly supportive of the agreement. A broad cross section of businesses which generate the majority of all jobs in the region has concluded that NAFTA will mean a net increase in jobs nationally and is crucial to the future economic health of the San Diego region.

Among those who informed me of their support of the agreement were Simon Wong, president of the Asian Business Association; Gilbert Partida, president of the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce; Robert Lichter, chairman of the CEO Roundtable; Mayor Susan Golding, and Gerri Warren, head of the San Diego County Black Chamber of Commerce.

These business leaders realize that NAFTA will allow San Diego firms to provide linkages and connections for increased trade, investment, services, goods, education and information. It also will open up the Mexican

market to San Diego's most competitive industries, including electronics, medical equipment, computer software, telecommunications equipment and our service sector.

NAFTA opponents' chief arguments are based upon scare tactics and fear. If one believed their rhetoric, the day after NAFTA passed, employers and businesses nationwide would spontaneously decide to flee American soil and relocate south of the border in Mexico. Opponents also say that passage of NAFTA will reduce wages of U.S. workers who will be forced to compete with Mexican wage earners who earn significantly less.

These contentions are not supported by the body of economic evidence, or by decisions most businesses and employers have made, and will continue to make, in the future.

Dire predictions about the giant "sucking sound" of jobs being lost as San Diego companies flee to Mexico are unfounded. What do businessmen and women know that the anti-NAFTA forces do not?

That cheap labor alone is not sufficient enough to bring economic success. If it were, the Dominican Republic would be an economic powerhouse. It is not. No matter how cheap labor is, the bottom line to business is that the work force must have a level of education equal to or greater than the task at hand. U.S. workers are nearly five times more productive than their Mexican counterparts—this more than offsets the lure of cheap labor and provides businesses with a compelling case to remain in San Diego.

Mexico also lacks the superior infrastructure which San Diego provides. Our road and water systems far outdistance those in Mexico. As they have in the past, businesses will continue to think twice about moving production to a country with an antiquated infrastructure.

There are companies which have chosen to relocate to Mexico, taking with them American jobs. However, these jobs were lost primarily because we do not have a free trade agreement with Mexico. Current Mexican trade barriers put U.S. employers and businesses at a competitive disadvantage in Mexico. Businesses must pay a 20 percent tariff on their American-made exports.

With a free trade agreement, San Diego businesses will not have to pay these high tariffs and will not be compelled to move their companies to Mexico in order to compete in the market. Without NAFTA, U.S. companies have an incentive to move to Mexico if they want access to the Mexican market.

New and virtually untapped markets like Mexico are, after all, where profits for business lie. When businesses can expand and grow to meet the increased demand of larger markets, jobs are created. Every \$1 billion in exports supports 20,000 high-wage jobs. In a nutshell, exports equal jobs. NAFTA equals more exports from San Diego, therefore NAFTA means high-skill, high-wage jobs for San Diegans.

NAFTA is key to San Diego's vision of the future. Because of the city's unique resources and position, it will become a gateway to emerging international markets—Mexico, Latin America and the Pacific Rim. If we have the vision to embrace the opportunity of international free trade, to allow our civic Cinderella to truly step out onto the ballroom floor, we must marry her to an economic winner: NAFTA.

TRIBUTE TO JERRY GIUSTRA

HON. SUSAN MOLINARI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Ms. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, on November 21, 1993, friends and colleagues of Mr. Jerry Giustra will gather at the Precious Hearts Association for Exceptional Adults seventh annual dinner and dance in Brooklyn, NY. They will gather to pay tribute to Mr. Giustra's untiring contributions to the betterment of our community. It is truly a pleasure for me to have this opportunity honor Mr. Giustra for being a longtime supporter of Precious Hearts Association, and a community leader in Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge.

Mr. Giustra has always been an important member of his community, and a credit to his country. He served 3 years of active duty in the U.S. Army in World War II. During his time in the military he became a war hero and received various commendations, including a purple heart for bravery when he was shot in the leg while attempting to the aid a fellow American soldier.

He has been an active member in the Kiwanis Club of Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge—Ben-Bay—since 1972. In 1987–88 he became distinguished president. He has been an active member of the Kiwanis Council, Brooklyn Division, and has served as the house chairman for the past four administration. He has chaired and co-chaired a drive, through his club, to raise funds for the Bensonhurst Volunteer Ambulance Service, which resulted in the clubs donation of a fully-equipped ambulance.

He has been a supporter of Precious Hearts Association For Exceptional Adults since 1987. Through Mr. Giustra's love and concern for our mentally handicapped young people, and the generosity of Kiwanis, and, in particular the Kiwanis Club of Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge—Ben-Bay—Precious Hearts For Exceptional Adults has been able to jointly sponsor, with the club, many parties and social activities for young adults, which helps to enhance their self esteem thus giving them a feeling of self worth. Through the continued support of Kiwanis, and their belief in what good people can accomplish together, Precious Hearts has been able to help many who cannot help themselves.

Mr. Speaker, Jerry Giustra is a man who has always extended himself for others, putting the needs of others before his own. It is my pleasure to have the occasion to give thanks to a dedicated family man who has demonstrated both leadership and commitment in improving the quality of life of his neighbors and all the people of Brooklyn.

RABBI EDWARD AND SARAH GARSEK RECOGNIZED

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise today in recognition of

Rabbi Edward and Sarah Garsek who will receive the State of Israel Award on November 16 for their continued support of the congregation, our community as well as Israel's economic development through investments in Israeli bonds.

Rabbi Garsek has dedicated his life to the service of his community. Beginning in 1975, he has been an outstanding spiritual leader in the Etz Chayim Congregation, and teacher at the Toledo Board of Jewish Education Schools in the Hebrew Academy, the High School for Jewish Studies and the Adult Institute of Jewish Studies. Rabbi Garsek also teaches bible and codes classes for the Congregation Etz Chayim. He also serves as the chaplain for the Ohio State prisons and mental institutions.

Rabbi Garsek received his rabbinical ordination from the Hebrew Theological College in Skokie, IL, and a bachelor of Hebrew literature and a master of pastoral counseling. He also holds a Masters degree in Education from the University of Toledo and a bachelor of arts in history and philosophy from Loyola University in Chicago, IL.

Rabbi Garsek has lent his abilities to many organizations by serving on their board of executives. Some of the organizations that he serves in this capacity include the Rabbinical Council of America, the Hebrew Academy of Toledo, the Toledo Jewish Book Fair, and the Toledo Jewish Educator's Council. In addition, he has served on the organizational boards of the Economic Opportunity Planning Association of Greater Toledo, Inc. [EOPA], and continues to serve on the Foundation for Life, Toledo B'nai B'rith Lodge No. 183, the Mental Health Association of Greater Toledo, the Toledo Board of Jewish Education, Toledo Jewish Home for the Aged, the Toledo Jewish Family Service, the Toledo Jewish Community Center and the Toledo Jewish Federation of Greater Toledo.

Beginning with her great grandfather, Sara Garsek has always been part of a rabbinical family. She serves on the Cherva Kadisha and is Mikvah Attendant for the Netay Etz Chayim Synagog and previously served as president. She is also the previous vice president of Etz Chayim Sisterhood and ORT. For the past 12 years Sara has been a community Hebrew school teacher and a Hebrew teacher at the Hebrew Academy. She continues to give of herself tirelessly, providing behind the scenes support and serving as a visible symbol of Jewish hospitality.

In addition to their selfless contributions to the community, the Garseks have successfully raised six children: Cheryl Ester, Deborah Elka, Zev Yosef, Shoshana Ruth, Rachael Nachama, and Yitzchak Raphael.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to represent these extraordinary people. I ask that my colleagues join me today in extending our heartfelt congratulations to the Garseks on the receipt of this much deserved award.

DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

HON. JOHN T. DOOLITTLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, last month as we watched Boris Yeltsin's courageous

struggle against the hardline communists in Moscow, Robert H. Kriebel and Paul M. Weyrich of the Kriebel Institute were eye-witnesses to this historic event. Mr. Kriebel and Mr. Weyrich have been training Russian and eastern European leaders in the principles of democracy ever since the opening up of the former communist bloc. They were on such a training mission when the siege of the Russian White House began. I have submitted for the RECORD their account of these exciting events.

THE KRIEBEL INSTITUTE,

Washington, DC, October 8, 1993.

DEAR FRIEND: We would be hard pressed to convey to you our thoughts on that dark Sunday night of October 3rd as we headed for Moscow and an uncertain fate.

We had completed our second training conference in Voronezh and were headed for Novosibirsk. On the chartered bus taking us to the airport, radio Moscow reported that former Russian Vice President Alexander Rutskoi had dispatched a mob of 10,000 armed communists to take over City Hall, the main television channel, the central communications center and other key facilities. "Civil war has begun in the streets of Moscow," the newscaster announced.

Once inside the airport we learned that our flight to Novosibirsk has been cancelled and no flight was available for days. We managed to get booked aboard an old turbo prop leaving for Moscow two hours later. Meanwhile, we heard that special forces units had defected from the Yeltsin side and were assisting Rutskoi.

A black gloom descended over our group. As we boarded that small plane there was none of the excitement and banter usually associated with our travelling troupe. There are usually seven or eight of us who teach, several interpreters, some of our fieldmen and logistical people. We have a great time on these trips as it is an adventure to go to the far reaches of the old Soviet Empire to speak of freedom and democracy.

But who could think of that now? The flight was less than two hours but it seemed an eternity. Our usually upbeat Moscow director Mikhail Reznikov was more troubled than we had ever seen him. The interpreters—one quietly sobbing—spoke of their families and worried for their safety.

We, who have spent years now laboring in this vineyard, wondered if it had all been in vain. We knew that if the Rutskoi group prevailed our Russian staff would be in immediate danger. We knew we must see to their well being, as association with us had made them marked people.

Mikhail Reznikov's brother Yuri met us at the regional airport. There in the dim light in the cold of a Russian fall, he gave us the latest. The communists had taken over City Hall. They had captured Ostankino, the main Russian TV facility. They were on their way to the central news agency and the Moscow police had collapsed and all but disappeared.

What of Yeltsin's response? We were told there had been no response. No one could understand what was happening.

On that long, long ride from the regional airport to the international airport hotel where—without reservations—we had determined to stay to insure communication with the outside world, we passed an armored personnel carrier being driven by uniformed troops and trucks with soldiers huddled in the back. What did it mean?

When at last we reached the hotel we were told the news was worse. Dozens dead at Ostankino. Eight different attacks all over the city and the Communist mob on its way

to the Kremlin. Rutskoi had said it was time to oust Yeltsin.

"Don't worry," said Reznikov. "These criminals won't defeat the majority of the Russian People."

He wasn't kidding. For after he left us, he and thousands of others committed to freedom and democracy formed units to create a blockade to prevent the communist advance on the Kremlin. They had no weapons. But to capture Yeltsin the criminal band would have had to kill thousands of their fellow citizens who erected barricades with old bathtubs and street sweeper equipment and trucks and cars.

Together they waved the Russian flag and sang songs of freedom all night. Former Moscow police chief Arkady Murashev emerged as the chairman of the "Committee to Protect Moscow". Neighborhood groups—in anticipation this day might come—had practiced working together in small regiments. Murashev dispatched them to guard every cross street for miles leading to the Kremlin.

Meanwhile a stunned Boris Yeltsin returned to the Kremlin from his summer home by helicopter. He came to a disorganized and chaotic Kremlin where, as one reporter who stayed inside the Kremlin walls put it, "Indecision reigned. It was not a pretty sight."

To the rescue came two old colleagues of Yeltsin. Mikhail Poltoranin and Gennady Burbulis. Burbulis and Yeltsin had not spoken since, under Communist pressure last December, Yeltsin sacked his life long friend who had masterminded the end of the Soviet Union.

But this was a crisis and Burbulis, the brilliant strategic thinker, understood what was at stake even more than Yeltsin did. Burbulis and Poltoranin took command and began to bring order out of chaos. By late Sunday night a spokesman for Yeltsin emerged to say there would be a response—that the insurrection would be broken.

All night they planned the attack. In the morning tanks advanced on the Russian White House. Because the media had bought the false report that the Special Forces had defected to Rutskoi, when the tanks appeared on Moscow streets, no one was sure if they were there to help Yeltsin or to defend Rutskoi.

It turned out that there were no defections. Rutskoi, fervently believing that he would have a third of the armed forces with him, now pleaded with those he thought would defect to come forward. None did. This was consistent with information given to us a week earlier when two high ranking colonels of the Air Force assured us that the armed forces would be loyal to Yeltsin. They laughed heartily when we asked about rumored defections.

As we watched the events unfolding on television we were talking hour by hour to our various friends in the Democracy movement.

Late in the morning, we headed for downtown and the Freedom and Democracy House, which only 10 days earlier had been dedicated by Burbulis, Mstislav Rostropovich (the conductor of the Washington National Symphony, who years ago had defected but who is now helping Yeltsin) and the two of us in front of a large gathering of the most ardent democrats, many of them part of the Yeltsin government.

Far from the merriment of that gala reception to commemorate the opening of this Freedom and Democracy House where The Kriebel Institute now has its permanent headquarters in Russia (44 Gercen Street), the place was now a madhouse of people

rushing about with the latest information of sniper fire or troop action. An assistant to Murashev prepared a list of Communist groups for Yeltsin to outlaw.

In the background we could hear small arms fire and the occasional thump of cannon fire from the tanks surrounding the White House.

We pleaded with our cautious hosts to take us where the action was. They urged us not to go—citing those killed and injured by stray gunfire. But the stand for democracy was too dear not to take the chance, so we headed for Freedom Square—so named after the triumph of Yeltsin following the 1991 coup attempt.

There along the Moscow River we made our way alongside the thousands of Muscovites who turned out to witness history. At last we were there—a few feet from one of the active tanks looking at the incredible sight of fire and smoke pouring from the upper floors of the White House. Gunfire echoed everywhere and, as the military responded, the crowd panicked and nearly trampled us. We hung on to each other for safety.

Presently a column of police marched across the overpass above us, their shiny shields glistening in the sun of the beautiful October afternoon. At once the police came down the steps from the overpass to the street along the Moscow River where we stood transfixed in the middle of the revolution.

Soon men with their hands on their heads were marched down the stairs and were told to face the retaining wall. This was surrender. The siege of the White House was ending.

Above us Rutskoi and Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbalatov were being ushered into a bus to be carted off to prison. The gunfire continued unabated. But the battle was won.

The smell of gunpowder, the faces of those who surrendered, the blackened White House—these were sights which shall live with us forever.

We rushed to Tverskaya Prospect, the large street leading directly to the Kremlin, which was filled with citizens as all traffic had been blocked by the barricades. There in front of the old city council chambers we stood with eager—mostly young—democrats waiting for the latest word. As Russian flags flew everywhere, a man stepped out on the third floor balcony and spoke slowly in distinct tones to the crowd. "They are coming forth with white flags. They are surrendering," he said and the crowd went wild. Democracy had triumphed. There we were witnessing the finish of the second October Revolution. How different the ending this time! How blessed we were to have been a part of that extraordinary moment.

Late that night as we watched the fire continue to rage at the Russian White House our thoughts moved back to the happier times we had spent there. Our meeting with Yeltsin, our midnight meeting with Burbulis. The training conference we had conducted there for the pro-democracy members of the Russian Parliament. (Russian Democrats have told us that, were it not for our early training, Yeltsin would never had had the support necessary to get elected by the parliament in the first place and without that crucial first event, he likely would not have been there to act in this time of crisis.)

Yes, to save democracy, Yeltsin had to destroy the parliament.

We then heard a report that a list had been captured at the parliament building with the

names of the reformers on it. Included in this list were our associates! Had Rutskoi won, they were to have been rounded up. The document even included instructions to customs officials to detain any who might try to leave the country.

Indeed we had stayed here to insure that, if need be, we could get them out of the country. Had Rutskoi won, our people and not Rutskoi and Khasbulatov would have been in prison. We shudder to think of it.

Now the real work begins in earnest. Much of what we have done here these past five years has been leading up to this moment.

Alexei Golovkov, an assistant to Deputy Prime Minister Egor Gaidar told us Tuesday that, in the next two weeks, Yeltsin intended to move swiftly to dismantle the remaining Communist structures throughout Russia. No doubt there will be pressure from the West for him to stop this.

But such dismantling is necessary if there are to be truly free and fair elections. In rural areas and regions of Siberia the old structures are fully in place. They must be removed and this is Yeltsin's window to do so.

As for the work of The Kriebel Institute, our efforts could hardly have been more timely. A hugely successful conference in Perm, for example, has prepared the democratic forces there for the upcoming elections. We intend to be very active between now and the elections.

And our efforts on behalf of a market economy now should be stepped up. We believe private property will be completely legal in a matter of a few months. Title of ownership can be defended in the courts at every level. This is what foreign capital has been waiting for. The sort of progress we expected two years ago can now take place. For the first time we can honestly recommend business investment in Russia.

Few people ever get a chance to see history in the making. We consider ourselves greatly blessed that we have been a part of this continuing saga as true change comes to Russia.

As remarkable as our memories have been these past years, Monday, October 4, 1993, is one day we shall never, ever, forget. The day the Communists lost the Second October Revolution.

Sincerely,

ROBERT H. KRIEBLE.
PAUL M. WEYRICH.

MY VOICE IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

HON. JIM BACCHUS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. BACCHUS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following for the RECORD:

MY VOICE IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

(By Kris Havens, Florida winner, 1992/93 VFW Voice of Democracy Scholarship Program)

On a dark stage, an actor waited. Suddenly a small yet brilliant spotlight grew, as if it gave life to the actor. It was at this time when that person could say anything, do anything, be anything, knowing that he would affect every member in the audience. The greatest playwright, William Shakespeare, once expressed, "The world is a stage." If this is true, then we are all the actors. Through our actions and voice we will touch each other.

Voice.

This five letter word presents not only the verbal, but the nonverbal actions as well. If a person looks deep enough into this word, they may be able to see how each letter represents a different performance. Those activities are the ones where the power of My Voice rings.

"V" represents Volunteer. Just as the spotlight grows and gives life to one actor, the performance of volunteering gives hope to many players. It is true, people are ripped out of their homes by environmental disasters. It is true, some children go to bed hungry. It is true, we all are vulnerable to incurable diseases. No matter what the case, everyone needs one thing—aid. Whether it's one's money, one's time, or one's heart, it helps. Edward G. Bulwer-Lytton once said, "When a person is down in the world, an ounce of help is better than a pound of preaching." When I attend Project Response and hug those unfortunate people who have acquired the HIV virus, or even worse, AIDS, nonverbally the power of My Voice rings.

"O" stands for Opinions. Before the cast is picked and any staging is done, it is the director who performs first, by deciding on how to interpret the play. In this remarkable country the people are free to believe in anything they desire. Thomas Mann once said, "Opinions cannot survive if one has no chance to fight for them." I will fight for my opinion in public forums, through voting and serving my country in military service. As I prepare myself for these duties, in the end the power of My Voice rings.

"I" represents being informed. The entire cast and crew of a play must take on the responsibility of being aware of what is going on at all times. Going through life blindfolded shows ignorance and weakness. We must keep in touch with what is going on in our city, state, country, and world. "America is not just a nation but a nation of nations," stated our 36th President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. We must not ignore any problems that occur in this world; because in the end, it may be on our doorsteps and more likely, too difficult to control. By picking up a newspaper and reading more than just the comics and horoscope, softly, the power of My Voice rings.

"C" stands for Choice. An actor may choose many ways to portray his character to display the best of his talents. Everyone, as a United States citizen, has to choose to speak up for change. William James believed, "When you have to make a choice and don't make it, that in itself is a choice." I choose to be proud of my country, and its flag, and its opportunities. By choosing to act on these convictions, the power of My Voice rings.

"E" represents Education. Without light, nothing breathes on stage. Without knowledge, the light in a man's mind is dark. One must know the past to prevent future decisions from failing. One must know the present, as well, to aid in the future. "Education is growth * * * Education is not a preparation for life; education is life itself," explained Professor John Dewey. By enrolling myself in challenging classes and helping those struggling to gain knowledge, the power of My Voice rings.

The words from Johnson, Shakespeare, Dewey symbolize how the power of Their Voices still ring. Yet not only can their words be recalled, but their performances as well, therefore, I choose that my deeds speak for me through volunteering, holding opinions on current issues, staying informed, making choices, and striving for the best education possible. The power of My Voice Will Ring in America's Future!

THE CLAIM OF GIBBS & HILL, INC., AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA

HON. ROBERT E. ANDREWS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to insert in the RECORD a statement I made at the October 21 meeting of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. This statement and the questions contained in it were directed at the witness before the subcommittee, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Edward Djerejian. Mr. Djerejian was and continues to be responsive to my concerns and the serious concerns of other members of the committee on this issue of unresolved claims of United States corporations against the Government of Saudi Arabia.

STATEMENT FOR CONGRESSMAN ROBERT ANDREWS BEFORE THE EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST SUBCOMMITTEE, OCTOBER 21, 1993

Mr. Assistant Secretary. I would like to make a brief statement and ask a few questions about an issue which greatly concerns me.

My comments relate to the resolution of the remaining long outstanding commercial disputes involving American companies and the Government of Saudi Arabia, which was the subject of the report submitted by the Department of Defense in June of this year, and specifically the resolution of the claim of Gibbs & Hill, Inc.

It is my responsibility and the responsibility of this committee to insure that the Saudi Government honors its commitment to expeditiously and fairly resolve the remaining unpaid claims of American companies noted in the DOD report. It is also my responsibility and the responsibility of this committee to insure that our Government, and specifically the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense fulfill their commitments to these American companies to bring about the fair and expeditious resolution of their claims.

Gibbs & Hill, Inc., an internationally recognized engineering company, with a large number of employees located in my district, was noted in the DOD report as one of the last claims remaining to be resolved by the Saudi Embassy. Gibbs & Hill had provided design and engineering services to the Saudi Government for the Yanbu Industrial City in the late 1970's. Gibbs & Hill incurred significant additional costs as a result of the Saudi Government's failure to perform its contract obligations. At the time that Gibbs & Hill's additional costs were incurred, the Saudi Government committed to fairly compensate Gibbs & Hill for these additional costs. However, the Saudi Government failed to live up to this commitment, and the Saudi grievance system also failed to equitably adjudicate Gibbs & Hill's claim.

The Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, had personally committed to me and other of my colleagues in the Congress in writing that the claim of Gibbs & Hill would be resolved in a "fair and expeditious manner" and that "no effort" would be spared in resolving Gibbs & Hill's claim. The DOD report stated that it had received the same assurances regarding the Gibbs & Hill claim from the Saudi Embassy and had also been assured that the Saudi Government would

"proceed with determination and diligence to negotiate satisfactory conclusions to the remaining claims." Similar assurances had also been given the Departments of State and Commerce by the Saudi Government with regard to the Gibbs & Hill claim.

The Saudi Government has failed to live up to its commitments to me, my colleagues, this committee and our Government. Despite the multiple assurances by the Saudi Embassy that the claim of Gibbs & Hill would now be fairly resolved, Ambassador Bandar in a recent letter to me, as well as to Secretaries Christopher, Brown, and Aspin, reported that his Government's review of Gibbs & Hill's claim concluded that Gibbs & Hill was not entitled to payment of its additional costs. Ambassador Bandar's letter also wrongly accused Gibbs & Hill of attempting to bypass the Saudi grievance system, when, in fact, Gibbs & Hill was one of the few claimants identified in the DOD report who had fully complied with this system. In reaching its conclusion, the Saudi Government did not review documents repeatedly offered by Gibbs & Hill regarding the merits of its claim. Ambassador Bandar also contradicted his previous actions in resolving claims listed in the DOD report by stating that he could not intervene in cases which had been prosecuted under the Saudi grievance system.

The Saudi Government's review of Gibbs & Hill's claim and its conclusions as stated in Ambassador Bandar's letter are not acceptable to me, nor to this committee, and should not be acceptable to our branches of our Government. The actions by the Saudi Government are nothing more than a continuation of the unfair treatment and unfulfilled commitments to which Gibbs & Hill has been subjected for more than 12 years.

On September 24, I wrote to Secretary Christopher, as well as to Secretaries Brown and Aspin, to express my extreme displeasure at the continued unfair treatment of Gibbs & Hill by the Saudi Government and asked them to report to me what actions our Government intended to take to insure that the Saudi Government fulfills its commitments to Gibbs & Hill to expeditiously and fairly resolve its long outstanding claim.

Therefore, Mr. Secretary, I ask you today:

1. What actions are you taking to insure that Gibbs & Hill's claim is paid now.
2. As you know, Gibbs & Hill got all the commitments for resolution from the Saudi Government when the claims issue was hot. Then, when many of the claims were taken out, the story changed, perhaps because the pressure was off. I am here today to tell you that the pressure is back on. I am also here to urge you to join this committee in applying that pressure for satisfactory resolution of Gibbs & Hill's claim so we can quickly end this unfortunate chapter in our bilateral relationship.

I will quickly conclude this by assuring you that I, and this committee, will continue to push our Government and the Saudi Government for as long as is necessary to ensure that Gibbs & Hill's claim is paid.

TRIBUTE TO IRENE H.
IMPELLIZZERI, PH.D.

HON. SUSAN MOLINARI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Ms. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, on November 21, 1993, friends and colleagues of Dr. Irene

Impellizzeri will gather at the Precious Hearts Association for Exceptional Adults Seventh Annual Dinner and Dance in Brooklyn, NY. They will gather to pay tribute to Dr. Impellizzeri's untiring contributions to the betterment of our community. It is truly a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to honor Dr. Impellizzeri for being a distinguished member of the education community and for doing so much to further the education of special education students.

As a teacher, researcher, administrator, psychologist and community worker, Dr. Impellizzeri has crowded many accomplishments into an intense professional career. At each phase of her career, she had manifested a striking commitment to people. Even as she has responded to the myriad new challenges confronting the educational community in New York City, especially in the last few years, she has never lost her basic belief in the value of each individual and the potential of each student.

From her early days as the teacher in the elementary and secondary schools, then at the university level, and now as vice president of the New York City Board of Education, Dr. Impellizzeri has always focused her interests and energy on students. With successive degrees from New York University, Columbia University Teacher's College, and Fordham University, she moved from adjunct professor at Fordham University to professor at Brooklyn College where she became department chairman, and, in 1971 dean of The School of Education. In January 1987, she was appointed by the board of trustees of The City University of New York to the position of university dean for teacher education, a post from which she retired in July, 1991.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Impellizzeri, is a woman who has always extended herself for others, putting the needs of others before her own. It is my pleasure to have the occasion to give thanks to a dedicated educator who has demonstrated both leadership and commitment in improving the quality of life of youth at all ages and levels of proficiency.

THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF
KRISTALLNACHT

HON. BOB FRANKS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 55th commemoration of the Nazi pogroms in Germany and Austria known as Kristallnacht, the Night of the Broken Glass.

On the evening of November 9 and morning of November 10, 1938, the Gestapo methodically orchestrated the destruction of selected targets within the Third Reich, including 275 synagogues and 7,500 Jewish businesses. Kristallnacht resulted in 91 Jewish deaths and 30,000 deportees to concentration camps.

This event was not an isolated incident. Instead, Kristallnacht marked the intensification of the 5-year, anti-Semitic program initiated by Hitler in 1933 and signaled the beginning of the Holocaust. This event, and the ensuing

horror, terror, and inhumanity that defined Hitler's reign, happened because otherwise decent, caring people let it happen.

A half century later, here in our own country, there has been an alarming rise in crimes motivated by hate or religious, ethnic, and racial intolerance. Last year alone in my home State of New Jersey there were over 1,300 incidents of bias crimes. That represents a 34-percent increase from the previous year.

Mr. Speaker, on the 55th commemoration of Kristallnacht, we must commit ourselves to ensuring that such intolerance has no place in our society. Only through our sustained vigilance can we guarantee that such atrocities are neither forgotten nor repeated.

THIRD BAPTIST CHURCH
CELEBRATES 125 YEARS

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise today in recognition of the 125th anniversary celebration of the Third Baptist Church, the oldest African-American Baptist congregation in Toledo. Spanning a century and a quarter, Third Baptist Church enjoys a rich, deep history beginning in 1868 and continuing through to the present. In the early years, the congregation took strong leadership roles in the community and nurtured the birth of the Indiana Avenue YMCA, the Colored Girls Working Home and the Frederick Douglass Community Center. While community involvement took a firm hold, the structure of the church was manifested with a strong and active Sunday School and Missionary Society. Two of the five church clubs, the Willing Workers and the Y.W. Senior Clubs were also formed.

It was during this time that the church grew from a one-room frame structure to the edifice at its present location under the diligent leadership of Dr. Benjamin F. McWilliams, a man with courage, determination, and vision. He was well respected in the community, undertaking the most ambitious building program of its kind with the purchase of real estate and later construction on the site. The church was completed in three units from 1915 to 1927, each unit completely paid for before construction on the next began.

In 1933, Rev. Calvin Stalnaker became pastor of Third Baptist when Dr. McWilliams' health began to fail. It was a challenging period due to the tremendous progress made during this 10-year tenure. At that time there was phenomenal growth in the church membership, the budget was met, and the mortgage was paid in full.

Upon his resignation in 1944, Rev. Elliot J. Mason was elected pastor and remained the next 15 years. Reverend Mason's contributions were numerous, including an expansion program and completion of the church annex. In the years to follow, the church continued to grow spiritually under the vigorous leadership of Rev. H.W. Mason, Rev. Vincent M. Brown, Dr. Finis H. Austin, Dr. H. Clark Nabrit, and Rev. Donald Washington.

Today, with nearly 500 members under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Langston C. Bannister, the church has broadened its horizons even more. To his credit, significant projects have been completed including renovation of the kitchen and addition of a new roof.

Major improvements in the sanctuary are also being implemented. Dr. Bannister recognizes that the church has always been a protector and a provider for African-American people.

It has always given them the faith and hope needed to survive and grow in a sometimes hostile environment, thereby sustaining the needed outreach ministry into the community. Support programs such as youth development through the Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts, the Pastor's Pantry, bus and tape ministry and Feed Your Neighbor have been implemented. These are tremendous resources within our community. The church also offers financial planning services, group discussions

addressing the needs of single parents, as well as a multifaceted counseling program. Food baskets are given to numerous families during Thanksgiving and Christmas. Additionally, the congregation is very supportive and participates in the local Angel Tree Program.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues join me today in extending our heartfelt congratulations of Third Baptist Church on its 125th Anniversary. May the congregation continue to enrich our community for many years to come.